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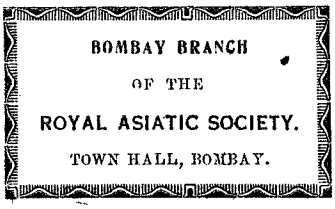

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HOLINSHED'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,

AND

IRELAND.

33046

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ENGLAND.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME; CADELL AND DAVIES; AND J. MAWMAN.

1807.

[*Original Title.*]

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THE

FIRST AND SECOND VOLUMES

OF

CHRONICLES,

COMPRISING

1 The deſcription and hiſtorie of England,
2 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Ireland,
3 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Scotland:

FIRST COLLECTED AND PUBLISHED

BY

RAPHAELL HOLINSHED,

WILLIAM HARRISON, AND OTHERS:

Now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie)

TO THE YEARE 1586,

By JOHN HOOKER aliàs VOWELL Gent.

AND OTHERS.

WITH CONUENIENT TABLES AT THE END OF THESE VOLUMES.

HISTORIÆ PLACEANT NOSTRATES AC PEREGRINÆ.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE CHRONICLES of HOLINSHED having become exceedingly scarce, and, from their Rarity and Value, having always brought a high Price whenever they have appeared for Sale, the Publishers have thought they should perform an acceptable Service to the Public by reprinting them in a uniform, handsome, and modern Form.

It cannot now be necessary to state the Importance and interesting Nature of this Work. The high Price for which it has always sold, is a sufficient Testimony of the Esteem in which it has been held. Holinshed's Description of Britain is allowed to contain the most curious and authentic Account of the Manners and Customs of our Island in the Reign of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, in which it was written. His History of the Transactions of the British Isles, during these Periods, possesses all the Force and Value of contemporary Evidence, collected by a most skilful Observer; and the peculiar Style and Orthography in which the Work is written, furnish a very interesting Document to illustrate the History of the English Language.

The original Edition of the Chronicles of Holinshed, it is well known, was published by their Author in a mutilated State. A Number of Pages, which had obviously been printed with the rest of the Work, were found to be omitted, except in a few Copies obtained by some favoured Persons. In the present Edition, these Castrations are faithfully restored; and in order that the Purchaser may depend upon finding an exact as well as a perfect Copy, it has been a Law with the Publishers, not to alter a single Letter, but to print the Work with the utmost Fidelity from the best preceding Edition, with the Author's own Orthography, and with his marginal Notes. The only Liberty taken, has been to use the Types of the present Day, instead of the old English Letter of the Time of Elizabeth.

The Publishers submit to the Public this Edition of a curious and valuable Chronicle of our History, with a confident Hope, that it will gratify both the Historical Student and the General Reader. If it meet with the Reception which they anticipate, they will be encouraged to select some others of the rarest and most important of our ancient Chronicles, and reprint them, in like Manner, for the Convenience and Gratification of the Public.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE, AND HIS SINGULAR GOOD LORD AND MAISTER,

S. WILLIAM BROOKE KNIGHT,

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, AND BARON OF COBHAM, ALL INCREASE OF THE FEARE AND KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, FIRME OBEDIENCE TOWARD HIS PRINCE, INFALLIBLE LOVE TO THE COMMON WEALTH, AND COMMENDABLE RENOWME HERE IN THIS WORLD, AND IN THE WORLD TO COME LIFE EUERLASTING.

HAVING had iust occasion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme last passed, and being earnestlie required of diuers my freends, to set downe some breefe discourse of parcell of those things, which I had obserued in the reading of such manifold antiquities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the first verie loth to yeeld to their desires: first, for that I thought my selfe vnable for want of skill and iudgment, so suddenlie & with so hastie speed to take such a charge vpon me: secondlie, bicause the dealing therein might proove an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatise: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earnest studie of histories, as iudging the time spent about the same, to be an hinderance vnto my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the ministerie. But when they were so importunate with me, that no reasonable excuse could serue to put by this trauell, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, promising that I would spend such void time as I had to spare, whilest I should be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon some thing or other that should satisfie their request: and stand in lieu of a description of my Countrie. For their parts also they assured me of such helps as they could purchase: and thus with hope of

good, although no gaie successe, I went in hand withall, then almost as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, sith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in sunder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto I say by other businesses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meane season I had some repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers hast would suffer. One helpe, and none of the smallest that I obtained herein, was by such commentaries as *Leland* had somtime collected of the state of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of sundrie volumes: secondlie, I gat some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from sundrie places & shires of England, but so discordant now and then amongst themselues, especiallie in the names and courses of riuers and situation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole discourse of such points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or secretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, choosing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one desirous to set foorth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true. The last comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in speaking wherof, if I should make account of the successe, & extraordinarie cõming by sundrie treatises not supposed to be extant, I should but seeme to pronounce more than may well be said with modestie, & say farder of my selfe than this Treatise can beare witnes of. Howbeit, I refer not this successe wholie vnto my purpose about this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the substance of that which is here declared, I must needs confesse that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordship haue consideration of the barbarous

composition shewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatise in such precise order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it sufficient, truelie and plainelie to set foorth such things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the slacknesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoeuer it be done, & whatsoeuer I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the rest, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatise of mine will prooue a spur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choise of matter to handle the selfe same argument, if in my life time I doo not peruse it againe. It is possible also that your Honour will mislike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eysight viewed such things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I must needs confesse, that vntill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles foorthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuerthelesse in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who either haue performed in their persons, or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before) whatsoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offense at my rash and retchlesse behauiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that being scambled vp after this maner, I dare presume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordships hands. But when I consider the singular affection that your Honour dooth beare to those that in any wise will trauell to set foorth such profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh

on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to such a one as hath so manie and sundrie waies benefited me that otherwise can make no recompense, I can not but cut off all such occasion of doubt, and thereupon exhibit it, such as it is, and so penned as it is, vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in anie wise acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnancie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularlie to describe this Ile of Britaine; so I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amisse. As for the curious, and such as can rather euill fauouredlie espie than skilfullie correct an error, and sooner carpe at another mans dooings than publish any thing of their owne, (keeping themselues close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common sort) I force not what they saie hereof: for whether it doo please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and such as are of experience to consider of my trauell, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatise, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompense, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preserue your Lordship in continuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue and learning) and the rest of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wish farder increase of his holie spirit, vnderstanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble seruant
and houshold Chaplein.
W. H.

¶ THE NAMES OF THE AUTHORS

FROM WHOME THIS

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND

IS COLLECTED.

A.

Aelius Spartianus.
Aelius Lampridius.
Asserius Meneuensis.
Alfridus Beuerlacensis.
Aeneas Syluius Senensis.
Auentinus.
Adam Merimouth with additions.
Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.
Albertus Crantz. Alexander Neuill.
Arnoldus Ferronius.
Annius Viterbiensis.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricensis. Aurea Historia.

B.

Biblia Sacra. Beda venerabilis.
Berosus. Brian Tuke knight.
Blondus Forliuiensis.
Berdmondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicorum.
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belonging to that house.
Chronica de Teukesburie.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Historie and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauage.
Couper. Cuspinianus.
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
Dion Cassius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.
Eusebius. Eutropius.
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir, conteining much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obteined by reason thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monstrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian. Froissart.
Franciscus Tarapha.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Gviciardini Francisco.
Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrensis.
Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
Galfridus Vinsauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisburnensis.
Geruasius Dorobernensis.
Geruasius Tilberiensis.
Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Normaniæ.
Guilielmus Rishanger.
Guilielmus Lambert. Georgius Lillie.
Guilamme Paradin.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonensis.
Henricus Leicestrensis.
Hector Boece. Historie Daniou.
Historia Ecclesiastica Magdeburgensis.
Henricus Mutius.
Historia quadripartita seu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicle. Henricus Bradshaw.
Henricus Marleburgensis.
Herodianus. Humfrey Luyd.

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. Iulius Solinus.
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price knight. Iohannes *Textor*.
Iohannes Bodinus. Iohannes Sleidan.
Iohannes Euersden a Monke of Berry.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptista Egnatius.
Iohannes Capgraue.
Iohannes Fourden. Iohannes Caius.
Iacob de Voragine Bishop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monsieur de Desse remained there.
Iohn Fox. Iohannes Maior.
Iohn Stow, by whose diligent collected summarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but also by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessarie register bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. Iosephus.

L.

Liber constitutionum London.
Lucan. Lælius Giraldus.

M.

Marianus Scotus. Matthæus Paris.
Matthæus Westmonaster. aliàs Flores historiarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Mons. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. Nennius.
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Orosius Dorobernensis.
Osbernus Dorobernensis.
Otho Phrisingensis.

P.

Pausanias. Paulus Diaconus.
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. Pomponius Lætus.
Philip de Cumeins, aliàs M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. Paulus Iouius.
Platina. Philippus Melancthon.
Peucerus. Pomponius Mela.

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Cestrensis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheshall. Radulfus Niger.
Register of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. Robert Greene.
Radulfus de Diceto. Robert Gaguin.
Rodericus Archiepiscopus Toletanus.
Records and rolles diuerse.

S.

Strabo. Suetonius.
Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
Sidon Appollinaris. Simon Dunelmensis.
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Trebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. Thomas Walsingham.
Titus Liuius de Foroliuisijs de vita Henrici. 5. Titus Liuius Patauiensis.
Thomas Lanquet. Thomas Couper.
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. Theuet.
Thomas de la More. Tripartita Historia.

V.

Vvlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.

Whethamsted, a learned man, sometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harrison.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Besides these, diuers other bookes and treatises of historicall matter I haue seene and perused, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

REGVM ANGLIÆ

SERIES & CATALOGUS.

Wil. Conqu.
Wil. Rufus.
Henricus 1.
Stephanus.
Henricus 2.
Richardus 1.
Ioannes.
Henricus 3.
Eduardus 1.
Eduardus 2.
Eduardus 3.
Richardus 2.
Henricus 4.
Henricus 5.
Henricus 6.
Eduardus 4.
Eduardus 5.
Richardus 3.
Henricus 7.
Henricus 8.
Eduardus 6.
Phil. & Mar.
Elisabeth.

CONQUESTOR, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanúsque,
Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,
Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:
Eduardus primus, Gnatúsque, Nepósque sequuntur:
His infœlicem Richardum iunge secundum:
Henricus quartus soboles Gandaui Ioannis,
Præcedit Gnato quinto, sextóque Nepoti:
Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,
Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago:
Eduardus sextus, regina Maria, Philippus:
Elisabeth longos regnet victura per annos,
Seráque promisso fœlix potiatur olympo.

CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON

THOMÆ NEWTONI CESTRESHYRII.

GRAMINE, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,
Lacte, feris, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris,
Quæ viget ac floret generosa Britannia, quæque,
Obruta puluereo squalluit ante situ:
Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,
Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.
Et quod blæsa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,
Illud habet rectum pumice tersa nouo.

Loydus.
Lelandus.
Prisius.
Stous.
Holinshedius.
Lambardus.
Morus.
Camdenus.
Thinnius.
Hallus.
Vocalis aliàs
Hookerus.
Graftonus.
Foxius.
Harrisonus.
Hardingus.
Gildas.
Staniherstus.
Beda.
Neuillus.
Flemingus.
Parkerus.

Loydus in hac pridem gnauus prolusit arena,
Lelandus, Prisius, Stous, Holinshedius,
Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,
Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harrisonus,
Hardingus, Gildas, Staniherstus, Beda, Neuillus,
Doctáque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:
Nec te cane senex, magne ô Parkere, silebo,
Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.
Omnibus his meritò est laus debita & optima merces,
Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara suæ.
Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longæua senectus,
Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.

AN

HISTORICALL DESCRIPTION

OF

THE ILAND OF BRITAINE;

WITH A BRIEFE REHERSALL OF

THE NATURE AND QUALITIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

AND

SUCH COMMODITIES AS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE SAME.

COMPREHENDED IN THREE BOOKES, AND WRITTEN BY W. H.

A TABLE OF SUCH CHAPITERS AS ARE CONTEINED IN THE FIRST BOOKE OF THIS DESCRIPTION.

1 *Of the diuision of the whole earth.*
2 *Of the position, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.*
3 *Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.*
4 *What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.*
5 *Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.*
6 *Of the languages spoken in this Iland.*
7 *Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.*
8 *The names of such kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.*
9 *Of the ancient religion vsed in Albion.*
10 *Of such Ilands as are to be seene vpon the coasts of Britaine.*
11 *Of riuers, and first of the Thames, and such riuers as fall into it.*
12 *Of such streames as fall into the sea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.*
13 *The description of the Sauerne, and such waters as discharge themselues into the same.*
14 *Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.*
15 *The description of the Humber or Isis, and such water-courses as doo increase hir chanell.*
16 *Of such fals of waters as ioine with the sea, betweene Humber and the Thames.*
17 *Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring men doo note for their benefit vpon the coasts of England.*
18 *Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland.*

19 *Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.*
20 *Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons.*
21 *How Britaine at the first grew to be diuided into three portions.*
22 *After what maner the souereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.*
23 *Of the wall sometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.*
24 *Of the maruels of England.*

OF THE DIUISION OF THE WHOLE EARTH.

CHAPTER I.

Noah first diuided the earth among his sonnes.

WE read that the earth hath beene diuided into three parts, euen sithens the generall floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and bestowed it vpon his three sons, Japhet, Cham, and Sem, preserued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them such portions thereof as to him seemed good, and neuerthelesse reteining the souereigntie of the whole still vnto himselfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how those seuerall parts were bounded, and from whome they tooke such names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Asia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to speake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether sithens the time of Noah, the sea hath in sundrie places wonne or lost, added or diminished to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the same westerlie regions of late discouered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Asia for the second) or the selfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, supposed to be dissolued and sunke into the sea: as by their writings appeereth.

The diuision of the earth not yet certeinlie knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Asia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuision of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth east of the Atlantike sea, and whereof the first is diuided from the second by Tanais (which riseth in the rocks of Caucasus, and hideth it selfe in the Meotine moores) and the Ocean sea; and the last from them both by the Mediterrane and red sea, otherwise called Mare Erythræum. But now all men, especially the learned, begin to doubt of the soundnes of that partition; bicause a no lesse part than the greatest of the three ioined with those Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and Southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the same, are found out and discouered by the diligence of our trauellers. Hereby it appeereth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time past by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuision thereof came not to the hands and notice of their posteritie, so that our ancestors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkenesse, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to shew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some peece of this confusion also is to be found amongst the ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithstanding their large conquests) did sticke in the same mire with their successors; not being able (as appeereth by their treatises) to deliuer and set downe the veritie.

Variance among the writers about the diuision of the earth.

For Salust in his booke De bello Iugurthino cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Asia or not. And with the same scruple Varro in his booke De lingua Lat. is not a litle incumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Asia and Europa: so that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius also writeth of Africa, (as one not yet resolued wherevnto to leane,) that it is;

Aut ingens Asiæ latus, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein

Wherein Lucane lib. 9. sheweth himselfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he ascribeth it to Europa, saieng after this maner:

Tertia pars rerum Lybia: si credere famæ
Cuncta velis, si ventos cœlúmque sequaris,
Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili
Quàm Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus absunt.

Whereby (I saie) we may well vnderstand, that in the time of Augustus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet resolued of the diuision of the earth. For my part, as I indeuour not to remooue the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redressed) so I thinke good to giue foorth a new diuision more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into fiue seuerall parcels, reteining the common diuision in the first three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan streicts, and those Hyperborean Ilands which lie west of the line of longitude, of late discouered by Frobisher, and called by hir Maiestie Meta incognita: but likewise so manie Ilands as are within 180. degrees Westwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from those, which by this diuision are allotted vnto Asia, and the portion it selfe made equipollent with the same for greatnes, and far exceeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie so much in quantitie as they both vnited and laid togither. The fift & last part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan streicts; & from Africa by the sea which passeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no lesse large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the fift: howsoeuer it shall please the curious to mislike of this diuision. This also I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof doo not extend it selfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betweene two seas, of which the later is vnder the South poole, and as I may call it a maine sea vnder the aforesaid pricke, yet is it not without sundrie Ilands also adjoining vnto it, and the inner most sea not destitute of manie, as by experience hath beene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our describers of the earth haue made it such in their descriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable sea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it selfe northwards into that trace, by no small number of leagues, euen in maner to the Equator, in so much that the westerlie part thereof from America, is supposed to reach northward so far from the Antartike article, as Africa dooth southwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no small portion of ground; & I maruell why not obserued by such as heretofore haue written of the same. But they excuse themselues by the ingratitude of the Portingals and Spaniards, who haue of purpose concealed manie things found out in their trauell, least they should seeme to open a gap by dooing otherwise, for strangers to enter into their conquests. As for those Ilands also which lie in the peaceable sea, scattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the lesser Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo, &c: with a number of other, I refer them still unto Asia, as before, so as they be without the compasse of 90. degrees eastward from the line of longitude, & not aboue 180. as I doo the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the said proportion, wishing so little alteration as I may: and yet not yeelding vnto any confusion, whereby the truth of the diuision should hereafter be impeached.

The earth diuided into fiue parts, whereas *Bolforest* hath but foure, in *Prefat. lib.* 4.

Cape di bona Speranza.

The forme of the fift part.

And whereas by Virgil (speaking of our Iland) saith;

Et penitùs toto diuisos orbe Britannos.

And some other authors not vnworthie to be read and perused, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with sundrie the like scattered in the north seas should be ascribed, bicause they excluded them (as you sée) from the rest of the whole

Vnto what portion Britaine is referred.

earth: I have thought good, for facilitie sake of diuision, to refer them all which lie within the first minute of longitude, set downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reason requireth: so that the aforesaid line shall henceforth be their Meta & partition from such as are to be ascribed to America; albeit they come verie neere vnto the aforesaid portion, & may otherwise (without prejudice) be numbred with the same. It may be that some will thinke this my dealing either to be superfluous, or to procéed from (I wot not what) foolish curiositie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardest of euerie attempt. But forsomuch as my purpose is to leaue a plaine report of such matter as I doo write of, and deliuer such things as I intreat of in distinct and vpright order; though method now and then doo faile, I will go forward with my indeuour, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other doo conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane season therefore it shall suffice to say at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the rest of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng east of the line of longitude, be still ascribed vnto Europa: wherevnto some good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall situations also haue not amisse referred them.

OF THE POSITION, CIRCUIT, FORME, AND QUANTITIE OF THE ILE OF BRITAINE.

CAP. II.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.

BRITANNIA or Britain, as we now terme it in our English toong, or Brutania as some pronounce it (by reason of the letter y in the first syllable of the word, as antiquitie did sometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean sea, directlie ouer against that part of France which conteineth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greatest part of little Britaine, which later region was called in time past Armorica, of the situation thereof vpon the sea coast, vntill such time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by some of the Romane Emperours, or flieng thither from the tyrannie of such as oppressed them here in this Iland) did setle themselues there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the west side, on the north the maine sea, euen to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the east side also the Germane Ocean, by which we passe dailie through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miserablie afflicted betwéene the Spanish power and popish inquisition (as spice betweene the morter and the pestell) but also into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwaie, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all such necessarie commodities as the seuerall countries doo yeeld: through which meanes, and besides common amitie conserued, traffike is mainteined, and the necessitie of each partie abundantlie reléeued.

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

It conteineth in longitude taken by the middest of the region 19. degrees exactlie: and in latitude 53. degrées, and thirtie min. after the opinions of those that haue diligentlie obserued the same in our daies, and the faithfull report of such writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatises to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas some in setting downe of these two lines, haue seemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diuerslie remembring the names of sundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their seuerall courses: for my part I haue thought good to procéed somewhat after another sort; that is, by diuiding the latest and best chards each way into two equall parts (so neere as I can possiblie bring the same to passe) wherby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerlile and Newcastell vpon Tine, (whose longest day consisteth of sixteene houres, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Sheffield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is most easie and indifferent, and likeliest meane to come by the certeine standing and situation of our Iland.

Longest day.

Touching

Touching the length and bredth of the same, I find some variance amongst writers: for after some, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the farthest part of Cornewall westwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathnesse by the Irish sea 800. Wherby Polydore and other doo gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. lesse than Cæsar dooth set downe, except there be some difference betwéene the Romane and British miles, as there is indeed; wherof hereafter I may make some farther conference. The compasse of Britaine.

Martianus writing of the bredth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles, but Orosius hath 1200. in the whole compasse. Ethicus also agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the breadth he commeth short of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion in Seuero maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadest, of 289. and where it is narrowest, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the south coast to conteine 7000. furlongs, the second; to wit, à Carione ad Promontorium 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to consist of 42000. But in our time we reckon the breadth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be aboue 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathnesse, no more than 500. which neuerthelesse must be measured by a right line, for otherwise I see not how the said diuision can hold.

The forme and fashion of this Ile is thrée-cornered, as some haue deuised, like vnto a triangle, bastard sword, wedge, or partesant, being broadest in the south part, and gathering still narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathnesse northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in maner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in British Morwerydh, which is not aboue 30. miles ouer, as dailie experience by actuall trauell dooth confirme. The forme.

The old writers giue vnto the thrée principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, thrée seuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and these are called principall, in respect of the other, which are Taruisium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiuesteum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good also to leaue this notice, to the end that such as shall come after, may thereby take occasion to seeke out their true places, wherof as yet I am in maner ignorant, I meane for the most part; bicause I haue no sound author that dooth leade mée to their knowledge. Promontories of Britaine.

Furthermore, the shortest and most vsuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eastward) unto Calice a towne in Picardie 1800. miles from Rome, in old time called Petressa and Scalas, though some like better of blacknesse where the breadth of the sea is not aboue thirtie miles. Which course, as it is now frequented and vsed for the most common and safe passage of such as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, so it hath not beene vnknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the most part vsed these two hauens for their passage and repassage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerse of them came also from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or some other places of the coast more toward the west, or betweene Hide and Lid; to wit, Romneie marsh, (which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum insula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often molesteth seafaringmen in these narrowe seas, best liked them for their safegards. Betweene the part of Holland also, which lieth néere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Sosimus saith; and besides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into English miles, doo yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iust distance of the neerest part of Britaine, from that part of the maine also, dooth certeinlie appéere to be much lesse than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto set downe. The distance from the maine.

OF

OF THE ANCIENT NAMES OR DENOMINATIONS OF THIS ILAND.

CAP. III.

Dis, Samothes.

IN the diligent perusall of their treatises, who haue written of the state of this our Iland, I find that at the first it séemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwise called Samothes, one of the sonnes of Japhet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thencefoorth for a long while called Samothea. Afterward in processe of time, when desire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and ech prince endeuoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the sonne of Neptune, Amphitrite surnamed Marioticus (bicause his dominions laie among the ilands of the Mediterran sea, as those of Plutus did on the lower grounds neere vnto shore, as contrariwise his father Jupiter dwelled on the high hils néerer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulnesse of soile here, made a voiage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correspondent vnto, but also farre surmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after yer he inuaded the same by force of armes, brought it to his subiection in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers decease, and finallie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vtter forgetfulnesse. And thus was this Iland bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and also of hir lawfull succession of princes descended of the line of Japhet, vnder whom it had continued by the space of 341. yeres and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following shall easilie appeere.

Neptunus Marioticus.

The first conquest of Britaine.

Britaine under the Celts 341. yeares.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Iland, as in most other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan also followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no lesse troubled with fetching the same ab Olbijs, or as he wresteth it, ab Albijs gallis. But here his inconstancie appeareth, in that in his Gotthadamca liber. 7. he taketh no lesse paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland should be called Vridania, Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, tanquam libera Dania, as another also dooth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta signifieth soile or earth. But as such as walke in darkenesse doo often straie, bicause they wot not whither they go: euen so doo these men, whilest they séeke to extenuate the certeintie of our histories, and bring vs altogither to uncerteinties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welshmen come from the French with this one question, vnde Walli nisi a Gallis, or from some Spanish colonie, doo greatlie bewraie their oversights; but most of all they erre that endeuour to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Dioclesian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little stained our historie, and brought the sound part thereof into some discredit and mistrust: but more of this hereafter.

Neptune God of the sea.

Now to speake somewhat also of Neptune as by the waie (sith I haue made mention of him in this place) it shall not be altogither impertinent. Wherfore you shall vnderstand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of nauigation (as nauigation then went) he was reputed the most skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therfore, and likewise for his courage & boldnesse in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his decease honoured as a god, and the protection of such as trauelled by sea committed to his charge. So rude also was the making of ships wherewith to saile in his time (which were for the most part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the same after they were builded, they vsed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and such like, and with such a kind of naule (as they say) first Samothes, & then Albion arriued in this Iland, which vnto me doth not séeme a thing impossible. The northerlie or artike regions, doo not naile their ships with iron, which they vtterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks togither verie artificiallie with bast ropes, osiers, rinds of trées, or twigs

The maner of dressing of ships in old time.

of

of popler, the substance of those vessels being either of fir or pine, sith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongst them. Of their wooden anchors I speake not (which neuertheless are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ships wrought of wickers, sometime vsed in our Britaine, and couered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, lib. 7. cap. 56. as also botes made of rushes and reeds, &c. Neither haue I iust occasion to speake of ships made of canes, of which sort Staurobates, king of India fighting against Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the first battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuer Indus, but to his losse, for he was ouercome by hir power, & his nauie either drowned or burned by the furie of hir souldiers.

But to proceed, when the said Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the space of seauen yeares, it came to passe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the said Hercules passed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occasion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celts, that Lestrigo and his issue (whom Osyris his grandfather had placed ouer the Janigenes) did exercise great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but also in molestation of such princes as inhabited round about him in most intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in these his dooings by Neptune his father, who thirsted greatly to leaue his xxxiii. sonnes settled in the mightiest kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceiued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatsoeuer, it would not be long yer they did by some meanes or other, not onelie establish their seats, but also increase their limits to the better maintenance of themselues and their posteritie for euermore. To be short therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conspired and slaine the aforsaid Osyris, onlie for that he was an obstacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his sonne, surnamed Laabin, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres against them all, and going from place to place, he ceased not to spoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among sundrie other ouercome the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spaine, and vnderstanding that Lestrigo and his sonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into those parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a season with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he also maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a sonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my said Chronologie I haue spoken more at large.

Lestrigo.

Janigenes were the posteritie of Noah in Italie.

Neptune had xxxiii. sonnes.

Lomnimi. Geriones.

Galathea.

Galates, or Kelts.

In the meane time Albion vnderstanding how Hercules intended to make warres against his brother Lestrigo, he thought good if it were possible to stop him that tide, and therefore sending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he also reigned as supreame lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and sailed ouer into France. Being arriued there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betweene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue lost the day, for that they were in maner wearied with long warres, and their munition sore wasted in the last viage that he had made for Spaine. Herevpon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his souldiours somewhat to abate, and seeing the want of artillerie like to be the cause of his fatall daie and present ouerthrowe at hand, it came suddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himselfe by throwing stones at his enimie, whereof there laie great store then scattered in the place. The policie was no sooner published than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they so preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both slaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliuered from an vsurper (that dailie incroched vpon him, building sundrie cities and holds, of which some were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other also euen in his owne kingdome on that side) and Lestrigo greatlie weakened by the slaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like sort it

Bergion.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

Strabo, lib. 4.

commeth, that Jupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Osyris) is feigned to throw downe stones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defense of his sonne: which came so thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile should haue descended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came so fast and with so great a violence.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus discomfited and slaine, yet the name that he gaue unto this Iland died not, but still remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing heere in the 1116. before Christ, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had beene called Albion, by the space of about 600. yeares) but to declare his souereigntie ouer the rest of the Ilands also that lie scattered round about it, he called them all after the same maner, so that Albion was said in time to be Britanniarum insula maxima, that is, The greatest of those Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie also confirmeth, and Strabo in his first and second bookes denieth not. There are some, which vtterlie denieng that this Iland tooke hir name of Brute, doo affirme it rather to be so called of the rich mettals sometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the same. Vibius Sequester also saith that Calabria was sometime called Britannia, Ob immensam affluentiam totius delitiæ atque vbertatis, that was to be found heerein. Other contend that it should be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I absolutelie denie not, so I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, sith the antiquitie of our historie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the same cause I reiect them also, which deriue the aforesaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Textor (or Prutus or Prytus the sonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by sea from thence onelie to escape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauish and make hir one of his paramours: but if I should forsake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elsewhere I haue made a more large rehersall.

It is altogither impertinent, to discusse whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument seene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the West countrie (called Promontorium Herculis in old time) diuers of our British antiquaries doo gather great likelihood that he should also be here. But sith his presence or absence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to search out whether the said monument was but some token erected in his honour of later times (as some haue beene elsewhere, among the Celts framed, & those like an old criple with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough skin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Irishmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but smallie auailable, and therefore I passe it ouer as not incident to my purpose. Neither will I spend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene sometime a parcell of the maine, although it should well séeme so to haue beene, bicause that before the generall floud of Noah, we doo not read of Ilands, more than of hils and vallies. Wherfore as Wilden Arguis also noteth in his philosophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likelie that they were onelie caused by the violent motion and working of the sea, in the time of the floud, which if S. Augustine had well considered, he would neuer haue asked how such creatures as liued in Ilands far distant from the maine could come into the arke, De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7. howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the speedie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited shortlie after the diuision of the earth. For I read that when each capteine and his companie had their portions assigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his posteritie, they neuer ceased to trauell and search out the vttermost parts of the same, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had seene and vewed their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It shall suffice therefore onelie to haue touched these things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpose, to proceed with the rest concerning the

denomination

denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto most of the Grèekes for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to saie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Aristotle in his De mundo, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithstanding that Brute, as I haue said, had changed the same into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

Yet *Timeus*, *Ephorus*, and some of the Grecians, know the name Britannia, as appeareth also by *Diodorus*, &c. before the comming of Cesar.

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodosius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeuoured, in the remembrance of the two aforesaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus saith. But as this deuise tooke no hold among the common sort, so it retained still the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and first of his reigne, gaue foorth an especiall edict, dated at Winchester, that it should be called Angles land, or Angel-landt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to say, touching the seuerall names of this Iland, vtterlie misliking in the meane season their deuises, which make Hengist the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicause his ancestours descended from the Angles one of the sixe nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwise called Jutons, Vites, Gothes or Getes, and Vandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicause of Hengist the Saxon and his companie that first arriued here before anie of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie and preheminence in maner of this whole Iland, called the same after the name of the countrie from whence he derived his originall, neither Hengist, neither anie Queene named Angla, neither whatsoeuer deriuation ab Angulo, as from a corner of the world bearing swaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

Of this opinion is *Belforest*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 44.

WHAT SUNDRIE NATIONS HAUE DWELLED IN ALBION.

CAP. IV.

AS few or no nations can iustlie boast themselues to haue continued sithence their countrie was first replenished, without any mixture, more or lesse, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whose manifold commodities haue oft allured sundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and subdue the same vnto their owne subiection. Manie sorts of people therfore haue come in hither and settled themselues here in this Ile, and first of all other, a parcell of the linage and posteritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in processe of time, and after they had indifferentlie replenished and furnished this Iland with people (which was doone in the space of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race procéeding from Cham, and not onelie annexed the same to his owne dominion, but brought all such in like sort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miserable seruitude and most extreame thraldome. After him also, and within lesse than sixe hundred and two yeares, came Brute the sonne of Syluius with a great traine of the posteritie of the dispersed Troians in 324. ships: who rendering the like courtesie vnto the Chemminits as they had doone before unto the séed of Japhet, brought them also wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and dispossessing the peeres & inferior owners of their lands and possessions, he diuided the countrie among such princes and capteines as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Samotheans.

Britains, Chemminits.

From hencefoorth I doo not find any sound report of other nation whatsoeuer, that should aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the state of the land, vntill the Romane emperours subdued it to their dominion, sauing of a few Galles, (and those peraduenture of Belgie) who first comming oner to rob and pilfer vpon the coasts, did afterward plant themselues for altogither neere vnto the shore, and there builded sundrie cities and townes which they

Romans.

named after those of the maine, from whence they came vntó vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cesar where he writeth of Britaine of set purpose, but also elsewhere, as in his second booke a little after the beginning: for speaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swessions liuing in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightiest prince of all the Galles, but also to hold vnder his subiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his sonne Galba was afterward dispossessed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to say with how manie sorts of people we were daílie pestered, almost in euery steed. For as they planted their forworne legions in the most fertile places of the realme, and where they might best lie for the safegard of their conquests: so their armies did commonlie consist of manie sorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confused mixture of all other countries and nations then liuing in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it best, bicause they did all beare the title of Romans, to reteine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull ghests to this our Iland: sith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and excesse of behauiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions; for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not seruitours.

Scots. Picts. How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spanish blood, should arriue here out of Ireland, & when the Picts should come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine. For though the Scotish histories doo carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to saie freelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue stolne in hither within the space of 100. yeares before Christ, than to haue continued here so long as they themselues pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to settle themselues also in Britaine; so the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and steale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Meats or Picts (as the Romans named them, because they painted their bodies) to helpe them against the Britains, after the which they so planted themselues in these parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleansed of them. I find also that as these Scots were reputed for the most Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longest without letters; so they vsed commonlie to steale ouer into Britaine in leather skewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cesars time. For both Diodorus lib. 6. and Strabo lib. 4. doo seeme to speake of a parcell of the Irish nation that should inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans flesh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like sort dooth note the Redshanks and the Irish (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cæsar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, so that hereby it is found that they are no new ghestes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuersie dooth rest in the time of their first attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certeinlie I maruell much whie they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I see perfectlie that this shift should be too grosse for the maintenance of their desired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons translated the word Scotus for Irish: whereby it appeareth that those Irish, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo speake, are none other than those Scots, of whom Ierome speaketh Aduersus Iouinianum, lib. 2. who vsed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate dishes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots so well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Irish are all one people. They were also called Scoti by the Romans, bicause their Iland & originall inhabitation thereof were vnknowne, and they themselues an obscure nation in the sight of all the world.

Of the Picts. Now as concerning the Picts, whatsoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is easie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redshankes and Pictones) that they were setled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Cæsar, and comming of the Scots. Which is proofe sufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the same. So that the controuersie

uersie lieth not in their comming also, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers doo report) and from whence they came at the first into the aforsaid Ilands. For my part I suppose with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath sent out manie companies to inuade and spoile the same. It may be that some will gather, those to be the Picts, of whom Cæsar saith that they stained their faces with wad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and feareful to their enimies; and so inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to staine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius saith,

Nunc etiam infectos demum mutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraitures of beasts, fish and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial saith,

Barbara depictis veni Bascauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samothes and Albion, haue some likelie limitation; and so we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Cæsar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemmings, (who had the Rosse in Wales assigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when first the Picts, & then the Scots should come ouer into our Iland, as they were obscure people, so the time of their arriuall is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the resolution of this point must still remaine In tenebris. This neuerthelesse is certeine, that Maximus first Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, draue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie diuided their region betwéene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre also against the Irishmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they crauing the peace, yéelded to subscribe, that from thence-foorth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and so much the more, for that they were pronounced enimies to the Romans, and disturbers of the common peace and quietnesse of their prouinces here in England.

The Saxons became first acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they dailie practised vpon our coastes (after they had once begun to aduenture themselues also vpon the seas, thereby to seeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the West parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had alreadie spoiled in most lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durst presume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were sent for by Vortiger to serue him in his warres against the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defense and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengist in three bottoms or kéeles, and in short time espieng the idle and negligent behauiour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our soile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conquest of such as at the first they came to aid and succour. Herevpon also they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, so that within a while these new comlings began to molest the homelings, and ceased not from time to time to continue their purpose, vntill they had gotten possession of the whole, or at the leastwise the greatest part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane season being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iland to séeke new habitations. The hurt by forren aid.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that succéeded) came at the first onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welshmen or Britons through an earnest desire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no lesse plagued the one than the other, their fréends than their aduersaries, seeking by all meanes possible to establish themselues also in the sure possession of Britaine. But such was their successe, that they prospered not long in their deuise: for so great was their lordlinesse, crueltie, and in- Danes.

satiable desire of riches, beside their detestable abusing of chast matrons, and yoong virgins (whose husbands and parents were dailie inforced to become their drudges and slaues, whilest they sat at home and fed like drone bées of the sweet of their trauell and labours) that God I say would not suffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he saw his time he remooued their yoke, and gaue vs liberty as it were to breath vs, thereby to see whether this his sharpe scourge could haue mooued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and sinfull liues, or not. But when no signe thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to vex vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countrimen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newstria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, bicause the Danes which subdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuerthelesse, I suppose that the ancient word Newstria, is corrupted from West-rijc, bicause that if you marke the situation, it lieth opposite from Austria or Ost-rijc, which is called the East region, as Newstria is the Weast: for Rijc in the old Scithian toong dooth signifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-rijc, or Franc-reich, Westsaxon-reich, Ost saxon-reich, Su-rijc, Angel-rijc, &c, is else to be séene. But howsoeuer this falleth out, these Normans or Danish French, were dedlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betwéene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arriued in this land to visit him, & their freends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that euer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The Normans.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall hapning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogither in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English préest then liuing in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Neuerthelesse, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and bosting, Robert the Archbishop being the chéefe instrument of their practise, that he beléeued them, and therevpon vexed sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Goodwijn of Kent was the chéefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and fiue of his sonnes with him, wherevpon he goeth ouer the sea, and soone after returning with his said sonnes, they inuaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused so to doo: affirming plainelie, that it should be méere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so déeplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should appoint and nominate. By this means therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie.

Archbishop of Can. exiled, and the rest of the French.

tie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselues, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Douer, bicause of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so soone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obteined, and to set his mischéefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogither false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of John Stow my verie frèend, wherein he saith thus, "Alfredus incautè agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur." He addeth moreouer, that giuing out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yéelded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the fame onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Quéene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait upon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obteined, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slaue than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Peere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a pastime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their grèedie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must needs obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remooue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders. And this onelie I saie againe, bicause we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourablie vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburowes in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behauiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrées of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie béene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue beene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after greeuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Oxenford, sonne to Goodwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue béene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must néeds haue susteined the vttermost

Erle Goodwine slandered by the French writers.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

In this voiage the said Harald builded Portaschith, which Caradoch ap Griffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the garrison that Harald left therein.

vttermost confusion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue perished among vs.

Thus we see how England hath six times beene subiect to the reproch of conquest. And wheras the Scots séeme to challenge manie famous victories also ouer us, beside grèeuous impositions, tributs, & dishonorable compositions: it shall suffice for answer, that they deale in this as in the most part of their historie, which is to seeke great honor by lieng, & great renowme by prating and craking. Indeed they haue doone great mischéefe in this Iland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conquest the first is yet to heare of. Diuers other conquests also haue béene pretended by sundrie princes sithence the conquest, onelie to the end that all pristinate lawes and tenures of possession might cease, and they make a new disposition of all things at their owne pleasure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it tooke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuerthelesse was at the last though hardlie drawne from the challenge by William Thorington, then cheefe Justice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had some better shew of right, but yet without effect. And the last of all by Q. Marie, as some of the papists gaue out, and also would haue had hir to haue obteined, but God also staied their malices, and hir challenge. But beside the six afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old historiographer speaketh of a seuenth, likelie (as he saith) to come one daie out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, sith nothing is to be had in those parts, but hunger & much cold. Sée more hereof in the historie of S. Albons, and aforsaid author which lieth on the left side of the librarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no prophesies as one that doubteth from what spirit they doo procéed, or who should be the author of them.

WHETHER IT BE LIKELIE THAT ANY GIANTS WERE, AND WHETHER THEY INHABITED IN THIS ILE OR NOT.

CAP. V.

BESIDES these aforesaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland, we read of sundrie giants that should inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogither incredible, sith the posterities of diuers princes were called by the name: so vnto some mens eares it seemeth so strange a rehersall, that for the same onelie cause they suspect the credit of our whole historie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They also condemne the like in all other histories, especiallie of the North, where men are naturallie of greatest stature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c: of whom Saxo, Johannes Magnus and Olaus doo make mention, & whose bones doo yet remaine to be seene as rare miracles in nature. Of these also some in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a vessell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horsse, or an oxe, & cast it on their shoulders (wherein their verie women haue beene likewise knowne to come néere vnto them) and of the race of those men, some were séene of no lesse strength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the same of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his kinswoman (a woman also of much more than common stature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherfore it appeareth by present experience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of such giants. For this cause therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breefe discourse insuing, as indeuouring therby to prooue, that the opinion of giants is not altogither grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of maruellous things: but that there haue beene such men in deed, as for their hugenesse of person haue resembled rather* high towers than mortall men, although their

* *Esay.* 30. *vers.* 25.

their posterities are now consumed, and their monstruous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge.

I doo not meane herein to dispute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppression of the people, than for their greatnesse of bodie, or large steps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this present) or bicause their parents were not knowne, for such in old time were called Terræ filij; or whether the word Gigas dooth onlie signifie Indigenas, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in stature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet absolutelie I denie neither of these, sith verie probable reasons may be brought for ech of them, but especiallie the last rehearsed, whose confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of sundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in strength and manhood, and yet doo not giue the same name vnto them, bicause their quarels were iust, and commonlie taken in hand for defense of the oppressed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whose wrestling declareth that they were equall in stature & stomach. Such also was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterlie vanquished by the said Hercules, yet if he did eftsoones returne againe into his kingdome, he forthwith recouered his force, returned and held Hercules tacke, till he gat at the last betweene him and home, so cutting off the farther hope of the restitution of his armie, and killing finallie his aduersarie in the field, of which victorie Politian writeth thus: Antheus. *Lucane lib. 4. iuxta finem.*

Incaluere animis dura certare palæstra,
Neptuni quondàm filius atque Iouis:
Non certamen erant operoso ex ære lebetes,
Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:
Occidit Antæus Ioue natum viuere fas est,
Estq; magistra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.

The like doo our histories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peraduenture king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was slaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuile in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poeticall licence doo not take place in his report and assertion. But sith (I say againe) it is not my purpose to stand vpon these points, I passe ouer to speake any more of them. And whereas also I might haue proceeded in such order, that I should first set downe by manie circumstances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of such huge and incredible stature as the authours doo remember, and finallie whether any of them haue beene in this our Iland or not, I protest plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any such maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by sufficient authoritie, that there haue beene such mightie men of stature, and some of them also in Britaine, which I will set downe onelie by sundrie examples, whereby it shall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other been altogither without them. First of all therfore, & to begin with the scriptures, the most sure & certeine ground of all knowledge: you shall haue out of them such notable examples set downe, as I haue obserued in reading the same, which vnto the godlie may suffice for sufficient proofe of my position. Neuerthelesse, after the scriptures I will resort to the writings of our learned Diuines, and finallie of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing shall seeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauillations. Corineus. Gomagot.

Moses the prophet of the Lord, writing of the estate of things before the floud, hath these words in his booke of generations. In these daies saith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Berosus also the Chalde writeth, that néere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoch, builded sometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who trusting to the strength and hugenesse of their bodies, did verie great oppression and mischeefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father *Gen. 6. vers. 4.* *Anti. li. 1.*

to Achimam, Scheschai and Talma, although their first originall was deriued from Henoch the sonne of Caine, of whome that pestilent race descended, as I read. The Moabits named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamsummims, and it should seeme by the second of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie replenished with such men, when Moses wrote that treatise. For of these monsters some families remained of greater stature than other vnto his daies, in comparison of whome the children of Israell confessed themselues to be but grashoppers. Which is one noble testimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is so well taken for a man of huge stature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppressour of the people.

Nu. cap. 13. verse 33, & 34.

Deut. 3. vers. 11. Og of Basan.

Furthermore, there is mention made also in the scriptures of Og, sometime king of Basan, who was the last of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promise to be ouercome by the Israelits, & whose iron bed was afterward shewed for a woonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) conteining 9. cubits in length, and 4. in bredth, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one so great as six of the smaller, as those were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, especiallie Augustine: whereas Origen, hom. 2. in Gen. out of whom he seemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no such meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes dooth varie & differ from the standard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the historie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate against the beds head, & of hurting his ribs against the sides, and all to prooue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and so he leaueth the matter as sufficientlie answered with a French countenance of truth. But see August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Faustum Manich. lib. 12. Ambros. &c. and Johannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpose of the capacitie of the Arke.

Cap. 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliah.

In the first of Samuel you shall read of Goliah a Philistine, the weight of whose brigandine or shirt of maile was of 5000. sicles, or 1250. ounces of brasse, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common sicles to the ounce. The head of his speare came vnto ten pound English or 600. sicles of that metall. His height also was measured at six cubits and an hand bredth. All which doo import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great stature & strength to weare such an armour, and beweld so heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himselfe still to haue Og in hand, and indeuouring to extenuate the fulnesse of the letter to his vttermost power, dooth neuerthelesse earnestlie affirme, that he was not aboue three foot more than the common sort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and so he leaueth it as determined.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c.

In the second of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Ishbenob the first, that would haue killed Dauid, had a speare, whose head weighed the iust halfe of that of Goliath: the second called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. Par. 20. was nothing inferiour to the first: the third hight also Goliah, the staffe of whose speare was like vnto the beame of a weauers loome, neuerthelesse he was slaine in the second battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the first was by Abisai Ioabs brother, and the second by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was slaine at Gath by Ionathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of personage, but also of disfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Wherby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguished in Palestine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floud, nor vtterlie consumed in Og, as some of our expositors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our christian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are sufficient to confirme my purpose at the full; yet will I not let to set downe such other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader shall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumstances, mentioned in the scriptures, rather to haue some mysticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the sense of the text in this behalfe is to be taken simplie as it speaketh. And first of all to omit that which Tertullian Lib. 2. de resurrect. saith; S. Augustine noteth, how he with other saw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduisement, and pronounced in the end that it would

De ciuitate Dei lib. 15. cap. 9.

would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. The like hereof also dooth Iohn Boccace set downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, saieng that in the caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he gesseth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was discouered, three of whose teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into English poise, doth yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth. *Iohannes Boccacius.*

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his scull was able to conteine manie bushels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be aboue 200. cubits. Those teeth, scull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be seene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse, whose bodie was found vpon this occasion. As some digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an house, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they saw the huge bodie of a man sitting in the caue, of whose greatnesse they were so afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outcrie in the citie, how there sat a man in such a place, so great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they should haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they foorthwith saw that he was dead, and yet sat as if he had been aliue, hauing a staffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the mast of a tall ship, which being touched fell by and by to dust, sauing the nether end betweene his hand and the ground, whose hollownesse was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme that it should not fall in peeces: neuerthelesse, his bodie also being touched fell likewise into dust, sauing three of his aforesaid teeth, the forepart of his scull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reserued to be seene of such as will hardlie beleeue these reports. *A carcase discouered of 200. cubits.*

In the histories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whose bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, because they somwhat resembled those of two such beasts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betweene Bruxels and Machlin. As though there were anie precise resemblance betweene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer beene any elephant of 27. foot in length. But see his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the shore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which somewhat staieth his iudgement, but not altogither remooueth his error.

The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being measured it conteined twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas. *Mat. Westmon.*

There was a carcase also laid bare 1170. in England vpon the shore (where the beating of the sea had washed awaie the earth from the stone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp it conteined 50. foot in measure, as our histories doo report. The like was seene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot. *Iohannes Leland. Majeus, lib. 14. Trithem. Mat. West.*

In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they shew in a church, vnder the name of little Iohn (per Antiphrasin) being also 14. foot in length, as diuerse doo affirme which haue beholden the same, and whereof Hector Boetius dooth saie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembred. *Hector Boet.*

In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common sort of women liuing in those daies.

Geruasius Tilberiensis, head Marshall to the king of Arles writeth in his Chronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Isoretum, in the suburbes of Paris, he saw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beside the head and the necke, which was missing & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture beene beheaded for some notable trespasse committed in times past, or (as he saith) killed by S. William. *Geruasius Tilberiensis.*

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that

shewed himselfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man maried Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before assured to Alexius, whome he strangled, dismembred and drowned in the sea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beside hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as she listed.

Zonaras speaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Justine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie personage, was neuerthelesse almost two foot taller than the tallest woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas Eliot. A carcase was taken vp at Iuie church neere Salisburie but of late yeares to speake of, almost fourtéene foot long. in Dictionario Eliotæ.

Leland in Cornub. In Gillesland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the Moore, six miles by east from Carleill, a coffin of stone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like sort Leland speaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you shall read more in the chapiter of our Ilands.

Richard Grafton. Richard Grafton in his Manuell telleth of one whose shinbone conteined six foot, and thereto his scull so great that it was able to receiue fiue pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall symmetrie of these parts, his bodie must needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligentlie measured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, answereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the same place vnto the sole of the foot, measured by an imagined line, and seuered into so manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drurerus in his lineall description of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this symmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face, for Recta, orbiculata (or fornicata) prona, resupinata, and lacunata (or repanda) doo so far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Hereby also they make the face taken in strict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, fro the highest part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, so that in the vse of the word face there is a difference, wherby the 9. part is taken (I say) from the crowne (called Vertex, because the haire there turneth into a circle) so that if the space by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or highest part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would easilie appeare, & shew it selfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wrist to the top of the same finger, a tenth part: the length of the shinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third ioint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obseruations I willinglie remember in this place, to the end that if anie such carcases happen to be found hereafter, it shall not be hard by some of these bones here mentioned, to come by the stature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact maner. As for the rest of the bones, ioints, parts, &c: you may resort to Drurerus, Cardan, and other writers, sith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpose. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the yeare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the same. Finallie the carcase of William Conqueror was séene not manie yeares since (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of such as saw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which testimonies I note togither, bicause they proceed from christian writers, from whome nothing should be farther or more distant, than of set purpose to lie, and feed the world with fables.

The Symmetrie or proportion of the bodie of a comelie man.

Iohannes Gyraldus.

Constans fama Gallorum.

In our times also, and whilest Francis the first reigned ouer France, there was a man séene in Aquiteine, whome the king being in those parties made of his gard, whose height was such, that a man of common heigth might easilie go vnder his twist without stooping, a stature incredible. Moreouer Casanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briat a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whose scull was two cubits, and the breadth of his shoulders foure, as he himselfe beheld in the late second wars of France, & wherevnto the report of Ioan Marius made in his bookes De Galliarum illustrationibus,

Briat.

tionibus, where he writeth of the carcase of the same giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the scull to the sole of the feet, dooth yeeld sufficient testimonie. Also Calameus in his commentaries De Biturigibus, confirmeth no lesse, adding that he was found 1556. & so dooth Baptista Fulgosus, lib. 1. cap. 6. saieng farther, that his graue was seene not farre from Valentia, and discouered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The said Casanion in like sort speaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whose teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Also of the sepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes castell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eiesight did not confirme it in our owne times, and these carcases were not reserued by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by these relikes vnderstand, that such men were in old time in deed, of whose statures we now begin to doubt. Now to say somwhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be seene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another also is to be seene in Aldermarie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath beene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is fixt in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as some say was found in the cloister of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I tooke no great heed, bicause I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors.

Now it resteth furthermore that I set downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and so ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto posteritie, least in going about otherwise to reape renowne and praise, they doo procure vnto themselues in the end nothing else but meere contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe doo seeme almost incredible: howbeit as I find them, so I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie oxe his bundle.

Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, neere to the streicts of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) caused the sepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the said giant laie buried there, whose corps was fiftie cubits long at the least, he was so far off from crediting the same, that he would not beleeue it, vntill he saw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforesaid prince did rest. To be short therefore, he caused his souldiers to cast downe the hill made sometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome coffined in stone, after the measure therof taken, he saw it manifestlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accompt of, which Strabo also confirmeth. *In vita Sertorij de Antheo.*

Pausanias reporteth out of one Miso, that when the bodie of Aiax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adiudged so broad as a pretie dish: also that the bodie of Asterius somtime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no lesse maruelous than the rest, all which Goropius still condemneth to be the bones of monsters of the sea (notwithstanding the manifest formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inscriptions found ingrauen in brasse and lead with them in their sepulchres) so far is he from being persuaded and led from his opinion.

Philostrate in Heroicis saith, how he saw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, also the carcase of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue. *Philostrate.*

Liuie in the seauenth of his first decade, speaketh of an huge person which made a challenge as he stood at the end of the Anien bridge, against any Romane that would come out and

fight with him, whose stature was not much inferiour to that of Golias, of Artaches (of whome Herodot speaketh in the historie of Xerxes) who was sixe common cubits of stature, which make but fiue of the kings standard, bicause this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Pusio, Secundilla, & Cabaras, of which the first two liuing vnder Augustus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Jew, of whome Iosephus saith, that he was sent to Tiberius, and a person of heigth fiue cubits; of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention lib. 12. cap. 13. Hist. eccles. of fiue cubits and an handfull, I say nothing, bicause Casanion of Mutterell hath alredie sufficientlie discoursed vpon these examples in his De gigantibus, which as I gesse he hath written of set purpose against Goropius, who in his Gigantomachia, supposeth himselfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter Alterum carcasse Herculem, as the said Casanion dooth merilie charge and vpbraid him.

Lib. 7. Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which discouered the body of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane standard, and by diuerse supposed to be the bodie of Orion or Ætion. Neuerthelesse I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did sweare Per sua capita, that it was either the carcase of some monster of the sea, or a forged deuise to bleare the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to see, how they please Goropius as one that first deriued his fantasticall imagination from their asseueration & oth. The said Plinie also addeth that the bodie of Orestes was seuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reserued In conditorio Sallustianorum halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was driuen to sweare.

Trallianus. Trallianus writeth how the Athenienses digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Iland in the daies of an emperour, did find the bones of Macrosyris in a coffin of hard stone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our measure now in England. These verses also, as they are now translated out of Greeke were found withall,

Sepultus ego Macrosyris in longa insula
Vitæ peractis annis mille quinquies.

which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperour, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Messana, conteining 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet standing whole in his chaps. Eumachus also in Perigesi, telleth that when the Carthaginenses went about to dich in their prouince, they found two bodies in seuerall coffins of stone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, such another was found in Bosphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did cast those bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were shaken open with an earthquake, in diuers of which certeine carcases were found, whose ribs conteined 16. els, after the Romane measure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. sith the longest rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as some rouing symmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus saith, that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Asianes were generallie of huge stature, and commonlie of fiue cubits, and such was the heigth of Porus of Inde, whom the said Alexander vanquished and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas speaketh of Ganges, killed also by the said prince, who farre exceeded Porus; for he was ten cubits long. What should I speake of Artaceas a capitaine in the host of Xerxes, afore remembred, whose heigth was within 4. fingers bredth of fiue cubits, & the tallest man in the armie except the king himselfe. Herod. lib. 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I saie nothing. But of all these, this one example shall passe, which I doo read of in Trallianus, and he setteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius th'emperor saith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which ech tooth (taken one with another) conteined 12. inches ouer at the least.

least. Now forsomuch as in such as be full mouthed, ech chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the least, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs must the widenesse of this mans chaps be welneere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fiue at the least. A large mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat peason with Ladies of my time, besides that if occasion serued, it was able to receiue the whole bodies of mo than one of the greatest men, I meane of such as we be in our daies. When this carcase was thus found, euerie man maruelled at it, & good cause why. A messenger was sent to Tiberius the emperour also to know his pleasure, whether he would haue the same brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remooue the dead out of his resting place, but rather somewhat to satisfie his phantasie to send him a tooth out of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to shape a carcase of light matter, after the proportion of the tooth, that at the least by such means he might satisfie his curious mind, and the fantasies of such as are delited with nouelties. To be short, when the image was once made and set vp on end, it appeered rather an huge colossie than the true carcase of a man, and when it had stood in Rome vntill the people were wearie & throughlie satisfied with the sight thereof, he caused it to be broken all to peeces, and the tooth sent againe to the carcase frō whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligentlie, and in anie wise not to dismember the corps, nor from thencefoorth to be so hardie as to open the sepulchre anie more. Pausan. lib. 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Osyris by Cham, and were called to hir aid at such time as she feared to be molested by Hammon hir first husband, whilest she remained vpon the Thoumasian hill, "In ipso loco," saith he, "spectantur ossa maiora multo quàm vt humana existimari possunt, &c." Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in steed of all his ribs on ech side I saie nothing, sith it concerneth not his stature.

A mouth of sixteene foot wide

A counterfeet made of a monstrous carcase by one tooth taken out of the head.

This man was more fauorable to this monster than our papists were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in peeces to make money of them.

Grandiáque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Oetas and Ephialtes, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heigth, and foure in bredth, which are taken for so many cubits, bicause there is small difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus:

This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could speake also of Gerards staffe or lance, yet to be seene in Gerards hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the same. I haue seene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles also of Cogshall speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heigth than either of these and liuing of late yeares, but these here remembred shall suffice to prooue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the marke stone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was such as that twelue chosen and picked men (saith Virgil),

(Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)

Vis vnita fortior est eadem dispersa.

were

were not able to stur and remooue out of the place: but I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might; and secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants, doltish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feeble. Finallie they were such indéed as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the saieng of the prophet Baruch; "Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt statura magna, scientes bellum, hos non elegit Dominus, neque illis viam disciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, et quoniam non habuerunt sapientiam, interierunt propter suam insipientiam, &c." that is, "There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great stature and expert in warre, those did not the Lord choose, neither gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they were destroied, because they had no wisedome, and perished through their owne foolishnesse." That the bodies of men also doo dailie decaie in stature, beside Plinie lib. 7. Esdras likewise confesseth lib. 4. cap. 5. whose authoritie is so good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who doo affirme so much, whereas Goropius still continuing his woonted pertinacitie also in this behalfe, maketh his proportion first by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & therevpon concludeth that men in these daies be fullie so great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude against the scriptures, chosen writers and testimonies of the oldest pagans. But see how he would salue all at last in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he saith, I denie not but that od huge personages haue bene séene, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my selfe also haue beholden, but as now so in old time the common sort did so much woonder at the like as we doo at these, because they were seldome séene, and not commonlie to be heard of.

Cap. 3, 36.

4. Esd. cap. 5.

OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THIS ILAND.

CAP. VI.

British.

WHAT language came first with Samothes and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, sith nothing of sound credit remaineth in writing, which may resolue vs in the truth hereof. Yet of so much are we certeine, that the speach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinitie one with another, so that they were either all one, or at leastwise such as either nation with small helpe of interpretors might vnderstand other, and readilie discerne what the speaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts spake Greeke, and how the British toong resembled the same, which was spoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme it: but I see that these men doo speake without authoritie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did speake Gréeke, why did Cesar in his letters sent to Rome vse that language, because that if they should be intercepted they might not vnderstand them, or why did he not vnderstand the Galles, he being so skilfull in the language without an interpretor? Yet I denie not but that the Celtish and British speaches might haue great affinitie one with another, and the British aboue all other with the Greeke, for both doo appéere by certeine words, as first in tri for three, march for an horsse, & trimarchia, whereof Pausanias speaketh, for both. Atheneus also writeth of Bathanasius a capitaine of the Galles, whose name is méere British, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & signifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And wheras he saith that the reliques of the Galles tooke vp their first dwelling about Isther, and afterward diuided themselues in such wise, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordsai, and the other that inhabited within the dominion of Tyroll) Brenni, whose seate was on the mount Brenhere parcell of the Alpes, what else signifieth the word Iscaredich in British, from whence the word Scordisci commeth, but to be diuided? Hereby then,

Small difference betweene the British and Celtike languages.

and sundrie other the like testimonies, I gather that the British and the Celtish speaches had great affinitie one with another, as I said, which Cesar (speaking of the similitude or likenesse of religion in both nations) doth also auerre, & Tacitus in vita Agricolæ, in like sort plainlie affirmeth, or else it must needs be that the Galles which inuaded Italie and Greece were meere Britons, of whose likenes of speech with the Gréeke toong I need not make anie triall, sith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Brenni calleth them Cymbres, and by this I gather also that the Celts and the Britons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their own language, or else that the Britons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie doo not refuse to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and discerned, setteth downe thrée waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (saith he) the infallible testimonie of the sound writers, the other the description and site of the region, the third the relikes of the ancient speech remaining in the same. Which later if it be of any force, then I must conclude, that the speech of the Britons and Celts was sometime either all one or verie like one to another, or else it must follow that the Britons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbres, being peraduenture associat in this voiage, or mixed by inuasion with the Danes, and Norwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as most writers doo remember. This also is euident (as Plutarch likewise confesseth In vita Marij) that no man knew from whence the Cymbres came in his daies, and therfore I beleeue that they came out of Britaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the vttermost part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the slaues which were dailie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Daui for Daci, Getæ for Gothes, &c: for of their conquests I need not make rehearsall, sith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Greekes and Latines.

British corrupted by the Latine and Saxon speeches.

The British toong called Camberaec dooth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Britons were driuen after the Saxons had made a full conquest of the other, which we now call England, although the pristinate integritie thereof be not a little diminished by mixture of the Latine and Saxon speaches withall. Howbeit, manie poesies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, wherby some difference betwéene the ancient and present language may easilie be discerned, notwithstanding that among all these there is nothing to be found, which can set downe anie sound and full testimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue béene most slacke and negligent. Giraldus in praising the Britons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Gréeke or Latine. Which being rightly vnderstanded and conferred with the likenesse that was in old time betwéene the Celts & the British toongs, will not a little helpe those that thinke the old Celtish to haue some sauour of the Gréeke. But how soeuer that matter standeth, after the British speach came once ouer into this Iland, sure it is, that it could neuer be extinguished for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Englishmen could make against that nation, in anie maner of wise.

The Britons diligent in petigrees.

Petigrées and genealogies also the Welsh Britons haue plentie in their owne toong, insomuch that manie of them can readilie deriue the same, either from Brute or some of his band, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troians, and so foorth vnto Noah without anie maner of stop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I must needs confesse that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had also publike allowance or salarie for the same; so I dare not absolutelie impugne their assertions, sith that in times past all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebrues) did verie solemnelie preserue the catalogs of their descents, thereby either to shew themselues of ancient and noble race, or else to be descended from some one of the gods. But

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest Pontice longo
Sanguine censeri? aut quid auorum ducere turmas? &c.

Next

Latine. Next vnto the British speach, the Latine toong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Normans. Of this toong I will not say much, bicause there are few which be not skilfull in the same. Howbeit, as the speach it selfe is easie and delectable, so hath it peruerted the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Britaine in such wise, that in these our daies their old British denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet those of the new Latine left as most vncertaine. This remaineth also vnto my time, borowed from the Romans, that all our déeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are set downe in the Latine toong, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and processes of courts and leets registred in the same.

The Saxon toong. The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scithian or high Dutch, induced at the first by the Saxons (which the Britons call Saysonaec, as they doo the speakers Sayson) an hard and rough kind of speach, God wot, when our nation was brought first into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and easie kind of vtterance, and so polished and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be aduouched how there is no one speach vnder the sunne spoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phrases, or figures and floures of eloquence, than hath our English toong, although some haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, bicause the most of our words (as they doo indéed) incline vnto one syllable. This also is to be noted as a testimonie remaining still of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the most part of euerie skilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er onlie inserted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, shiphere, &c: for scriuener, writer, and shipper, &c: beside manie other relikes of that spéech, neuer to be abolished.

The French toong. After the Saxon toong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children also were by an especiall decrée taught first to speake the same, and therevnto inforced to learne their constructions in the French, whensoeuer they were set to the Grammar schoole. In like sort few bishops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie ecclesiasticall function here among vs, but such as came out of religious houses from beyond the seas, to the end they should not vse the English toong in their sermons to the people. In the court also it grew into such contempt, that most men thought it no small dishonor to speake any English there. Which brauerie tooke his hold at the last likewise in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the verie carters began to wax wearie of there mother toong, & laboured to speake French, which as then was counted no small token of gentilitie. And no maruell, for euerie French rascall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie bicause he was proud, and could vse his owne language, and all this (I say) to exile the English and British speaches quite out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, but most of all and by law in the midst of Edward the third, and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, tooles and words of art reteine still their French denominations euen to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall. Afterward also, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our said toong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quéene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and sundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornature of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other doo greatlie séeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes.

The helpers of our English toong.

of

of eloquence, and sound of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English toong is found in one, and the south part of this Iland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation and iudgement. This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrue, Greeke & Latine, and speake it naturallie, as if we were home-borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauoreth of English trulie. It is a pastime to read how Natalis Comes in like maner, speaking of our affaires, dooth clip the names of our English lords. But this of all the rest dooth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger doo hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our toong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is woorse therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue seene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie maruelled. Englishmen apt to learne any forren toong.

The Cornish and Deuonshire men, whose countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a speach in like sort of their owne, and such as hath in deed more affinitie with the Armoricane toong than I can well discusse of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of Brittish, albeit so far degenerating in these daies from the old, that if either of them doo meete with a Welshman, they are not able at the first to vnderstand one an other, except here and there in some od words, without the helpe of interpretors. And no maruell in mine opinion that the British of Cornewall is thus corrupted, sith the Welsh toong that is spoken in the north & south part of Wales, doth differ so much in it selfe, as the English vsed in Scotland dooth from that which is spoken among vs here in this side of the Iland, as I haue said alreadie. The Cornish toong.

The Scottish english hath beene much broader and lesse pleasant in vtterance than ours, because that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the same to any perfect order, and yet it was such in maner, as Englishmen themselues did speake for the most part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it selfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottish language endeuoreth to come neere, if not altogither to match our toong in finenesse of phrase, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an historie of the Apocripha translated into Scottish verse by Hudson, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and conteining sixe books, except my memorie doo faile me. Scottish english.

Thus we see how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the south parts of the realme, we haue three seuerall toongs, that is to saie, English, British, and Cornish, and euen so manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the English speach for one: notwithstanding that for bredth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the soile of the maine Iland, it be somewhat lesse to see to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwise called the Redshanks, or rough footed Scots (because they go bare footed and clad in mantels ouer their saffron shirts after the Irish maner) doo inhabit, they speake good Irish which they call Gachtlet, as they saie of one Gathelus, whereby they shew their originall to haue in times past beene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted also in the chapiter precedent, and wherevnto Vincentius cap. de insulis Oceani dooth yeeld his assent, saieng that Ireland was in time past called Scotia; "Scotia eadem (saith he) & Hibernia, proxima Britanniæ insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fœcundior; Scotia autem à Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c." Out of the 14. booke of Isidorus intituled Originum, where he also addeth that it is called Hybernia, because it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elsewhere that it is so called by certeine Spaniards which came to seeke and plant their inhabitation in the same, wherof in my Chronologie I haue spoken more at large. The wild Scots. Redshanks. Rough footed Scots. Irish Scots. Irish speech.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & such coasts of Britaine

taine as doo abbut vpon the same, the Gottish or Danish speach is altogither in vse, and also in Shetland, by reason (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held those Ilands so long vnder their subiection, albeit they were otherwise reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, bicause that the verie soile of them is enimie to poison, as some write, although for my part I had neuer any sound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of our old speaches, and those fiue languages now vsuallie spoken within the limits of our Iland.

INTO HOW MANIE KINGDOMS THIS ILAND HATH BEENE DIUIDED.

CAP. VII.

Britaine at the first one entire kingdome.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the first, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and so continued from time to time, vntill ciuill discord, grounded vpō ambitious desire to reigne, caused the same to be gouerned by diuerse. And this I meane so well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & posteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncerteine into how manie regions it was seuered, after the first partition; so it is most sure that this latter disturbed estate of regiment, continued in the same, not onelie vntill the time of Cæsar, but also in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full possession of this Iland, who gouerned it by Legats after the maner of a prouince. It should séeme also that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought those foure princes that vsurped in his time to obedience, than extinguished their titles, & such partition as they had made of the Iland among themselues) each great citie had hir fréedome and seuerall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir selfe, beside a large circuit of the countrie appertinent vnto the same, wherein were sundrie other cities also of lesse name, which owght homage and all subiection vnto the greater sort. And to saie truth, hereof it came to passe, that each of these regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, tooke his name of some one of these cities; although Ciuitas after Cæsar doth sometime signifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time Tot ciuitates quot regna, and contrariwise as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was so called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whose territories conteined all Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire, euen as the iurisdiction of the bishop of London is now extended, for the ouersight of such things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the gouernors also of these regions, called themselues kings, and therevnto either of them dailie made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limits. But for somuch as I am not able to saie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned ouer their seuerall portions, I will passe ouer these ancient times, and come néerer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yéere of Christ, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which season there is euident proofe, that there were twelue or thirtéene kings reigning in this Iland.

Wales diuided into three kingdomes.

We find therefore for the first, how that Wales had hir thrée seuerall kingdomes, which being accompted togither conteined (as Giraldus saith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof thrée were in his time possessed by the French and English) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in those daies no farder than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in bredth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne and Dee, of which two streames this dooth fall into the Irish sea at Westchester, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somersetshire and Southwales, as their seuerall courses shall witnesse more at large.

Gwinhed.

In the begining it was diuided into two kingdoms onelie, that is to saie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwise called Dehenbarth) and Demetia, for which we now vse most cōmonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a short processe of time a third sprung vp in the verie middest betwéene them both, which from thence-foorth was called Powisy, as shalbe shewed hereafter. For Roderijc the great, who flourished 850. of Christ, and was king

king of all Wales (which then conteined onlie six regions) leauing three sons behind him, by his last will & testament diuided the countrie into three portions, according to the number of his children, of which he assigned one vnto either of them, wherby Morwing or Morwinner had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadelh Demetia or Southwales, and Anaralt Powisy, as Giraldus and other doo remember. Howbeit it came to passe that after this diuision, Cadelh suruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his successors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to keepe themselues within the compasse of Demetia, which (as I said) conteined 29. of those 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Powisy did six, and Gwinhedh fourteene, except my memorie doo faile me.

The first of these three, being called (as I said) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius saith Malfabrene, for he diuideth Wales also into three regions, of which he calleth the first Dumbera, the second Berfrona, and the third Malfabrene) lieth directlie ouer against the Ile of Anglesei, the chiefe citie whereof stood in the Ile of Anglesei and was called Aberfraw. It conteineth 4. regions, of which the said Iland is the first, and whereof in the chapter insuing I will intreate more at large. The second is called Arfon, and situate betweene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conwy. The third is Merioneth, and as it is seuered from Arfon by the Conwy, so is it separated from Tegenia (otherwise called Stradcluyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuer Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended also euen vnto the Dee it selfe, and of these foure regions consisteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times past the region of the Canges was not the smallest portion. Venedotia. Anglesei. Arfon. Merioneth. Stradcluyd or Tegenia.

The kingdome of Powisy, last of all erected, as I said, hath on the north side Gwinhedh, on the east (from Chester to Hereford, or rather to Deane forest) England, on the south and west the riuer Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notablie seuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being at the first Salopsburg, in old time Pengwerne, and Ynwithig, but now Shrowesburie, a citie or towne raised out of the ruines of Vricouium, which (standing 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekencester and Wrokecester, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with meere English, and where in old time the kings of Powisy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Englishmen draue them from thence to Matraual in the same prouince, where they from thencefoorth aboad. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from Holt castell, vpon ech side of the riuer, as the chanell now runneth, stood sometime the famous monasterie of Bangor, whilest the abated glorie of the Britons yet remained vnextinguished, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned sort did preach the Gospell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themselues, and to sustaine their preachers. This region was in like sort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailrosse, the other reteined still hir old denomination, and of these the first laie by south, & the latter by north of the Sauerne. Powisy. Bangor. Mailrosse.

As touching Mailrosse, I read moreouer in the gests of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William sonne to a certeine ladie sister to Paine Peuerell, the first lord of Whittington, after the conquest did win a part of the same, and the hundred of Ellesmore from the Welshmen, in which enterprise he was so desperatlie wounded, that no man hight him life; yet at the last by eating of the shield of a wild bore, he got an appetite and recouered his health. This William had issue two daughters, to wit, Helene maried to the heire of the Alans, and Mellent which refused mariage with anie man, except he were first tried to be a knight of prowesse. Herevpon hir father made proclamation, that against such a daie & at such a place, whatsoeuer Gentleman could shew himselfe most valiant in the field, should marrie Mellent his daughter, & haue with hir his castell of Whittington with sufficient liuelihood to mainteine their estates for euer. This report being spred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a shield of siluer and pecocke for his crest, whereof he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings sonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he maried the maid, and by hir had issue as in the treatise appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this Fowkes de Warren. Helene. Mellent.

Mellent was the daughter sometime of one of the lord Rosses, called Kudall, who bare such good will to Fitz-Henrie clarke of hir fathers kitchen, that she made him carie hir awaie on horssebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood sake, which presentlie was tried. For being pursued & ouer taken, she made him light, & held his cloke whilest he killed and draue hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the waie) of Mailrosse, whereof this may suffice, sith mine intent is not as now to make anie precise description of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to shew how those regions laie, which sometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countrie.

The originall of Fitz-Henries.

Demetia. The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, sometime knowne for the region of the Syllures, wherevnto I also am persuaded, that the Ordolukes laie in the east part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Sauerne: but howsoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir south, the Irish sea on hir west parts, on the east the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powisy, whereof I spake of late.

Cair Maridunum. Of this region also Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the cheefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the last through forren and ciuill inuasions of enimies, the princes thereof were constrained to remooue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and situate neuerthelesse vpon the same riuer Tewy, wherevpon Caermarden standeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hils, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and deepe marises. In this region also lieth Pembroke aliàs Penmoroc shire, whose fawcons haue béene in old time very much regarded, and therein likewise is Milford hauen, whereof the Welsh wisards doo yet dreame strange toies, which they beleeue shall one daie come to passe. For they are a nation much giuen to fortelling of things to come, but more to beléeue such blind prophesies as haue béene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not supposed to haue the spirit of prophesie.

Pictland. Scotland. Picts. Scots. That Scotland had in those daies two kingdoms (besides that of the Orchades) whereof the one consisted of the Picts, and was called Pightland or Pictland, the other of the Irish race, and named Scotland: I hope no wise man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotish sea also was so diuided, that the Picts laie on the east side, and the Scots on the west, ech of them being seuered from other, either by huge hils or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the south into the north betwéene them. It séemeth also that at the first these two kingdoms were diuided from the rest of those of the Britons by the riuers Cluda and Forth, till both of them desirous to inlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Twede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the case being so plaine, I will saie no more of these two, but procéed in order with the rehersall of the rest of the particular kingdoms of this our south part of the Ile, limiting out the same by shires as they now lie, so néere as I can, for otherwise it shall be vnpossible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likeliest quantities of these their seuerall portions.

Kent Henghist. The first of these kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghist in the 456. of Christ, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof extended it selfe no farther than the said countie (the cheefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantwarbyry now Canturburie) so it indured well néere by the space of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the West Saxons, Athelstane his sonne, being the first Earle or Heretoch of the same. Maister Lambert in his historie of Kent dooth gather, by verie probable coniectures, that this part of the Iland was first inhabited by Samothes, and afterward by Albion. But howsoeuer that case standeth, sure it is that it hath béen the onelie doore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conquest of the region, but first of all Cæsar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eightéenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the moone, as he himselfe confesseth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparant) so that he did not tarrie at that time

aboue

aboue eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, so the said region and east part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Christ was first brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of saluation, and from the darkenesse of mistie errour, true conuerts vnto the light and bright beames of the shining truth, to our eternall benefit and euerlasting comforts.

The second kingdome conteined onelie Sussex, and a part of (or as some saie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon first held: who also erected his chéefe palace at Chichester, when he had destroied Andredswald in the 492. of Christ. And after it had continued by the space of 282. years, it ceased, being the verie least kingdome of all the rest, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to saie truth, it conteined little aboue 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewisses or West-saxons, notwithstanding that before the kings of Sussex pretended and made claime to all that which laie west of Kent, and south of the Thames, vnto the point of Corinwall, as I haue often read. Southsax. Ella.

The third regiment was of the East Saxons, or Tribonantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwijn, whose chéefe seat was in London (or rather Colchester) and conteined whole Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herfordshire. It indured also much about the pricke of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the East Angles onlie by the riuer Stoure, as Houeden and others doo report, & so it continueth separated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the said riuer be now growne verie small, and not of such greatnesse as it hath béene in times past, by reason that our countriemen make small accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horsse and cart to be the lesse chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceiued, I will else-where make manifest declaration. Eastsax. Erkenwijn.

The fourth kingdome was of the West Saxons, and so called, bicause it laie in the west part of the realme, as that of Essex did in the east, and of Sussex in the south. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdijc, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the last all Wiltshire, Barkeshire, Dorset, Southampton, Somersetshire, Glocestershire, some part of Deuonshire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewall, and the rest of Surrie, as the best authors doo set downe. At the first it conteined onelie Wiltshire, Dorcetshire, and Barkeshire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatsoeuer the kings of Sussex and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornewall, and then became first Dorchester (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Winchester the chéefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the moonke came into England, the said Kinigils gaue him Dorchester, and all the land within seauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall sea, by meanes whereof he himselfe remooued his palace to Winchester. Westsax. Cerdiic.

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Christ, and was called Northumberland, bicause it laie by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghist to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the said Ida conuerted it into a kingdome. It conteined all that region which (as it should séeme) was in time past either wholie apperteining to the Brigants, or whereof the said Brigants did possesse the greater part. The cheefe citie of the same in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraue, Leyland, and others doo set downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scotish sea, vntill the slaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all, betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward descending to the Scots by meanes of the vtter destruction of the Picts, hath not béene sithens vnited to the crowne of England, nor in possession of the meere English, as before time it had béene. Such was the crueltie of these Picts also in their recouerie of the same, that at a certeine houre they made a Sicilien euensong, and slew euerie English man, woman and child, that they could laie hold vpon within the aforesaid region, but some escaped narrowlie, and saued themselues by flight. Brennicia, alias Northumberland. Ida.

Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yeelded vp all his portion, which lay betweene Humber and the Tine vnto his brother Ella (according to Deira. Ella.

their

their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but reteining the rest still vnto his owne vse, he diminished not his title, but wrote himselfe as before king of all Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeares, it was reuiited againe, and so continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Jesus Christ our Sauiour.

Estrangles Offa, a quo Offingi.

The seauenth kingdome, called of the East-Angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Christ, vnder Offa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Offings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and Elie, and continuing 228. yeares, it flourished onelie 35. yeares in perfect estate of liberte, the rest being consumed vnder the tribut and vassallage of the Mercians, who had the souereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who spoiled it verie sore, so that it became more miserable than any of the other, and so remained till the kings of the West-saxons vnited it to their crownes. Some saie that Grantcester, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the cheefe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well shew the discord of writers, but I cannot resolue the scruple. Some take this region also to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yeeld to their assertions, I meane it of Leland himselfe, whose helpe I vse cheefelie in these collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not resolued that he doth iudge aright.

The 8. & last was that of Mertia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatnesse exceeded all the rest. It tooke the name either of Mearc the Saxon word, bicause it was march to the rest (and trulie, the limits of most of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the same) or else for that the lawes of Martia the Queene were first vsed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a meere coniecture of some, so the said kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Christ, & indured well neere 300. yeares before it was vnited to that of the West-saxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the same; but as he was soone reiected for his follie, so it was not long after yer the said Alfred (I saie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood.

Mertia.

Creodda.

Limits of Mertia.

The limits of the Mertian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Chester, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worcester, Bedford shires, and the greatest part of Shropshire (which the Welsh occupied not) Lancaster, Glocester, Hereford (alias Hurchford) Warwijc and Hertford shires: the rest of whose territories were holden by such princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the same. Moreouer, this kingdome was at one time diuided into south and north Mertia, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this side of the Trent, which later also Oswald of Northumberland did giue to Weada the sonne of Penda for kindred sake, though he not long inioied it. This also is worthie to be noted, that in these eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popish Catalog for saints or martyrs, of which Alcmund, Edwine, Oswald, Oswijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the Estangels; Kenelme and Wistan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confessor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforesaid kingdomes: and now will I speake somewhat of the diuision of this Iland also into prouinces, as the Romanes seuered it whiles they remained in these parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue discharged whatsoeuer is promised in the title of this chapter.

The Romans therefore hauing obteined the possession of this Iland, diuided the same at the last into fiue prouinces, as Vibius Sequester saith. The first whereof was named Britannia prima, and conteined the east part of England (as some doo gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The second was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the west side, as they note it, from Lirpoole vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia secunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie southwards, betweene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was surnamed Flauia Cæsariensis, and conteined all the countrie which remained betweene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane by south of the Thames, and wherevnto (in like sort)

Britannia prima.

Valentia.

Britannia secunda.

Flauia Cæsariensis.

sort) Cornewall and Wales were orderlie assigned. The fift and last part was then named Maxima Cæsariensis, now Scotland, the most barren of all the rest, and yet not vnsought out of the greedie Romanes, bicause of the great plentie of fish and foule, fine alabaster and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the same, for furniture of houshold and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrate Notitiam prouinciarum now extant to be read. Maxima Cæsariensis.

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, first from Samothes vnto the birth of our sauiour Christ, or rather the comming of the Romans: secondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their seuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and lastlie of the Normans and English princes, according to the truth conteined in our Histories.

OF THE KINGS OF BRITAINE, FROM SAMOTHES TO BRUTE.

Samothes.
Magus.
Sarronius.
Druiyus.
Bardus.
Longho.
Bardus Iunior.
Lucus.
Celtes.
Albion.
Celtes after Albion slaine.
Galates.
Harbon.
Lugdus.
Belgius.
Iasius.
Allobrox.
Romus.
Paris.
Lemanus.
Olbius.
Galates. 2.
Nannes.
Remis.
Francus.
Pictus.
After whom Brute entreth into the Iland, either neglected by the Celts, or otherwise by conquest, and reigned therein with his posteritie by the space of 636. yeares, in such order as foloweth.
Brute.
Locrinus.
Gwendolena his widow.
Madan.
Mempricius.
Ebracus.
Brutus Iunior.
Leil.
Rudibras.
Blagunus.
Leir.
Cordeil his daughter.
Cunedach and Morgan.
Riuallon.
Gurgustius.
Sisillus.
Iago.
Kinmmachus.
Gorbodug.
Ferres and Porrex.
These 2. being slaine, the princes of the land straue for the superioritie and regiment of the same, by the space of 50. yéeres (after the race of Brute was decaied) vntill Dunwallon king of Cornwall subdued them all, & brought the whole to his subiection, notwithstanding that the aforesaid number of kings remained still, which were but as vassals & inferiours to him, he being their chéefe and onelie soueréigne.
Dunwallon reigneth.
Belinus his sonne, in whose time Brennus vsurpeth.
Gurgwinbatrus.
Guittellinus.
Seisili.
Kymarus.
Owan alias Elan.
Morwich alias Morindus.
Grandobodian alias Gorbonian.
Arcigallon.
Elidurus alias Hesidor.
Arcigallon againe.
Elidurus againe.
Vigen alias Higanius, & Petitur alias Peridurus.
Elidurus the third time.
Gorbodia alias Gorbonian.
Morgan.
Meriones alias Eighuans.
Idouallon.
Rhimo Rohngo.
Geruntius Voghen.
Catellus.
Coelfus.
Pyrrho alias Porrex.
Cherinus.
Fulganius alias Sulgenis.
Eldadus.
Androgius.
Vrian.
Hellindus.
Dedantius Eldagan.
Clotenis Claten.
Gurguintus.
Merian.
Bledunus Bledagh.
Cophenis.
Owinus alias Oghwen.
Sisillus or Sitsiltus.
Blegabridus.
Arcimalus Architiall.
Eldadus.
Ruthenis three moneths.
Rodingarus alias Rodericus.
Samulius Penyseil.
Pyrrho 2.
Carporis alias Capporis.
Dynellus alias Dygnellus.
Hellindus a few moneths.
Lhoid.
Casibellane.
Theomantius.
Cynobellinus.
Arviragus.
Marius.
Coellus.
Lucius.
Hitherto I haue set foorth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in such sort as it is to be collected out of the most ancient histories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will set foorth the order and succession of the Romane legates or deputies, as I haue borowed them first out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the iust course of them from Iulius Agricola forward, bicause there is no man that reherseth them orderlie. Yet by this my doing herein, I hope some better table may be framed hereafter by other, wherof I would be glad to vnderstand when soeuer it shall please God that it may come to passe.
Aulus Plautius.
Ostorius Scapula.
Didius Gallus.
Auitus.
Veranius a few moneths.
Petronius Turpilianus.
Trebellius Maximus.
Vectius Volanus.
Petilius Cerealis.
Iulius Frontinus.
Iulius Agricola.
Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus reherseth these vicegerents or deputies in order.
Salustius Lucullus.
Caelius Trebellius.
Suetonius Paulinus.
Calphurnius Agricola.
Publius Trebellius.
Pertinax Helvius.
Vlpius Marcellus.
Clodius Albinus.
Heraclius.
Carus Tyrannus.
Iunius Seuerus, alias Iulius Seuerus.
Liuius Gallus.
Lollius Vrbicus.
Maximus.
Octauius.
Traberus.

Traherus.
Maximinianus.
Gratianus.
Aetius.
Other Legates whose names are taken out of the Scotish historie but in incertein order.
Fronto sub Antonino.
Publius Trebellius.
Aulus Victorinus.
Lucius Antinoris.
Quintus Bassianus.

WALES.

1.

¶ The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this Iland, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Christ.
Vortiger.
Vortimer.
Aurelius Ambrosius.
Vther.
Arthur.
Constantine.
Aurelius Conanus.
Vortiporius.
Maglocunus.
Caretius.
Cadwan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwallader.
¶ The kingdome of Wales ceaseth, and the gouernance of the countrie is translated to the Westsaxons by Inas, whose second wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obteined the principalitie of Wales but also of Corinwall & Armorica now called little Britaine, which then was a colonie of the Britons, and vnder the kingdome of Wales.

KENT.

2.

¶ Hengist in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himselfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & sauior Jesus Christ.
Hengist.
Osrijc alias Osca.
Osca his brother.
Ermenricus.
Athelbert.
Eadbaldus.
Ercombert.
Ecbert.
Lother.
Edrijc.

The seat void.

Withredus.
Adelbert Iunior.
Eadbert.
Alrijc.
Eadbert.
Guthred.
Alred.
¶ As the kingdome of Wales was vnited vnto that of the Westsaxons by Inas, so is the kingdom of Kent, at this present by Ecbert in the 827. of Christ, who putteth out Aldred and maketh Adelstane his owne base sonne Hertoch of the same, so that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an Hertochie or Dukedome, and so continueth for a long time after.

SOUTHSEX.

3.

¶ Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes erecteth a kingdom in Southsex, to wit, in the 492. of Christ whose race succeedeth in this order.
Ella.
Cyssa.
Ceaulijn.
Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Kinwalch.
Ethelwold.
Berthun.
Aldwijn.
¶ This kingdome endured not verie long as ye may see, for it was vnited to that of the Westsaxons by Inas, in the 4689. of the world, which was the 723. of Christ, according to the vsuall supputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had erected the same, as is aforesaid.

ESTSEX,

4.

¶ Erkenwijn in the 527. after our sauiour Christ beginneth to reigne ouer Estsex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romaine obedience.
Erkenwijn.
Sledda.
Sebertus.
Sepredus and Sywardus.
Sigebert fil. Syward.
Sigebert.
Swithelijn.
Sijgar and Sebba.
Sebba alone.
Sijgard.
Offa.
Selredus.
Ethelwold.
Albert.
Humbcanna.
Sinthredus.
¶ In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the Westsaxons vnited the kingdome of Estsex vnto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our sauiour Christ. I cannot as yet find the exact yéeres of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am constrained to omit them altogither, as I haue done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill such time as I may come by such monuments as may restore the defect.

WESTSEX.

5.

¶ Cerdijc entreth the kingdome of the Westsaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Christ, & 73. of the abiection of the Romaine seruitude.
Cerdijc alias Cercit.
Cenrijc.
Ceaulijn.
Kilriic alias Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Ceuwalch.
Sexburgh.

The seat void.

Centwinus.
Cadwallader.
Inas.
Ethelard.
Cuthredus.
Sigebert.
Kinwulf.
Brithrijc.
Ecbert.
Ethelwulf.
Ethebald.
Ethelbert.
Ethelfrid.
Alfrid.
Edward 1.
Adelstane.
Edmund.
Eadred.
Edwijn.
Edgar.
Edward 2.
Eldred.
Edmund 2.
Canutus.
Harald.
Canutus 2.
Edward 3.
Harald 2.
¶ The Saxons hauing reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the same into a perfect monarchie, are now dispossessed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

BERNICIA.

6.

¶ Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our sauiour Christ.
Ida.
Adda.
Glappa.
Tidwaldus.
Fretwulfus.
Tidrijc.
Athelfrid.
Edwijn.
Kinfrid.
Oswald.
Oswy.
Egfrid.
Alfrid.
Osred.
Kinred.
Osrijc.
Kilwulf.
Edbert.
Offulse.

Ethelwold.

Ethelwold.
Elred.
Ethelred.
Alswold.
Osred.
Ethelred.
Osbald.
Eardulf.
Aldeswold.
Eandred.
Edelred.
Redwulf.
Edelred againe.
Osbright.
Ecbert.
Ricisiuus a Dane.
Ecbert againe.
¶ Alfride king of the Westsaxons subdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our sauiour Christ, and 33. after Ida.

DEIRA.

7.

¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the south Humbers, whose kingdome reched from Humber to the These, in the 590. after the incarnation of Jesus Christ our sauiour.
Ella.
Edwijn.
Athelbright.
Edwijn againe.
Osrijc.
Oswald.
Oswijn.
¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuision of the kingdome of the Northumbers betweene the sons of Ida was of the smallest continuance, & it was vnited to the Northumbers (wherof it had bene I saie in time past a member) by Oswijn in the 91. after Ella, when he had most traitorouslie slaine his brother Oswijn in the yéer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the comming of Christ) and conteined that countrie which we now call the bishoprike.

ESTANGLIA.

8.

¶ Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Estangles or Offlings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Christ, and 114. after the deliuerie of Britaine.
Offa.
Titellius.
Redwaldus.
Corpenwaldus.
The seat void.
Sigebert.
Egricus.
Anna.
Adeler.
Ethelwold.
Adwulf.
Beorne.
Ethelred.
Ethelbert.
¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and vniteth Estanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Christ, after it had continued in the posteritie of Offa, by the space of 228. yéers and yet of that short space, it enioyed onelie 35. in libertie, the rest being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia aforesaid.

MERCIA.

9.

¶ Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our sauiour Christ, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.
Creodda.
Wibba.
Cherlus.
Penda.
Oswy.
Weada.
Wulferus.
Ethelred.
Kinred or Kindred.
The seat void.
Kilred.
Ethebald.
Beorred.
Offa.
Egferth.
Kinwulf.
Kenelme.
Kilwulf.
Bernulf.
Ludicane.
Willaf.
Ecbert.
Willaf againe.
Bertulf.
Butred.
Kilwulf.
¶ Alfride vniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the Westsaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfred the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleolulphus therein, but he was soone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afore rehearsed.

* *The Succession of the kings of England from* WILLIAM *bastard, vnto the first of Queene* ELIZABETH.

William the first.
William his sonne.
Henrie 1.
Stephen.
Henrie 2.
Richard 1.
Iohn.
Henrie 3.
Edward 1. aliàs 4.
Edward 2.
Edward 3.
Richard 2.
Henrie 4.
Henrie 5.
Henrie 6.
Edward 4. aliàs 7.
Edward 5.
Richard 3.
Henrie 7.
Henrie 8.
Edward 6.
Marie his sister.
Elizabeth.
¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath béene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions since the conquest few men haue erred that haue vsed any diligence, yet in the times before the same, fewer haue gone any thing néere the truth, through great ouersight & negligence. Their seuerall yéeres also doo appéere in my Chronologie insuing.

OF THE ANCIENT RELIGION VSED IN ALBION.

CAP. IX.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the first, and so long as the posteritie of Iaphet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, and published with his lawes in the second of his arriuall, was exercised among the Britans. And although peraduenture in proces of time, either through curiositie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlinesse) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the woorst, it farre excéeded the best of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chem- Samothes.

minites, as may be gathered by view of the superstitious rites, which Cham and his successours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

What other learning Magus the sonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death, when he also came to the kingdome, beside this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot easilie say, but that it should be naturall philosophie, and astrologie (whereby his disciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie vse of the word Magus (or Magusæus) among the Persians dooth yéeld no vncerteine testimonie.

Sarron. In like maner, it should seeme that Sarron sonne vnto the said Magus, diligentlie followed the steps of his father, and thereto beside his owne practise of teaching, opened schooles of learning in sundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby such as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithstanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druiydes, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothes still among the Grecians, as Aristotle in his De magia dooth confesse; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth therevnto, that they first brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Gréekes.

Samothei. Semnothei.

Druiyus. Druiyus the son of Sarron (as a scholer of his fathers owne teaching) séemed to be exquisit in all things, that perteined vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may safelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the skill of philosophie and the quadriuials, but also in the true Theologie, whereby the right seruice of God was kept and preserued in puritie. He wrote moreouer sundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reserued verie religiouslie, and had in great estimation of such as sought vnto them.

Corruptors of religion. How and in what order this prince left the state of religion, I meane touching publike orders in administration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I doo not read: howbeit this is most certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began somewhat to decaie. For such is mans nature, that it will not suffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or subtraction of this or that, to or from the same) so to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for such as doo come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and restore the same againe vnto the former perfection.

Cæsar. In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the soule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in shewing fauor vnto the godlie, and iust as an vpright iudge in punishing the wicked; that the secrets of mans hart are not vnknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to obserue the courses of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmeticall industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometricall demonstration, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortalitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;

Strabo. li. 4. Socion. lib. successs. Cicero diuinat. 1.

Morte carent animæ, semperque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitántque receptæ.)

The second or succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserued by his merits, whilest he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conueied into an egle, of Aiax into a lion, of Atlas into a certeine wrestler, of Thersites into an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after sundrie changes into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;

Ipse

Ipse ego nam̃q; fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arbustum & volucris, mutus quóq; in æquore piscis.

For said they (of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this errour) if the soule apperteined at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthie his calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in the bodie of a slaue, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, horsse, asse, worme, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certeine period of time. Beside this, it should peraduenture susteine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his dooings here on earth, till it should finallie be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderlie than at the first: after the next death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or reuolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer stand still, nor long yeeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they vsed to cast certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceased frẽends, whereby they might vnderstand of the estate of such as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moscouits doo write vnto S. Nicholas to be a speach-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new paire of shooes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they should deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They brought in also the worshipping of manie gods, and their seuerall sacrifices: they honoured likewise the oke, whereon the mistle groweth, and dailie deuised infinit other toies (for errour is neuer assured of hir owne dooings) whereof neither Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them anie prescription.

Plinius, lib. 16. cap. vltimo.

Metempsuchôsis.

Oke honored whereon mistle did grow, and so doo our sorcerers euen to this daie thinkiag some spirits to deale about ye same, for hidden treasure.

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partlie also by Cæsar, Mela, Val. Max. lib. 2. and other authors of later time, who for the most part doo confesse, that the cheefe schoole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so hotlie professed and followed, "Vt dedisse Persis videri possit," lib. 30. cap. 1. and whither the Druiydes also themselues, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, so we likewise had from them some vse of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our lawiers practised in their plees and common causes. For although the Greeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betwéene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common accesse one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more securitie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our plees also out of France, Iuuenal is a witnesse, who saith;

Logike and Rhetorike out of Gallia.

Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for from France is all kind of forgerie, corruption of maners, and craftie behauiour not so soone as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authoritie in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Iles of Wight, Anglesey, and the Orchades, in which they held open schooles of their profession, aloofe as it were from the resort of people, wherein they studied and learned their songs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repaire, when soeuer anie controuersie among them in matters of religion did happen to be mooued. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it appeareth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and therevnto it grew

finallie into custome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in vafiances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these weast parts of Europe, to yeeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Ilands, bicause they honoured hir preests (the Druiydes) as the Athenians did their Areopagites.

Estimation of the Druiydes or Druiysh preests.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiysh religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the preests of this profession, that there was little or nothing doone without their skilfull aduise, no not in ciuil causes, perteining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yoong men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Immunitie of the cleargie greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the gospell.

Touching their persons also they were exempt from all temporall seruices, impositions, tributes, and exercises of the wars: which immunitie caused the greater companies of scholers to flocke vnto them from all places, & to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelue years, still learning the secrets of those vnwritten mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonlie pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onelie to preserue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easilie haue fallen, if any books thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, wherevnto bookes are vtter enimies, insomuch as he that was skilfull in the Druiysh religion, would not let readilie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses togither, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole processe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting downe of lawes, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is easie to be séene, that they reteined this kind of writing from Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath not béene void of letters and learned men, euen sith it was first inhabited. I would ad some thing in particular also of their apparell, but sith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I passe it ouer, signifieng neuerthelesse, that it was distinguished by sundrie deuises from that of the common sort, and of such estimation among the people, that whosoeuer ware the Druiysh weed, might walke where he would without any harme or annoiance. This honour was giuen also vnto the préests in Rome, insomuch that when Volusius was exiled by the Triumuirate, and saw himselfe in such danger, as that he could not escape the hardest, he gat the wéed of a preest upon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and so escaped the danger and the furie of his aduersaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus.

After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his sonne, and fift king of the Celts, succéeded not onelie ouer the said kingdome, but also in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the said religion, after the afore remembred sort into verse, was first deuised by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no lesse indued with a singular skill in the practise and speculation of musicke, of which two many suppose him to be the verie author and beginner, although vniustlie, sith both poetrie and song were in vse before the flood, as was also the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great skill in musicke. But to procéed, as the cheefe estimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, so did the fame of the Bardes (which were so called of this Bardus for their excellent skill in musicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of song, which at the first conteined onelie the high mysteries and secret points of their religion. There was little difference also betwéene them and the Druiydes, till they so farre degenerated from their first institution, that they became to be minstrels at feasts, droonken meetings, and abhominable sacrifices of the idols: where they sang most commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puissant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vsage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguished among the Britons of Wales,

Gen. 4. 21.

The Bards degenerate.

where they call their poets and musicians Barthes, as they doo also in Ireland: which Sulpitius also writing to Lucane remembreth, where he saith that the word Bardus is meere Celtike, and signifieth a singer. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beside themselues to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto misliking vtterlie the rough musicke of the Bardes, entred so farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they ascribed the word Bardus vnto their fooles and idiots, whereas contrariwise the Scythians and such as dwell within the northweast part of Europe, did vse the same word in verie honourable maner, calling their best poets and heroicall singers, Singebardos; their couragious singers and capiteins that delited in musicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodtbardos, & one lame musician Lambard aboue all other, of whose skilfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurnished, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call such men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in steed of harps they sing vnto timbrels made of shels such sonnets and ditties as either perteine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of ancestrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be small difference betweene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our sort, Lucane in his first booke writeth thus, among other like saiengs well toward the latter end;

Vos quóq; qui fortes animas, bellóq; peremptas *Lucan. li. 1.*
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis æuum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum Druidæ, positis recepistis ab armis.
Solis nosse Deos, & cœli numina vobis,
Aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, vmbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est, certe populi, quos despicit arctos,
Fœlices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud vrget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignauum est reditvræ parcere vitæ.

Thus we sée as in a glasse the state of religion, for a time, after the first inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in such soundnesse, as the originall authors left it, in good sooth I cannot say, yet this is most certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earst imbraced fell into great decaie. For whereas Iaphet & Samothes with their children taught nothing else than such doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his disciples vtterlie renouncing to follow their steps, gaue their minds wholie to seduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his posteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with most filthie trades and practises; but also all mankind, generallie where they became, with vicious life, and most vngodlie conuersation. For from Cham and his successours proceeded at the first all sorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawful lust, without respect of sex, age, consanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or streames deriued from a most filthie and horrible stinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithstanding all these his manifold lewdnesses, such was the follie of his Ægyptians (where he first reigned and taught) that whilest he liued they alone had him in great estimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickednesse, calling him Chemesenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but also after his death reputed him for a god, calling the highest of the

What doctrine Cham and his disciples taught.

Chemesenua. Chem Min. Cham made a god.

seuen

seuen planets after his name, as they did the next beneath it after Osyris his sonne, whom they likewise honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

Translation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Certes it was a custome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vse almost in euerie place in processe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to ascribe some forme or other of the stars vnto his person, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their translation in heauen, so that he which had any starres or forme of starres dedicated vnto him, was properlie said to haue a seat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romish saints, (although the one was written in the celestiall or immateriall orbes, the other in sheeps skins, and verie brickle paper) but yet so estéemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermost aduentures, thereby to win such fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue such place in heauen, among the shining starres. Howbeit, euerie of those that were called gods, could not obteine that benefit, for then should there not haue béene stars enow in heauen to haue serued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a second calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. "Semones dici voluerunt (saith Fulgentius In vocibus antiquis) quos cœlo nec dignos ascriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; sicut Priapus Hyppo. Vortumnus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratiæ venerationem," as also a third place that is to say an earth, where those gods dwelled which were noble men, officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the second or first companie, which was a iollie diuision.

Cyril. aduersus Iul. lib. 6. sect. 8.

Thus we sée in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the starres, and brood of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which follies in processe of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Iupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue alreadie somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and shew foorth the originall vse of the word Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall sée a little more into the errours of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the root of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Certes it was vsed for a few yéeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yeere after the floud) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then erected should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and so foorth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonnes also that succeeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

Which were properlie called Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the floud, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the sooner furnished with inhabitants in euerie part therof. The sister therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there was no latter Harold that would indeuour to deriue the petigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselues did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, the Sunne, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as *Terra, (the Earth) Vesta, Aretia, the Moone, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we sée, how Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therefore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the dooings of one of them so mixed with

Isis, Io, and Iuno all one.

Cœlum or Cœlus. Ogyges. Sol. Pater deorum. *Tydea. Vesta. Terra. Luna. Aretia. Deorum mater.

with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie that anie grosse idolatrie or superstition did enter in among vs, as deifieng of mortall men, honoring of the starres, and erection of huge images, beside sorcerie, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemminites are worthilie called the autors. Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus, (a man of excéeding age) & made him his préest and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had atchieued in Britaine.

Frō whence Brute did learne his religion.

After Brute, idolatrie and superstition still increased more and more among vs, insomuch that beside thé Druiysh and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countriemen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God (of whom Samothes and his posteritie did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothes himselfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botulph & Giles) bicause fortitude and wisedome are the cheefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whose names I now remember not. In lieu moreouer of sheepe and oxen, they offred mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offendors, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge images made of wicker, réed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire togither, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captiues, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such maner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophane histories doo generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Dis or Samothes made a god.

Mela. Diodorus. Strab. 4. Plin. Cæsar. 5.

Sanguine placastis ventos & virgine cæsa, &c.

As Silius dooth of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall maner of the Carthaginenses, saieng after this maner;

Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.

But to procéed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpose than the rehersall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of saluation began stronglie to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the christians discouered 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beside three Archflamines, whose préests were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superior charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Ptol. Lucensis.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it is inough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust heigth of the god or goddesse whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70 (whose toe few men could fadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at

Monstrous proportions of idols.

Aruernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greatest idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Hitherto yee haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrie reigned and blinded the harts of such as dwelled in this Iland. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, after the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauiour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, wherevpon some repose great assurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie, which fell as I doo read in the 57. of Christ. But sith I cannot verifie the same by the words of Theodoret, to be spoken more of Paule than Peter, or the rest, I will passe ouer this coniecture (so far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authorities, whereof we haue more certeintie. First of all therfore let vs see what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls comming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of more assurance. Certes for the presence of Paule I read thus much:

Theodoret. Sophronius.

Quid sacer ille simul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Christi præconia fundens,
Europam & Asiam, Lybiam, sale dogmata complens,
Arctos, meridies, hic plenus vesper & ortus,
Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quásq; Britannus habet terras atque vltima Thule, &c.

Iosephus.

That one Iosephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apostles, his sepulchre yet in Aualon, now called Glessenburg or Glastenburie, an epitaph affixed therevnto is proofe sufficient. Howbeit, sith these things are not of competent force to persuade all men, I will ad in few, what I haue read elsewhere of his arriuall here. First of all therefore you shall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Christ, when the persecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other christians, after they had sowed the word of God in Scythia, by the space of 9. yeares) seuered themselues in sunder, to make the better shift for their owne safegard, and yet not otherwise than by their flight, the gospell might haue due furtherance. Hereby then it came to passe, that the said Philip vpon good deliberation did send Iosephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and minister the sacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Asia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was saith Malmesburie 103. before Faganus and Dinaw did set foorth the gospell amongst them. Of the cõming of Zelotes you may read more in the second booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this maner: "Operæpretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galileæ ortum, qui propter flagrantem in magistrum suum ardorem, summámq; euangelicæ rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus est hîc referre, accepit enim is cœlitùs aduenìente spiritu sancto, Aegyptium Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam omnem euangelium deprædicans percurrit, eandemque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum insulásque Britannicas perfert." And this is the effect in a little roome, of that which I haue read at large in sundrie writers, beside these two here alledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith, before this sixtie foure of Christ. Howbeit, whereas some write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any absolute hold in my iudgement, but rather that they were baptised and remained, either in Rome, or else-where. And of this sort I suppose Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a British ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie seene in the Greeke and Latine toongs, but also with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had conuersation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his second epistle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie moreouer Martial speaketh, in reioising that his poesies were read also in Britaine, and onelie by hir

Philip. Frecul-phus. To.2. lib.2. cap. 4. Nemius. Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 40. Isidorus lib. de vita & obit. dict. patrum. W. Malmes. de antiq. Glaston. monast.

Claudia Rufina a British ladie.

1. Tim. 4.

hir meanes, who vsed to cull out the finest & honestest of his epigrams and send them to hir frēends for tokens, saieng after this maner, as himselfe dooth set it downe:

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir issue, he addeth these words:

Claudia cœruleis cùm sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Dij bene, quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito,
Quot sperat, generos, quótque puella nurus.
Sic placeat superis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus. *Li. 11. Epig. 54.*

The names of hir three children were Prudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceased not from time to time to minister vnto the saints. But to leaue this impertinent discourse, and proceed with my purpose.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine scholers or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now Cambridge) were baptised in Britaine, and became preachers of the gospell there, but whether Taurinus bishop or elder ouer the congregation at Yorke (who as Vincentius saith, was executed about this time for his faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie find; but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but Episcopus Ebroicensis, for which such as perceiue not the easie corruption of the word, may soone write Eboracensis as certeinlie mine author out of whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me. For Vincentius saith flat otherwise, and therefore the Chronologie if it speake of anie Taurinus bishop of Yorke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other also imbraced the religion of Christ verie zealouslie before these men. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the glad tidings of the gospell had neuer free and open passage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enimies of the word became the apparent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue it set foorth amongst vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decrée, that the Druiysh religion should euerie where be abolished, Lucius the king (whose surname is now perished) tooke aduise of his councell what was best to be doone, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, bicause he knew it * impossible for man to liue long without any religion at all: finallie finding his Nobilitie & subiects vtter enemies to the Romane deuotiō (for that they made so many gods as they listed, & some to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung) and thervnto being pricked forwards by such christians as were conuersant about him, to choose the seruice of the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the slauish seruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie resolued with himselfe in the end, to receiue and imbrace the gospell of Christ. He sent also two of his best learned and greatest philosophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then bishop there in the 177. of Christ, not to promise any subiection to his sea, which then was not required, but to say with such as were pricked in mind, Acts. 2. verse. 37. "Quid faciemus viri fratres?" I meane that they were sent to be perfectlie instructed, and with farther commission, to make earnest request vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be sent ouer from thence, by whose diligent aduise and trauell, the foundation of the gospell might surelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which conteined his kingdome, according to his mind.

Lib. 10. cap. 17. Taurinus.

* This is contrarie to the common talke of our Atheists who say, Let vs liue here in wealth, credit and authoritie vpon earth, and let God take heauen and his religion to himselfe to doo withall what he listeth.

Lucius openeth his ears to good counsell, as one desirous to serue God & not prefer the world.

When Eleutherus vnderstood these things, he reioiced not a little for the great goodnesse, which the Lord had shewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren togither, they agréed to ordeine, euen those two for bishops, whom Lucius as you haue heard,

The purpose of Lucius opened vnto the congregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finallie after they had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall praier vnto God and earnest supplication for the good successe of these men, they sent them home againe with no small charge, that they should be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their custodie.

The first of these was called Eluanus Avalonius, a man borne in the Ile of Avalon, and brought up there vnder those godlie pastours and their disciples, whom Philip sent ouer at the first for the conuersion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto surnamed Belga, bicause he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp also in one schoole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of such grauitie and godlinesse, that Eleutherus supposed none more worthie to support this charge, than they: after whose comming home also, it was not long yer Lucius and all his houshold with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptised, beside infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie resorted vnto them, and voluntarilie renounced all their idolatrie and paganisme.

A zealous prince maketh feruent subiects.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderstanding the successe of these learned doctours, and supposing with himselfe, that they two onlie could not suffice to support so great a charge as should concerne the conuersion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare insuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus) Aaron, and diuerse other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. These men therefore after their comming hither, consulted with the other, and foorthwith who lieconsented to make a diuision of this Iland amongst themselues, appointing what parcell each preacher should take, that with the more profit and ease of the people, and somewhat lesse trauell also for themselues, the doctrine of the Gospell might be preached and receiued. In this distribution, they ordeined that there should be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as cheefe elder and bishop, for that present time, worthilie called Theonus. I. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Yorke, at the first comming of the Saxons; and also Guthelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid against the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus also Eluanus succéeded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the first librarie neere vnto the bishops palace. The said Lucius also placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodosius: and the third at Caerlheon vpon the riuer Vske, builded sometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgantia, but now Chester (in which three cities there had before time beene three Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their steeds by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent accesse vnto those places, and therewithall vnderstand for certeintie, whither to resort for resolution, if after their conuersion they should happen to doubt of any thing. In like sort also the rest of the idoll-temples standing in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for christian congregations to assemble in, as our writers doo remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my natiue citie to speake a little: for although it may and dooth seeme impertinent to my purpose, yet it shall not be much, and therefore I will soone make an end. There is a controuersie moued among our historiographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London stood at Westminster, or in Cornehill. For there is some cause, why the metropolitane church should be thought to stand where S. Peters now doth, by the space of 400. & od yéeres before it was remoued to Canturburie by Austine the monke, if a man should leane to one side without anie conference of the asseuerations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh some scruple, for beside that S. Peters church stood in the east end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the west, the word Cornehill (a denomination giuen of late to speake of to one street) may easilie be mistaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney proceedeth from the Saxons, who called the west end of the citie by that name, where Westminster now standeth, bicause of the wildnesse and bushinesse of the soile; so I doo not read of anie stréete in London

Faganus. Dinauus. Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir alias Niger.

8 Cheefe Bishops in Britaine.

Theonus. Theodosius. London. Yorke. Caerlheon.

called Cornehill before the conquest of the Normans. Wherfore I hold with them, which make Westminster to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeeres, as Malmesburie saith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arriuall of Augustine. Read also his appendix in lib. 4. Pontif. where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Augustine in the 596. of Christ; which is a manifest accompt, though some copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifest corruption and error.

Britaine the first prouince that receiued the Gospell generallie.

Thus became Britaine the first prouince that generallie receiued the faith, and where the gospell was freelie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with greedinesse, yet was not the successe thereof either so vniuersall, that all men beleeued at the first; the securitie so great, as that no persecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his decease; or the procéeding of the king so seuere, as that he inforced any man by publike authoritie to forsake and relinquish his paganisme: but onelie this freedome was enioied, that who so would become a christian in his time, might without feare of his lawes professe the Gospell, in whose testimonie, if néed had béene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue shed also his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being constant aboue the common sort of women, refused not after his decease by fire, to yeeld hir selfe to death, as a sweet smelling sacrifice in the nostrels of the Lord, beyond the sea in France.

Emerita neece vnto Lucius.

Lucius sendeth againe to Rome.

The faith of Christ being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Christ, and Faganus and Dinaw with the rest sent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to passe in the third yeare of the Gospell receiued, that Lucius did send againe to Eleutherus the bishop, requiring that he might haue some breefe epitome of the order of discipline then vsed in the church. For he well considered, that as it auaileth litle to plant a costlie vineyard, except it afterward be cherished, kept in good order, and such things as annoie, dailie remooued from the same: so after baptisme and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of christians, except we doo walke in the spirit, and haue such things as offend apparentlie, corrected by seuere discipline. For otherwise it will come to passe, that the wéedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will so quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good séed sowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednesse with déeper securitie than before, or else to become meere Atheists, which is a great deale woorse.

Ro. 8. ver. 1.

The wisedome of Eleutherus.

For this cause therefore did Lucius send to Rome, the second time, for a copie of such politike orders as were then vsed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus considering with himselfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore those constitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and séeing also that beside the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be so perfect in all points, but that as time serueth, they will require alteration: he thought it best not to laie any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Christ and his apostles had alreadie set downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his messengers, he sent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the consulships of Commodus and Vespronius, wherein he told them that Christ had left sufficient order in the Scriptures for the gouernment of his church alreadie in his word, and not for that onlie, but also for the regiment of his whole * kingdome, if he would submit himselfe, to yéeld and follow that rule. The epistle it selfe is partlie extant, and partlie perished, yet such as it is, and as I haue faithfullie translated it out of sundrie verie ancient copies, I doo deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his commoditie, in the historie of our nation.

* Though most princes cannot heare on this side.

Epistle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

"You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the statutes of the emperours to be sent ouer vnto you, and which you desire to practise and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and those of emperours we may eftsoones reproone, but these of God can neuer be found fault withall. You haue receiued of late through

Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Christ, you haue with you both volumes of the scriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the councell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods sufferance rule your kingdome, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the roiall prophet saith; The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compasse of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Thou hast loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with oile of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. And againe, according to the saieng of the same prophet; Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iustice vnto the kings sonne. The kings sons are the christian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdome. * The gospell saith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, so dooth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to his sacred church: to chearish and mainteine, to rule also and gouerne them, defending each of them from such as would doo them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of such as be their enimies. * Wo vnto the nation whose king is a child, and whose princes rise vp earlie to banket and feed, which is spoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, sinne & vnstedfastnesse, of whom the prophet saith; The bloudthirstie and deceitfull men shall not liue foorth halfe their daies. * By feeding I vnderstand gluttonie; by gluttonie, lust; & by lust all wickednesse & sinne, according to the saieng of Salomon the king; Wisedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is subiect vnto sinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the possession of his realme. You shalbe a king whilest you rule well, but if you doo otherwise, the name of a king shall not remaine with you, but you shall vtterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you so to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whose vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforesaid kingdome. Who with the Sonne and the Holie-ghost, &c."

Psal. 24. *Psal. 45.* *Psal. 71.* * Here wanteth. *Psal. 55.*

Hitherto out of the epistle that Eleutherus sent vnto Lucius, wherein manie pretie obseruations are to be collected, if time and place would serue to stand vpon them. After these daies also the number of such as were ordeined to saluation, increased dailie more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good successe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of persecution, there were no small number of martyrs that suffered for the same, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius, and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, bicause of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the sight of worldlie men.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdome, and afterward to become first a bishop, then a preacher of the gospell, and afterward a pope: but to the end such as hold this opinion may once vnderstand the botome of their errors, I will set downe the matter at large, whereby they shall see (if they list to looke) how far they haue beene deceiued.

I find that Chlorus had issue by his second wife, two sonnes, Dalmatius (who had a sonne called also Dalmatius and slaine by the souldiors.) Constantius father to Galius, and Iulian the apostata; besides foure other whose names as yet I find not. But being at the first matched with Helena, and before she was put from him by the roiall power of Diocletian, he had by hir three sonnes (beside one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the first is perished, the second was called Lucius, & the third Constantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betweene him and his elder brother, did kill his said brother, either by a traie or by some other meanes, whervpon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thenceforth to remaine in Aquitane in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie sorow, had now good leasure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his prosperitie had peraduenture neuer regard of

Chlorus had three sons, & a daughter by Helena.

hell. Finallie he fell so far into the consideration of his estate, that at the last he renounced his paganisme, and first became a christian, then an elder, and last of all a bishop in the church of Christ. He erected also a place of praier wherein to serue the liuing God, which after sundrie alterations came in processe of time to be an Abbaie, and is still called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the first founder therof, and the originall beginner of anie such house in those parts.

Lucion becommeth a christian.
Lucion a bishop.

In this also he and diuers other of his freends continued their times, in great contemplation and praier, and from hence were translated as occasion serued, vnto sundrie ecclesiasticall promotions in the time of Constant. his brother. So that euen by this short narration it is now easie to sée, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the sonne of Chlorus, were distinct persons. Herevnto Hermannus Schedelius addeth also how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his sister, and néere vnto the citie Augusta conuerted the Curienses vnto the faith of Christ, and there likewise (being put to death in Castro Martis) lieth buried in the same towne, where his feast is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be séene at Glocester. That Schedelius erreth not herein also, the ancient monuments of the said Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I said, doo yeeld sufficient testimonie, beside an hymne made in his commendation, intituled Gaude Lucionum, &c. But for more of this you may resort vnto Bouchet in his first booke, and fift chapter of the Annales of Aquitane, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The said Schedelius furthermore setteth downe, that his sister was martyred in Trinecastell, néere vnto the place where the said Lucion dwelled, whereby it appéereth in like sort, that she was not sister to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Neccham in his most excellent treatise De sapientia diuina, setteth downe this Distichon:

Hermannus Schedelius. Bruschius cap. 8.

Festum Lucionis. Iohn Bouchet.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius esse
Fertur, qui rexit mœnia Brute tua.

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apostle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of some other Lucius, as of one whome he nameth Cyrinensis. But then will not the historie agree with the conuersion of the Rhetians and Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other doo make mention. But as each riuer the farder it runneth from the head, the more it is increased by small riuelets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and stinking gutters, that descend into the same: so the puritie of the gospell, preached here in Britaine, in processe of time became first of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and most execrable heresie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauelled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the easterlie regions of the world, was there at the last made an elder or bishop, by some of the monkes, vnto whose profession he had not long before wholie addicted himselfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holinesse than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an house of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but also sowed the pestiferous séed of his hereticall prauities ouer all this land, whereby he seduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Jesus Christ his sonne. By this means therefore he brought assurance of saluation into question, and taught all such as had a diligent respect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the same, whereas to such as regard this latter, there can be no quietnesse of mind, but alwaies an vnstedfast opinion of themselues, whereby they cannot discerne, neither by prosperitie nor aduersitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheles it behoooueth the godlie to repose their hope in that grace which is freelie granted through Jesu Christ, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his son, to the end that we may at the last find the testimonie of his spirit working with ours, that we are his chosen children, whereby commeth peace of conscience to such as doo beléeue.

Heresie and monastical life brought into Britaine at one time by *Pelagius.*

Bangor.

Thus we see how new deuises or orders of religion and heresie came in together. I could shew also what Comets, and strange signes appeared in Britaine, much about the same time, the like of which with diuers other haue beene perceiued also from time to time, sithence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I passe them ouer, onelie for that I would not seeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehersall of anie new inconueniences.

Anachorites. Heremites. Cyrillines. Benedictines.

To proceed therefore with my purpose, after these, there followed in like sort sundrie other kinds of monasticall life, as Anachorites, Heremits, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremeticall profession was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the comming of Augustine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine sect, framed after the order of the house which Benedict surnamed Nursinus did first erect in Monte Cassino, about the 524. of Christ, & was finallie so well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I suppose) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In processe of time how Benedict Biscop also our countrieman restored the said Benedictine profession greatlie decaied in England, our histories are verie plentifull, which Biscop went off into Italie, and at one time for a speciall confirmation of his two monasteries which he had builded at other mens costs vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda dooth remember. So fast also did these and other like humane deuises prosper after his time, that at their suppression in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houses at the least, of which 373. might dispend 200. li. by the yeere at the least, as appeareth by the record of their suppression, which also noteth the totall summe of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men conteined in the same, to be 10000. which would make a pretie armie, wherevnto if you adde those 45. of late standing in Scotland, you shall soone see what numbers of these dens of spirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of saincts also haue beene hatched in them I could easilie remember, and beside those 160. which Capgraue setteth downe, & other likewise remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Excester, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furnish vp a calendar, though the yere were twise as long.

Monkes and Heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

The number of religious houses in England at their dissolution.

As touching Pelagius the first heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notablie knowne) and parent of Monachisme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of singular learning, deepe iudgement, and such a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and strictnesse of life, no small peece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wisedome of the flesh, without the feare and true knowledge of God? and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and sound iudgement? Wherefore euen of this man, we may see it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were measured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the scriptures or guidance of the spirit; Better it is saith he, to heare a rude and simple idiot preach the truth, without apparance of skill and learned eloquence, than a profound clearke to set foorth error, with great shew of learning, and boast of filed vtterance. Gerson in like sort hath said fullie asmuch. These follies of Pelagius were blased abroad about the 400. of Christ, and from thencefoorth how his number of monkes increased on the one side, and his doctrine on the other, there is almost no reader that is vnskilfull and ignorant.

Roger Bakon his saieng of the preachers of his time who were the best lawyers and the worst Diuines.

This also is certeine, that within the space of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered togither in his house, whose trades notwithstanding the errors of their founder, (who taught such an estimation of merits and bodilie exercise (as Paule calleth it) that therby he sought not onlie to impugne, but also preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occasion of the erection of his house) were yet farre better and more godlie than all those religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the professours liued to themselues, their wombs and the licentious fruition of those parts, that are beneath the bellie. For these laboured continuallie for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier (as did Serapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whome he himselfe was Abbat) and likewise

More than 2100 monkes in the College or Abbaie of Bangor in whose territories the parish of Ouerton standeth.

Nicoph. lib. 11. *cap.* 34.

likewise for the better maintenance of such learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their liues also were correspondent to their doctrine, so that herein onelie they seemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their succor & defense, but were such a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raised by the roots.

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Christ in Britaine, so the liuing God hath had a season also to purge and cleanse the same, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, sith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and such like leaning for the most part vnto the monasticall trades, did not so much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as mainteine the same, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke seemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, so Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus also praied, as Palladius vpheld the strictnesse of life, in monasticall profession to the vttermost of his power. Wherefore God wrought this purgation of his house at the first, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous schoolemaisters of errour out of this life: hoping that by such meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in processe of time, when this his mercifull dealing was forgotten and our countriemen returned to their former disorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idoll vnhonored, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beastlie image (Cum pene intenso, and as if he had beene circumcised) whome they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in maner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie shame vnto the most ancient and sober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could also take no place, and the sheepe of his pasture would receiue no wholesome fodder, it pleased his maiestie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in somuch that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome also, brought in by Augustine and his monkes, whereby it was to be seene, how they fell from the truth into heresie, and from one heresie still into another, till at the last they were drowned altogither in the pits of error digged vp by Antichrist, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithstanding to their followers seemed to be most sound doctrine, and cisterns of liuing water to such as imbraced the same.

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Sruerus Sulpitius in vita Patricij.

Augustine the monke.

This Augustine, after his arriuall, conuerted the Saxons in deed from paganisme, but as the prouerbe saith, bringing them out of Gods blessing into the warme sunne, he also imbued them with no lesse hurtfull superstition, than they did know before: for beside the onelie name of Christ, and externall contempt of their pristinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I saie) made an exchange from grosse to subtill treacherie, from open to secret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of christians, thinking this sufficient for their soules health, and the stablishment of his monachisme, of which kind of profession, the holie scriptures of God can in no wise like or allow. But what cared he? sith he got the great fish for which he did cast his hooke, and so great was the fish that he caught in deed, that within the space of 1000. yeares, and lesse, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the best soile of the Iland, which was wholie bestowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broodes that were hatched since his time, as may hereafter appeere in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c. In the meane season what successe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were spoiled by enimies, their houses burned by casualtie, and brethren consumed with pestilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruase, and the rest of their owne historiographers. And so sore did the pestilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whose daies the preests, clerks and monkes sang their seruice togither in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie fiue aliue, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceiued and executed against that malignant generation. It came also to passe at the last that men vsed to praie for helpe at the said Augustines tumbe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer saint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelstane was one, whome

Augustine.

Monks of Canturburie plagued.

whome Elnothus the abbat staied so long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his soldiours waiting for his comming, and supposing the monkes to haue murdered him, began to giue an assault and set fire vpon the house.

Meates. Pictes. Caledoniens.

Whilest these things were thus in hand, in the south part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scotish sea, receiued also the faith, by preaching of such christian elders as aduentured thither dailie, who trauelled not without great successe and increase of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this prosperous attempt passed all mens expectation, for that these nations were in those daies reputed wild, sauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie than well-minded people (as the wild Irish are in my time) and such were they (to saie the truth) in déed, as neither the sugred courtesie, nor sharpe swords of the Romans could mollifie or restraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cause also in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie cast them off as an vnprofitable, brutish, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall herafter to be described, separated that rude compañie from the more mild and ciuill portion.

Scotland conuerted to the faith of Christ.

This conuersion of the north parts fell out in the sixt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in those quarters, and 170. after the death of our sauiour Jesus Christ. From thenceforth also the christian religion continued still among them, by the diligent care of their pastors and bishops (after the vse of the churches of the south part of this Iland) till the Romane shéepheard sought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like sort with his long staffe as he had done our countriemen, whereby in the end he abolished the rites of the churches of Asia there also, as Augustine had done alreadie in England: and in stéed of the same did furnish it vp with those of his pontificall see, although there was great contention, and no lesse bloodshed made amongst them, before it could be brought to passe, as by the histories of both nations yet extant may be séene.

Paladius.

In the time of Cœlestine bishop of Rome, who sate in the 423. of Christ, one Paladius a Greciar borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog De adoratione in spiritu) and sometime disciple to Iohn 24. bishop of Ierusalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to suppresse the Pelagian heresie, which not a little molested the orthodoxes of that Iland. And hauing doone much good in the extinguishing of the aforesaid opinion there, he went at the last also into Scotland, supposing no lesse, but after he had trauelled somwhat in confutation of the Pelagians in those parts, he should easilie persuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine haue doone beforehand in the south. But as Fastidius Priscus archbishop of London, and his Suffragans resisted him here; so did the Scotish prelates withstand him there also in this behalfe: howbeit, bicause of the authoritie of his commission, grauitie of personage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleasant persuasion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the stones with his harpe, and Hercules such as heard him by his toong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their successors also from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather also for that he came from Rome) to take him for their chéefe apostle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Christ, as the truth of their historie dooth verie well confirme.

The first attempt of the bishop of Rome to bring Scotland vnder his obedience.

Fastidius bishop of London.

Paladius accompted for the apostle of the Scots.

Thus we see what religion hath from time to time beene receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Christ came first into our countrie. Howbeit as in processe of time it was ouershadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantasticall imaginations of man, so it dailie waxed woorse & woorse, till that it pleased God to restore the preaching of his gospell in our daies, whereby the man of sinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romish sathan, and his popish adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermost of their power, yeelding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghost. But such is their peruerse ignorance (notwithstanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him alreadie 2. Thes. 2. calling him (as I said) the man of sinne, and saieng that he sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himselfe in his chalenge of power,

as

as if he were God, vnder pretense of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue eare vnto the truth, but rather shut their eares and their eies from hearing and reading of the scriptures, bicause they will not be drawne out of his snares and bondage.

OF THE MANIFOLD CONUERSIONS AND ALTERATIONS OF THE ESTATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF BRITAINE, SITHENS THE TIME OF SAMOTHES.

THERE is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they suffer some notable alteration. And as in the aforesaid season there is set a time of increase and decaie, so we find that before the execution of Gods purpose dooth come to passe, in changing the estate of things, sundrie tokens are sent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and visit our offenses. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his first booke De ostentis intreating of the same argument, telleth of a strange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any such plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Persians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; also of the beard that suddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacien prophetesse, so often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. "Nam (saith he) descriptas esse diuinitùs ætates quibus idem humanarum rerum status duraret, quibus finitis, prædici prius quàm existeret nouationem in deterius euenturam rerum, quæque indies minùs ac minùs numini cordi essent. Emittuntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, & reuocantur dum supra nos conspecti quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur, &c." Plato referreth such changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that resteth hidden in sundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do consist. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & measure, & that after an incomprehensible maner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Neuerthelesse, he appointed not these three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we must not ascribe these changes to the force of number with Plato, much lesse then vnto destinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called destinie as S. Augustine saith, for of other destinie it is impietie to dreame. Aristotle ascribing all euents vnto manifest causes precedent, dooth scoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in sundrie causes of the alteration of the state of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as iniurie, oppression, ambition, treason, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great necessitie and miserie in manie. But whatsoeuer Aristotle gesseth at these things by humane reason as at the first causes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as sinne, which being suffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iustice of the high God, the cheefe cause of all, who foreseeing the wickednesse of such as dwell on earth, dooth constitute such a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as best standeth with the execution of his purpose, and correction of our errors. The causes therefore that Aristotle dooth deliuer, are nothing else but the meanes which God vseth to bring his purposes to passe; and yet they deserue the name of causes, in that they preceed those effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than secondarie or third causes no man can iustlie call them. Bodinus in his historicall method, cap. 6. making a large discourse of the conuersions of commonwealths, dooth seeme at the first to denie the force of number, but after a while he maruelleth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitherto made any discourse of the excellencie of such numbers as apperteine to the estate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he sheweth himselfe vpon the sudden to alter his iudgement, so that he setteth downe certeine numbers as fatall; to wit, sixe vnto women, and seauen and nine vnto men, which (saith he) haue "Magnam in tota rerum natura potestatem," meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their first erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for sickenesse, health, change of habitation, wealth, and losse, &c: and for the confirmation of the same, he setteth downe sundrie examples of apparant likelihood, either by multiplication of Fatal numbers.

one by the other, or diuision of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforesaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, whereby he bringeth or rather restoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we christians, in respecting of causes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cause of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto these points in any wise as causes: for we know and confesse that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaseth him. Neuerthelesse, I hope we may without offense examine how these assertions hold, so long as we vse them rather as Indices than Causas mutationum. And therefore haue I attempted to practise at this present the example of Bodinus, first in the alterations of our ciuill estate passed; and secondlie, of the like in cases of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the first comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby somewhat to satisfie my selfe, and recreate the readers; but still protesting in the meane season that I vtterlie denie them to be any causes, or of themselues to worke any effect at all in these things, as Bodinus would seeme to vphold. As for those of other countries, I referre you to Aristotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, therby to be farther resolued, if you be desirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpose; First bicause the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it shall not be amisse to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, so that if you diuide the same by nine, you shall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the same number. Secondlie, for so much as the confusion of toongs was the originall cause of the dispersion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it shall not be amisse also to examine the same. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the said 133. by seauen, you shall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence also vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the second of his arriuall in this land, we find by exact supputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or seauen sheweth such a conc usion as maketh much for this purpose. Doubtlesse I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, sith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in rule and regiment; although at this present the circumstances hold not, sith he dispossessed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, so that he arriued here in the 335. or 48. septenarie, which also concurreth with the 590 after the flood. In like sort the regiment of Albion continued but seauen yeares, and then was the souereingtie of this Ile restored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our estate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betweene whose time and death of Albion there passed full 601. yeares (for he spent much time after his departure out of Grecia, before he came into Albion) so that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you shall haue 86. septenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his posteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine, are 630. yeares, or 70. nouenaries, than the which where shall a man find a more precise period after this method or prescription, for manie and diuers considerations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewise 49. yeares, or seauen septenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his subiection, and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe, that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled against Beline his brother, wherevpon insued cruell bloodshed betweene them. So that here you haue 14. septenaries, as you haue from those warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Cæsar into this Iland (whereat our seruitude and miserable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance) 48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man should imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Cæsar we haue 54. or sixe nouenaries to Christ, whose death and passion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and sure faith take hold of the same, and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Christ to our countrie deliuered from the

Romane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Britains chose them a king, and betooke themselues to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts, which dailie made hauocke of their countrie; the said Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. septenarie after Christ) did send for the Saxons, who arriued here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies, for our aid and succour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaie and ruine, in that they made a conquest of the whole Ile, and draue vs out of our liuings. Hereby we sée therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finished in the tenth nouenarie, the sequele is too too plaine. In like sort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons, the Danes entred, who miserablie afflicted this Ile by the space of 182. yeares or 46. septenaries, which being expired, they established themselues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time lasting not long, the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare, and thus you sée how these numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conquest. The like also we find of the continuance of the Normans or succession of the Conquerour, which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguished in Stephen, and that of the Saxons restored in Henrie the second, although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries, which is a small thing, sith vpon diuers occasions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or proroged, as in direction and progression astronomicall is oftentimes perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Iohns daies, wherevpon insued the resignation of his crownes and dominions to the pope, are eight septenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the deposition of Richard. 2. and vsurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. septenaries. From hence to the conspiracie made against Edward. 2. after which he was deposed & murdered are 117. yeares, or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betwéene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster (wherein foure score and od persons of the blood roiall were s aine and made awaie first and last, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Glocester, whose murther séemed to make frée passage to the said broile) are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the translation of the crowne from the house of Lancaster to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two septenaries, and last of all to the vnion of the said houses in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of seuen multiplied in it selfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part suffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Christ to the faith first preached in Britaine (by Iosephus ab Arama hia, and Simon Zelotes) as some write 70. yeares or 10. septenaries. Thence also to the baptisme of Lucius, and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuersion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After these the Saxons entred and changed the state of religion for the most part into paganisme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 278. yeare after Lucius had beene bapt sed, which is 39. septenaries, if I be not deceiued. In the 147. or 21. septenarie, Augustine came, who brought in poperie, which increased and continued till Wicklif with more boldnesse than anie other began to preach the gospell, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Augustine, and yeeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulsion of the pope 175. yeares, or 25. septenaries, thence to the receiuing of the pope and popish doctrine 21. yeares or 3. septenaries, wherevnto I would ad the time of restoring the gospell by Quéene Elizabeth, were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden mysterie or thing conteined in these numbers, yet the same extendeth not vnto the diuine disposition of things, touching the gift of grace and frée mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor measure shall be able to aspire. Henrie. 8. Marie.

OF SUCH ILANDS AS ARE TO BE SEENE VPON THE COASTS OF BRITAINE.

CAP. 10.

THERE are néere vnto, or not verie farre from the coasts of Britaine many faire Ilands, wherof Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) séeme to be the cheefe. But of the rest, some are much larger or lesse than other, diuers in like sort enuironed continuallie with the salt sea (whereof I purpose onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the floud) and other finallie be clipped partlie by the fresh and partlie by the salt water, or by the fresh alone, whereof I may speake afterward.

Of these salt Ilands (for so I call them that are enuironed with the Ocean waues) some are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and pasture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, bicause they are onelie replenished with conies, and those of sundrie colours (cherished of purpose by the owners, for their skins or carcases in their prouision of household) without either man or woman otherwise inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greatest number of these Ilands haue townes and parish-churches, within their seuerall precincts, some mo, some lesse: and beside all this, are so inriched with commodities, that they haue pleasant hauens, fresh springs, great store of fish, and plentie of cattell, wherby the inhabitants doo reape no small aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, bicause mine informations are not so fullie set downe, as the promises of some on the one side, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit, first of all that there are certeine which lie neere togither, as it were by heapes and clusters, I hope none will readilie denie. Of these also those called the Nesiadæ, Insulæ Scylurum, Sileustræ, Syllanæ, now the Sorlings, and Iles of Silley, lieng beyond Cornwall are one, and conteineth in number one hundreth fourtie and seauen (each of them bearing grasse) besides shelfes and shallowes. In like sort the companie of the Hebrides in old time subiect vnto Ireland are another, which are said to be 43. situat vpon the west side of this Iland, betweene Ireland & Scotland, and of which there are some that repute Anglesei, Mona Cæsaris, and other lieng betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluster or bunch consisteth of those that are called the Orchades, and these lie vpon the northwest point of Scotland, being 31. alias 28. in number, as for the rest they lie scattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courses shall come about. There are also the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther distant from them, of which Iohn Frobuser I doubt not touched vpon some in his voiage to Meta Incognita: but for somuch as I must speake of the Shetlands hereafter, I doo not meane to spend anie time about them as yet.

Nesiadæ.
Insulæ Scylurum.
Sileustræ.
Syllanæ.
Sorlingæ.
Sylley.
Hebrides.
Hebudes.
Meuaniæ.
Orchades.

There haue beene diuers that haue written of purpose, De insulis Britanniæ, as Cæsar doth confesse. The like also may be seene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that should set foorth an exact treatise of each of them in order, and among other tell of certeine desert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to sundrie gods and goddesses, but of one especiallie, where Briareus should hold Saturne and manie other spirits fast bound with the chaines of an heauie sléepe, as he heard, of which some die now and then, by meane wherof the aire becommeth maruellouslie troubled, &c.: as you may sée in Plutarch De cessatione oraculorum, &c. But sith those bookes are now perished, and the most of the said Ilands remaine vtterlie vnknowen, euen to our owne selues (for who is able in our time to say where is Glota, Hiucrion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Æsarea, Barsa, Isiandium, Icdelis, Xantisma, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c? whose names onelie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I saie their places not so much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to set downe so manie of them with their commodities, as I doo either know by Leland, or am otherwise instructed of by such as are of credit. Herein also I will touch at large those that are most famous, and breeflie passe ouer such as are obscure and

vnknowen,

vnknowen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined course (for I neuer sailed it) by the south part of the Iland into the west. From thence in like sort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the east side into the fall of the aforesaid streame, where I will strike saile, and safelie be set ashore, that haue often in this voiage wanted water, but oftener béene set a ground, especiallie on the Scotish side.

In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid riuer, I must néeds passe by the How, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compasse of my description at this time, but almost an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninsulas, and I doo english a Byland, vsing the word for such as a man may go into drie-footed at the full sea, or on horssebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessell: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Essex also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, bicause not the sea onelie but the fresh water also doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occasion wherfore it is called an Iland. This How lieth between Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How or in the hundred of How) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner: Hoo.

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beside pilfering sea-men shall find durt ynow.

Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the same denomination, an Ile supposed to be foure miles in length, and two in bredth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Connos, conteining seauen miles in length, and three in bredth, wherein is a castell called Quinborow, and a parke, beside foure townes, of which one is named Minster, another Eastchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole soile being throughlie fed with shéepe, verie well woodded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirtéene miles by water from Rochester, but the castell is fiftéene, and by south thereof are two small Ilands, wherof the one is called Elmesie, and the more easterlie Hertesie. In this also is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithstanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuersham, and Shepey reteineth one especiall Bailie of hir owne. Greane. Shepey. Elmesie. Hertesie.

From hence we passe by the Reculuers (or territorie belonging in time past to one Raculphus, who erected an house of religion, or some such thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Herevpon also the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Athanatos, bicause serpents are supposed not to liue in the same, howbeit sith it is not enuironed with the sea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borow of my determination, and describe it as I go, bicause it is so fruitfull. *Beda noteth it in times past to haue conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hidelands, *Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth also that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantsume, which is about thrée furlongs broad, and to be passed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore saieth, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much lesse in bredth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboue seauen miles from Nordtmuth to Sandwich, and foure in bredth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the south to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland also noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwise it is verie fruitfull, and beside that it wanteth few other commodities, the finest chalke is said to be found there. Herein also did Augustine the moonke first arriue, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in processe of time, sundry religious houses were erected there, as in a soile much bettered (as the superstitious supposed) by the steps of that holy man, & such as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. parish churches at the least in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Iohns, Wood or Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minster, S. Gyles and all Saincts, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his description of Kent, and placed the same in the Lath of sainct Augustine and hundred of Kingslow, as may easilie be séene to him that will peruse it. Stoureor. Thanet.

* In Lincolneshire the word Hide or hideland, was neuer in vse in old time as in other places, but for Hide they vsed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and these were of no lesse compasse than an Hideland. *Ex Hugone le Blanc Monacho Petroburgensi.*

Sometime

Rutupium. Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Reptacester, stood also in this Iland, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is shut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in these daies Richborow, and as it should seeme builded vpon an indifferent soile or high ground. The large brickes also yet to be seene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old British workemanship. But as time decaieth all things, so Rutupium named Ruptimuth is now become desolate, and out of the dust thereof Sandwich producted, which standeth a full mile from the place where Reptacester stood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherin Gwallon or Gawan was slaine; at which time the said rebell came against his souereigne with 70000. Picts, Scots, Irish, Norwegians, &c: and with Ethelbert the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto béene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie péeces of siluer and gold, so well as of brasse, copper, and other mettall haue often beene shewed vnto me. It should appéere in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which some doo not a little confirme by these words of Lucane, to be read in his sixt booke soone after the beginning:

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupináq; littora feruent,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.

The last verse of one couple and first of an other.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doo worke,
And Calidons of British bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast néere Andredeswald, which in time past was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forrest, as Leland also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouslie in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Selesey, which sometime (as it should séeme) hath béene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or Peninsula, wherin the chéefe sée of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of thrée hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops.

Seolesey of Seles there taken.

Next vnto this, we come vnto those that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, of which the most easterlie is called Thorne, and to saie truth, the verie least of all that are to be found in that knot. Being past the Thorne, we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is situat of the same denomination beside another, whose name I remember not. By west also of the Haling lieth the Port (the greatest of the three alreadie mentioned) and in this standeth Portsmouth and Ringsted, whereof also our Leland, saieth thus: "Port Ile is cut from the shore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about thrée miles aboue Portsmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by morish ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portsmouth." Then breaketh there out another créeke from the maine sea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almost to Portbridge, and thence is the ground disseuered, so that Portsmouth standeth in a corner of this Ile, which Iland is in length six miles, and three miles in bredth, verie good for grasse and corne, not without some wood, and here and there inclosure. Beside this, there is also another Iland north northwest of Port Ile, which is now so worne and washed awaie with the working of the sea, that at the spring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finalie being past all these, and in compassing this gulfe, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirst castell, & southeast of Kaie hauen, whereof I find nothing worthie to be noted, sauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographicall tables of all those Ilands which enuiron our Albion.

Thorne. Haling. Port.

Wight. Guidh. The Wight is called in Latine Vectis, but in the British speach Guidh, that is to saie, Eefe or easie to be séene, or (as D. Caius saith) separate, bicause that by a breach of the sea,

sea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was also from Italie, Anglesei from Wales, Foulenesse from Essex, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth distant from the south shore of Britaine (where it is fardest off) by fiue miles & a halfe, but where it commeth neerest, not passing a thousand paces, and this at the cut ouer betwéene Hirst castell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doo report. It conteineth in length twentie miles, and in bredth ten, it hath also the north pole eleuated by 50. degrées and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in distance, and 50. od minuts from the west point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the description of Ptolomie, and such as folow his assertions in the same. In forme, it representeth almost an eg, and so well is it inhabited with meere English at this present, that there are thirtie six townes, villages and castels to be found therein, beside 27. parish-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parsons, the rest either such poore Vicars or Curats, as the liuings left are able to sustaine. The names of the parishes in the Wight are these.

P. signifieth parsonages, V. vicarages.

1	Newport, a chap.	15	Mottesson. p.
2	Cairsbrosie. v.	16	Yarmouth. p.
3	Northwood.	17	Thorley. v.
4	Arriun. v.	18	Shalflete. v.
5	Goddeshill. v.	19	Whippingham. p.
6	Whitwell.	20	Wootton. p.
7	S. Laurence. p.	21	Chale. p.
8	Nighton. p	22	Kingston. p.
9	Brading. v.	23	Shorwell. p.
10	Newchurch. v.	24	Gatrombe. p.
11	S. Helene. v.	25	Brosie.
12	Yauerland. p.	26	Brixston. p
13	Calborne. p.	27	Bensted. p.
14	Bonechurch. p.		

It belongeth for temporall iurisdiction to the countie of Hamshire, but in spirituall cases it yéeldeth obedience to the sée of Winchester, wherof it is a Deanerie. As for the soile of the whole Iland, it is verie fruitfull, for notwithstanding the shore of it selfe be verie full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, pasture, medow ground, wild foule, fish, fresh riuers, and pleasant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in ease and welfare. It was first ruled by a seuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Vespasian the legat, at such time as he made a voiage into the west countrie. In processe of time also it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Sussex, who held the souereigntie of the same, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne also from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eight king of the said south region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Arualdthat reigned there, and reserued the souereigntie of that Ile to himselfe and his successors for euermore. At this time also there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the said Ceadwalla gaue 300 to Wilfride sometime bishop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the gospell also to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the prescriptions of the church of Rome, wherevnto he yéelded himselfe vassall and feudarie: so that this Ile by Wilfride was first conuerted to the faith, though the last of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the first Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his safegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Westsaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for succour, as did also king Iohn, in the rebellious stir of his Barons, practised by the clergie: the said Iland being as then in possession of the Forts, as some doo write that haue handled it of purpose. The first Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwine de Betoun, who married for his second wife, the daughter of William le Grosse Earle of Awmarle; but he dieng without

out issue by this ladie, she was maried the second time to Earle Maundeuille, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finished Skipton castell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the first. Hereby it came to passe also, that the Forts were Earls of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonshire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, sole heire to all those possessions came to age, with whom king Edward the third so preuailed through monie & faire words, that he gat the possession of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himselfe & his successors, vntill Henrie the sixt, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp sonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of Iardesey and Gardesey with his owne hands, and therevnto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwike with the titles of Comes comitum Angliæ, lord Spenser of Aburgauenie, and of the castell of Bristow (which castell was sometime taken from his ancestors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy these great honors, sith he died 1446. without issue, and seuen yéeres after his father.

Brunt Keysy.

After we be past the Wight, we go forward and come vnto Poole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keysy, in which was sometime a parish-church, and but a chapell at this present, as I heare. There are also two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

Portland.

We haue (after we are passed by these) another Ile, or rather Byland also vpon the coast named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Gowy, a prettie fertile peece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure score housholds in it. There is but one street of houses therein, the rest are dispersed, howbeit they belong all to one parish-church, whereas in time past there were two within the compasse of the same. There is also a castell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the bishop of Winchester be patrone of the church, the parsonage whereof is the fairest house in all the péece. The people there are no lesse excellent slingers of stones than were the Baleares, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the same with their slings, and therefore their parents vsed to hang their meate verie high vpon some bough, to the end that he which strake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas such as missed were sure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vse for the defense of their Iland, and yet otherwise are verie couetous. And wheras in time past they liued onlie by fishing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet doo they burne much cow doong dried in the sunne, for there is I saie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would some grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the soile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long since this was vnited to the maine, and likelie yer long to be cut off againe.

Iardsey. Gardesey.

Being past this we raise another, also in the mouth of the Gowy, betweene Colsford and Lime, of which for the smalnesse thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I cast about to Iardsey, and Gardesey, which Iles with their appurtenances apperteined in times past to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Quéene, as parcell of Hamshire and iurisdiction of Winchester, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a composition made betwéene K. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the said prince began so fast to decrease, as Thomas Sulmo saith.

Iardsey.

Of these two, Iardsey is the greatest, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compasse, as most men doo coniecture. There are likewise in the same twelue parish-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is distant from Gardsey full 21. miles, or thereabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact doone there in Queene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Massie wife vnto an honest minister or préest, being great with childe by hir husband, was burned to ashes: through the excéeding crueltie of the Deane and Chapiter, then contending manifestlie against God for the mainteinance of their popish and antichristian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at such time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there issued a goodly manchilde from hir, with such force

force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduersarie to an other to looke vpon, whose eies being after a while satisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcase of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was consumed to ashes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & wherevnto it ministred (as you heare) an hurtlesse passage. In this latter also, there haue béene in times past, fiue religious houses, and nine castels, howbeit in these daies there is but one parish-church left standing in the same. There are also certeine other small Ilands, which Henrie the second in his donation calleth Insulettas, beside verie manie rocks, whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein sometime was a monasterie) is fast vpon Iardsey, another is named the Cornet, which hath a castel not passing an arrow shot from Gardsey. The Serke also is betwéene both, which is six miles about, and hath another annexed to it by an Isthmus or Strictland, wherein was a religious house, & therwithall great store of conies.

Horrible murther.

Gardsey.

S. Hilaries.

Cornet. Serke.

Brehoc.

There is also the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compasse, and therein was sometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into a house of Franciscanes. There are two other likewise neere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whose names I haue no notice. There is also the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, so called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwise it be replenished with infinit store of conies, betwéene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the same which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among those few houses that are to be seene in this Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath béene more store of building in this Ile than is at this present to be seene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but hereof I find no perfect warrantise that I may safelie trust vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increased so fast that they draue away the people. Varro speaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driuen out of Thracia by the increase of mice & frogs; and so manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now perteining to Spaine) that the people began to starue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of grasse. And bicause the Ilanders were not able to ouercome them, Augustus was constreined to send an armie of men to destroie that needlesse brood. Plin. lib. 8. cap. 55. A towne also in France sometime became desolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locustes and also by grashoppers, as Amicla was by snakes and adders. Theophrast telleth of an whole countrie consumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge caterpiller. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Æthiopia made void of people by ants and scorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bées, as waspes had almost driuen the Ephesians out of Ephesus. But this of all other (whereof Ælianus intreateth) is most woonderfull, that when the Cretenses were chased out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinit numbers of bees, the said bees conuerted their houses into hiues, and made large combes in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reserued their honie. Which things being dulie considered, I doo not denie the possibilitie of the expulsion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burhoo by rats, although I say that I doo not warrant the effect, bicause I find it not set downe directlie in plaine words.

Gytho.
Herme.

Burhoo, alias the Ile of rats.

Turkie conies.

Causes of the desolation of sundrie cities and townes.

Alderney.

Beside this there is moreouer the Ile of Alderney a verie pretie plot, about seuen miles in compasse, wherin a préest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whose fore téeth were so big as a mans fist, as Leland dooth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, sith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in the beginning of this booke. Such a tooth also haue they in Spaine wherevnto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Christophers tooth, but it was one of his éie teeth, if Ludouicus Viues say true, who went thither to offer vnto the same. S. August. de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 9. writeth in like sort, of such another found vpon the coast of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time past were not onlie far greater than they be now, but also the giants farre ex-

Comment. Brit.

Iliad. 6. ceeding the huge stature and height of the highest of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in comparison of such as liued in the wars of Troy. See
Iliad. 5. & 7. his fift Iliad, where he speaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a stone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to stirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrew him. Virgil also noteth no lesse in his owne deuise, but Iuvenal breefelie comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satyra, where he saith:

Virgilius Aen. 12.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæsita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali se Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneæ: sed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decrescebat Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque pusillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet, & odit.

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digressed. Herein also is a prettie towne with a parish-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants doo reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwise supplie. The language also of such as dwell in these Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of those that liued in Gardsey and Iardsey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Irish guise. The Ile of Gardsey also was sore spoiled by the French 1371. and left so desolate, that onlie one castell remained therein vntouched.

Bruchsey. Beyond this, and neerer unto the coast of England (for these doo lie about the verie middest of the British sea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch or the Bruchsey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men saile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought else, but an old chapell, without any other housing.

Next to this also are certeine rocks, which some take for Iles, as Illeston rocke néere vnto Peritorie, Horestan Ile a mile from Peritorie by south, Blacke rocke Ile southeast from Peritorie toward Teygnemouth, and also Chester, otherwise called Plegimundham: but how (to saie truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuerthelesse sith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make separation of them.

Mount Iland. From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwise Mowtland, situate ouer against Lough, about two miles from the shore, and well néere three miles in compasse. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithstanding that vpon the coast thereof in time of the yeere, great store of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath also a fresh well comming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in so small a compasse of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the créeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Loow, as some call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betweene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine Promontorie) is such another named the Gréefe, wherein is great store of gulles & sea foule. As for Inis Prynin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newltin is not far distant, and wherein is a poore fisher-towne and a faire wel-spring, wherof as yet no writer hath made mention. After these (omitting Pendinant in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at last to saint Michaels mount, whereof I find this description readie to my hand in Leland.

S. Nicholas Iland.

Greefe.

Inis Prynin.

S. Michaels mount.

The compasse of the root of the mount of saint Michael is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the south part is pasturable and bréedeth conies, the residue high and rockie soile. In the north side thereof also is a garden, with certeine houses and shops for fishermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north side, and is frequented from

from halfe eb to halfe floud, the entrance beginning at the foot of the hill, and so ascending by steps and greeces westward, first; and then eastward to the vtter ward of the church. Within the same ward also is a court stronglie walled, wherein on the south side is a chapell of S. Michaell, and in the east side another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on foot. On the north northwest side hereof also, is a Piere for botes and ships, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Pensardz are seene at the lowe water marke, diuers roots and stubs of trées, beside hewen stone, sometimes of doores & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie beene building, but also firme ground, whereas the salt water doth now rule and beare the maisterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that saint. It hath a little from it also the Ile called Mowshole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Mowshole it selfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornish Port Enis, that is, Portus insulæ, whereof the said Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes néere vnto the same there hath beene found of late, speare heds, battell axes, and swords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and scarselie hurt with rust or other hinderance. Certes the sea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but chéefelie betwéene Mowshole and Pensardz. S. Clements Ile.

Hauing thus passed ouer verie neere all such Hes, as lie vpon the south coast of Britaine, and now being come vnto the west part of our countrie, a sudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Iardsey) and carrieth vs yet more westerlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force dooth the southeast wind often shewe vpon poore trauellers in those parts, as the south and southwest dooth vpon strangers against the British coast, that are not skilfull of our rodes and harborowes. Howbeit such was our successe in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelstane, when he subdued them (and soone after builded a colledge of preests at S. Burien, in performance of his vow made when he enterprised this voiage for his safe returne) nor anie tempest of weather in those parts that could annoie our passage. Perusing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie distant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours sailing, or twentie English miles, as some men doo account it. There are of these (as I said) to the number of one hundreth fortie seauen in sight, whereof each one is greater or lesse than other, and most of them sometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatnesse and commodities excéed all the rest. Thereto (if you respect their position) they are situat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the sea in the middest of them, which is not without perill to such as with small aduisement enter into the same. Certes it passeth my cunning, either to name or to describe all these one hundreth fourtie seauen, according to their estate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their description, which I had sometime of Reginald Woolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and such as are not worthie to haue anie time spent about their particular descriptions, I will onelie touch the greatest, and those that lie togither (as I said) in maner of a roundle. Sylley Ies or Syl.

The first and greatest of these therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, or nine miles in compasse. Therein also is a parish-church, and a poore towne belonging thereto, of threescore housholds, beside a castell, plentie of corne, conies, wild swans, puffens, guiles, cranes, & other kinds of foule in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we sailed southwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Maries sound vnto Agnus Ile, which is six miles ouer, and hath in like sort one towne or parish within the same of fiue or six housholds, beside no small store of hogs & conies of sundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long since this Ile was left desolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feast holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one person left aliue. There are also two other small Ilands, betwéene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them ioind togither are not comparable to the S. Maries Ile. Agnus Ile. Annot.

said Annot for greatnesse and circuit, so they want both hogs and conies, wherof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwisand, from whence we passe by the Smithy sound (leauing three little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rousuian, Rousuiar, and the Cregwin, which seauen are (for the most part) replenished with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, sauing of a short kind of grasse, or here & there some firzes wheron their conies doo feed.

Minwisand.
Smithy sound.
Suartigan.
Rousuian.
Rousuiar.
Cregwin.

Leauing therefore these desert peeces, we incline a little toward the northwest, where we stumble or run vpon Moncarthat, Inis Welseck, & Suethiall. We came in like sort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are so manie monstrous rats, that if anie horsses, or other beasts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are sure to be deuoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreouer the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like sort void of all good furniture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, castell, and parish-church) bringeth foorth no lesse store of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

Moncarthat.
Inis Welseck.
Suethiall.
Rat Iland.
Anwall. Brier.

By north of the Brier, lieth the Rusco, which hath a Labell or Byland stretching out toward the southwest, called Inis widdon. This Rusco is verie neere so great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, and a parish within it, beside great store of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Next vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a parish-church dedicated to that Saint, beside conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is some indifferent store) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being situat by south of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a iust halfe lesse than the Notho), and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furnished with a parish-church, and no small plentie of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it selfe being next vnto the Rusco for greatnesse, and verie well furnished with conies & fresh springs. Also betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, smaller, which reach out of the northeast into the southwest, as Knolworth, Sniuilliuer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whose estates are diuers: howbeit as no one of these is to be accounted great in comparison of the other, so they all yéeld a short grasse méet for sheepe and conies, as doo also the rest. In the greater Iles likewise (whose names are commonlie such as those of the townes or churches standing in the same) there are (as I here) sundry lakes, aud those neuer without great plentie of wild foule, so that the Iles of Sylley, are supposed to be no lesse beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatsoeuer, within the compasse of our Ile, or neere vnto our coasts. In some of them also are wild swine. And as these Iles are supposed to be a notable safegard to the coast of Cornewall, so in diuerse of them great store of tin is likewise to be found. There is in like maner such plentie of fish taken among these same, that beside the feeding of their swine withall, a man shall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheefe commoditie is made by Keigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for salt, canuas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they doo stand in need of. A like trade haue some of them also, with Buckhorne or dried whiting, as I heare. But sith the author of this report did not flatlie auouch it, I passe ouer that fish as not in season at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richest and most wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we must direct our course eastwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the west point of Wales, continuing still our voiage along vpon the west coast of Britaine, till we come to the Soluey whereat the kingdomes part, & from which foorth on we must touch such Ilands as lie vpon the west and north shore, till we be come againe vnto the Scotish sea, and to our owne dominions.

Rusco.
Inis widdō.
Round Iland.
S. Lides.
Notho. Auing.
Tyan.
S. Martines.
Knolworth.
Sniuilliuer.
Menwethā.
Vollis. 1.
Surwihe.
Vollis. 2.
Arthurs Ile.
Guiniliuer.
Nenech.
Gothrois.
Wild swine in Sylley.

From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (so called, as some thinke, bicause Helenus the son of Priamus who arriued here with Brute lieth buried there, except the sea haue washed awaie his sepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we

Helenus.
Priamus.

we haue none Ilands at all that I doo know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninsula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet sith I haue spoken of it, you shall vnderstand, that it is called Pendinas, and beside that the compasse thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembered farder thereof, how there standeth a Pharos or light therein, for ships which saile by those coasts in the night. There is also at the verie point of the said Pendinas, a chappell of saint Nicholas, beside the church of saint Ia, an Irish woman saint. It belonged of late to the Lord Brooke, but now (as I gesse) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is also a blockhouse, and a péere in the eastside thereof, but the péere is sore choked with sand, as is the whole shore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, insomuch that the greatest part of this Byland is now couered with sands, which the sea casteth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants doo affirme. Pendinas.

There are also two rocks neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common sort doo repute and take for Ies: wherefore as one desirous to note all, I thinke it not best that these should be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes béeing in déed parcels of ground and low soiles fit for little else than to beare grasse for cattell, whereof they take those names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all such places. Of these also Stepholme lieth south of the Flatholme, about foure or fiue miles; the first also a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they doo seeme to be the broadest.

It should séeme by some that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet othersome are of opinion, that they are not altogither so base, as to be reputed amongst flats or rocks: but whatsoeuer they be, this is sure, that they oft annoie such passengers and merchants as passe and repasse vpon that riuer. Neither doo I read of any other Iles which lie by east of these, saue onelie the Barri, and Dunwen: the first of which is so called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus saith) and is about a flight shot from the shore. Herin also is a rocke standing at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift or chine vpon the side, wherevnto if a man doo laie his eare, he shall heare a noise, as if smithes did worke at the forge, sometimes blowing with their bellowes, and sometimes striking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compasse, situat ouer against Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it. Barri. Barri is a flight shot from the shore.

Dunwen is so called of a church (dedicated to a Welsh woman saint, called Dunwen) that standeth there. It lieth more than two miles from Henrosser, right against Neuen, and hath within it two faire mils, & great store of conies. Certes if the sand increase so fast hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnited to the maine within a short season. Beyond these and toward the coast of southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee or Inis Pyr. It hath a parish-church with a spire steeple, and a pretie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iurisdiction of one Dauid in Wales. Leland supposeth the ruines that are found therein to haue béene of an old priorie sometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monasterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can saie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is also a village or towne, and of this Iland the parson of the said towne is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weife, distresse, and all other commodities belonging to the same. It is little aboue sixteene miles from the coast of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldée, and yet it serueth (as I am informed) lord and king in Deuonshire. Moreouer in this Iland is great plentie of sheepe, but more conies, and therewithall of verie fine and short grasse for their better food & pasturage; likewise much Sampere vpon the shore, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not scarslie fourtie housholds in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge stones (alredie prouided) may kéepe off thousands of their enimies, bicause it is not possible for anie aduersaries to assaile them, but Dunwen. Caldee. Londy.

but onelie at one place, and with a most dangerous entrance. In this voiage also we met with two other Ilands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Rat Ile; the first is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Baie, before we come at the Blockehouse which standeth north of the same, at the verie entrie into Milford hauen vpon the eastside. By north also of Shepes Ile, and betwéene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middest of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet smaller than the former, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the lesse lie northwest of Milford hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, bicause they be so often spoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a passage for ships parteth them, whereby they are supposed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Milford hauen. Beside these also we found the Bateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Gresholme Iles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we saw saint Brides Iland, and another in the Sound betwéene Ramsey and the point, of all which Iles and such rocks as are offensiue to mariners that passe by them, it may be my hap to speake more at large hereafter.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen or Ramsey.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is situat ouer against S. Dauids in Wales (wherevnto we must néeds come, after we be past another little one, which some men doo call Gresholme) & lieth directlie west of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in English Ramsey: Leland also confirmeth the same, and I cannot learne more thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other last mentioned (sithens I described the Holmes) and for temporall iurisdiction a member of Penbrookeshire, as it is vnto S. Dauids for matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England lib. 8. saieth that it contained thrée Ilets, whereof the bishop of S. Dauids is owner of the greatest, but the chanter of S. Dauids claimeth the second, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden dooth the third. And in these is verie excellent pasture for sheepe and horses, but not for other horned beasts which lacke their vpper téeth by nature (whose substance is conuerted into the nourishment of their hornes) and therefore cannot bite so low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, scant a bow shoot ouer, and enuironed at the low water with fresh, but at the high with salt, and here also is excellent catching of herings.

Mawr.

After this, procéeding on still with our course, we fetched a compasse, going out of the north toward the west, and then turning againe (as the coast of the countrie leadeth) vntill we sailed full south, leauing the shore still on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which doo lie vpon the mouth of the Soch, one of them being distant (as we gessed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatnesse almost worthie to be remembred. The first that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie parishioners, except they be shéepe and conies. The quantitie thereof also is not much aboue six acres of ground, measured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, or Mererosse, situat in maner betwixt Tudfall or Tuidall and the shore, and herein is verie good pasture for horsses, wherof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth southeast of the fall of Daron or Daren, a thing of small quantitie, and yet almost parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Bardsey an Iland lieng ouer against Periuincle the southwest point or promontorie of Northwales (where Merlin Syluestris lieth buried) and whither the rest of the monks of Bangor did flie to saue themselues, when 2100. of their fellowes were slaine by the Saxon princes in the quarell of Augustine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon or Chester raced to the ground, and not since reedified againe to anie purpose. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Britons Enlhi, and therein also is a parish-church, as the report goeth. From hence we cast about, gathering still toward the northest, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke situat ouer against the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein standeth a strong hold or fortresse, or else some towne or village. Certes we could not well discerne whether of both it was, bicause the wind blew hard at southwest, the morning was mistie, and our

Tudfall.

Penthlin.

Guelyn.

mariners doubting some flats to be couched not far from thence, hasted awaie vnto Anglesei, whither we went a pace with a readie wind euen at our owne desire.

This Iland (which Tacitus mistaketh no doubt for Mona Cæsaris, and so dooth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is situat about two miles from the shore of Northwales. Paulus Iouius gesseth that it was in time past ioined to the continent, or maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by working of the Ocean, as Sicilia peraduenture was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant or practise of some king that reigned there. Thereby also (as he saith) the inhabitants were constreind at the first to make a bridge ouer into the same, till the breach waxed so great, that no such passage could anie longer be mainteined. But as these things doo either not touch my purpose at all, or make smallie with the present description of this Ile: so (in comming to my matter) Anglesei is found to be full so great as the Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather surmounting it, as that also which Cæsar calleth Mona in fruitfulnesse of soile by manie an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their prouision of corne. In like maner the Welshmen themselues called it the mother of their countrie, for giuing their minds wholie to pasturage, as the most easie and lesse chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus saith that the Ile of Anglesei was no lesse sufficient to minister graine for the sustentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaines called Ereri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeeld plentie of pasture for all the cattell whatsoeuer within the aforesaid compasse, if they were brought togither and left vpon the same. It contained moreouer so manie townes welnéere, as there be daies in a yeare, which some conuerting into Cantreds haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus saith. Howbeit as there haue beene I say 363. townes in Anglesei, so now a great part of that reckoning is vtterlie shroonke, and so far gone to decaie, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be séene & discerned: and yet it séemeth to be méetlie well inhabited. Leland noting the smalnesse of our hundreds in comparison to that they were in time past, addeth (so far as I remember) that there are six of them in Anglesei, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: herevnto Lhoid saith also how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the southwestside of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held euermore their palaces, whereby it came to passe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welshmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better instruction did bring them farther knowledge.

Anglesei cut from Wales by working of the sea.

Anglesei.

There are in Anglesei many townes and villages, whose names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my selfe with the rehearsall of so many as we viewed in sailing about the coasts, and otherwise heard report of by such as I haue talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which riseth at northeast aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. miles at the least into the land) we passed first by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port-Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby runneth a rill into a creeke) Cornew, Holihed (standing in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter stand as it were in a nuke betweene the Geuenni water, and the Fraw, wherevpon Aberfraw is situate. Within the Iland we heard onelie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Gristial standing vpon the same water, of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all these the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded sometime by king Edward the first, and therewithall a strong castell about the yeare 1295. to kéepe that land in quiet. There are also as Leland saith 31. parish-churches beside 69 chappels, that is, a hundreth in all. But héerof I can saie little, for lacke of iust instruction. In time past, the people of this Ile vsed not to seuerall their grounds, but now they dig stonie hillocks, and with the stones thereof they make rude walles, much like to those of Deuonshire, sith they want hedge bote, fire bote, and house bote, or (to saie at one word) timber, bushes and trees. As for wine, it is so plentifull

tifull and good cheape there most commonlie as in London, through the great recourse of merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforesaid Iland. The flesh likewise of such cattell as is bred there, wherof we haue store yearelie brought vnto Cole faire in Essex is most delicate, by reason of their excellent pasture, and so much was it esteemed by the Romans in time past, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before those of Liguria, but the emperours themselues being neere hand also caused their prouision to be made for nete out of Anglesei, to feed vpon at their owne tables as the most excellent beefe. It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Englismen, bicause they wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Chester, and Hugh of Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recouered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they spoiled the citie of Glocester, ransacked Shrewesburie, and returned home with great bootie and pillage, in which voiage also they were holpen greatlie by the Irishmen, who after three yeares ioined with them againe, and slue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with great crueltie. The Welshmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewise is a promontorie or Byland, called Holie head (which hath in time past beene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwelled there) from whence the readiest passage is commonlie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not speake at this time, least I shuld bereaue another of that trauell? Yet Plinie saith, lib. 4. cap. 16. that it lieth not farre off from and ouer against the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the west coast of our Iland, and euen so farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons named it Enylsnach, or holie Ile, of the number of carcases of holie men, which they affirme to haue beene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the least wise returne from thence without some notable reproch or shame vnto their bodies. By south also of Hilarie point, somewhat inclining toward the east, lieth Inis Lygod, a small thing (God wot) and therefore not worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing else inforced the memoriall thereof, but onelie the number and certeine tale of such Iles as lie about our Iland. I might also speake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north west of Anglesei by sixe miles; but bicause the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and streames are to me vnknowne, I am the more willing to passe them ouer in silence, least I should be noted to be farther corrupter of such words as I haue no skill to deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude with the description of the whole Iland, this I will ad moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are the best milstones of white, red, blew, and greene greets, (especiallie in Tindaithin) so there is great gaines to be gotten by fishing round about this Ile, if the people there could vse the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of Cairnaruon, so in spirituall cases it belongeth to the bishoprike of Bangor. This is finallie to be noted of Anglesei, that sundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead mens bones conuerted into ashes, set with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vse of other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this suffice.

Holie head, or Cair kiby.

Enilsnach, holie Ile.

Ancient buriall.

Hauing thus described Anglesei, it resteth to report furthermore, how that in our circuit about the same, we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth northwest thereof almost ouer against Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that passeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to say, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpasses. It hath to name likewise Ysterisd, and Adros. Being past this, we came to the second lieng by north east, ouer against the Hilarie point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to saie, the Ile of Mise, and of these two this latter is the smallest, neither of them both being of any greatnesse to speake of. Ynis Seriall or Prestholme, lieth ouer against Penmon, or the point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you) of the same denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintshire, and of the iurisdiction of S. Asaph, and in fertilitie of soile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Anglesei hir mother: although that

Adar.
Moil.
Rhomaid.
Ysterisd.
Adros.
Lygod.
Seriall.
Prestholme.

for

for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie short thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The last Iland vpon the cost of Wales, hauing now left Anglesei, is called Credine, and Credine.
although it lie not properlie within the compasse of my description, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, sith the causey thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey, and partlie by the sea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we passed foorth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compasse or more, a sandie soile, but yet verie batable for sheepe and cattell, it is well replenished also with fresh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie stone, which is oft brought thence to Westchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are also two parish churches in the same, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, bicause they be so oft spoiled by pirats, although the lord of the same be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good peniworths, as theeues commonlie doo of such preies as they get by like escheat, notwithstanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onelie at one place. Howbeit they are constreined to vse it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came to the cape of Ile Brée, or Hilberie, and point of Wyrale, from whence is a common passage into Ireland, Hilberie.
of 18. or 20. houres sailing, if the wether be not tedious. This Iland at the full sea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the streame betweene foure fadams déepe, as shipboies haue oft sounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the sand. The Ile of it selfe is verie sandie a mile in compasse, and well stored with conies, thither also went a sort of supersticious fooles in times past, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whose offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Chester, was cherished and mainteined.

The next Iland vpon the coast of England is Man or Mona Cæsaris, which some name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida, as some thinke, though other ascribe that name to Anglesei, which the Welshmen doo commonlie call Môn, as they doo this Manaw. It is supposed to be the first, as Hirtha is the last of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betweene them of 300. miles. But Plinie saith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, lib. 2. cap. 75. It lieth also vnder 53. degrées of latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north side vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furnesfels on the east, Prestholme and Anglesei on the south, and Vlsther in Ireland on the west. It is greater than Anglesei by a third, and there are two riuers in the same, whose heads doo ioine so néere, that they doo seeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c: call it Eubonia, and other following Orosius, Meuana or Mæuania, howbeit after Beda and the Eubonia. Meuania.
Scotish histories, the Meuaniæ are all those Iles aforesaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmesburie, lib. 1. de regibus (beside this our Mona) will haue Anglesei also to be one. Wherefore it séemeth hereby that a number of our late writers ascribing the said name vnto Mona onelie, haue not beene a little deceiued. Iornandes lib. de Getis speaketh of a second Meuania; "Habet & aliam Meuaniam (saith he) necnon & Orchadas." But which should be prima, as yet I do not read, except it should be Anglesei; and then saith Malmesburie well. In like sort Propertius speaketh of a Meuania, which he called Nebulosa, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Vmbria where he was borne, lib. 4. eleg. De vrbe Rom. Wherfore there néedeth no vse of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of Orosius, lib. 1. capite 2. that Scots dwelled somtime in this Ile, as also in Ireland, which Ethicus also affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Irish were sometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in bredth, and is in maner of like distance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Iland also were some time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the west halfe, and the rest in the other. But now through ioining house to house & land to land (a

common plague and canker, which will eat vp all, if prouision be not made in time to withstand this mischéefe) that number is halfe diminished, and yet many of the rich inhabiters want roome, and wote not how and where to bestowe themselues, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reason that men were greater in bodie, than they haue béene in time past, but onelie for that their insatiable desire of inlarging their priuate possessions increaseth still vpon them, and will doo more, except they be restrained: but to returne to our purpose. It was once spoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelstane, chéeflie by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Constantine king of Scotland was ouercome: secondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the possession of the English, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almost from their first arriuall in this Iland, and as Beda saith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and vnited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the possession thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaies wan it from them, who also kept it (but with much trouble) almost 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwaie inuested vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recouered it from them, with all the rest of those Iles that lie vpon the west coast, called also Sodorenses in the daies of Magnus king of Norwaie. And sithens that time the Scotish princes haue not ceased to giue lawes to such as dwelled there, but also from time to time appointed such bishops as should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in the same, till it was won from them by our princes, and so vnited vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after sundrie sales bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scroope the kings Vicechamberleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the ancestours of the earles of Darbie, who haue béene commonlie said to be kings of Man, the discourse folowing shall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betwéene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a comprimise the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like doo in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he reteined the Iland. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in somuch that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndoo manie, and for the lesse a fewer or smaller number. The stature of the men and also fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter supposed verie néere to be equall with that of Anglesei, in all commodities.

Chronica Tinemuthi.

Tall men in Man.

There are also these townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Rushen, Dunglasse, Holme towne, S. Brids, Bala cury (the bishops house) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Christ, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala sala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all these Rushen with the castell is the strongest. It is also in recompense of the common want of wood, indued with sundrie pretie waters, as first of al the Burne rising in the northside of Warehill botoms, and branching out by southwest of kirk S. An, it séemeth to cut off a great part of the eastside thereof, from the residue of that Iland. From those hils also (but of the south halfe) commeth the Holme and Holmey, by a towne of the same name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue also the Bala passing by Bala cury, on the westside, and the Rame on the north, whose fall is named Ramesei hauen, as I doo read in Chronicles.

Riuers.

Hilles.

There are moreouer sundrie great hils therein, as that wherevpon S. Mathees standeth, in the northeast part of the Ile, a parcell whereof commeth flat south, betwéene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yéelding out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I spake before.

Beside

Beside these and well toward the south part of the Ile, I find the Warehils, which are extended almost from the west coast ouertwhart vnto the Burne streame. It hath also sundrie hauens, as Ramsei hauen, by north Laxam hauen, by east Port Iris, by southwest Port Home, and Port Michell, by west. In like sort there are diuers Ilets annexed to the same, as the Calfe of man on the south, the Pile on the west, and finallie S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the east. Moreouer the sheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well woolled, and their tailes of such greatnesse as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great store of barnacles breeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of old ships, ores, masts, peeces of rotten timber as they saie, and such putrified pitched stuffe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the religious there vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere, some haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

Hauens. Calfe of man. The pile. S. Michels Ile. Sheepe. Hogs. Barnacles. Barnacles neither fish nor flesh.

For my part, I haue beene verie desirous to vnderstand the vttermost of the breeding of barnacls, & questioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red also whatsoeuer is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & sought out some places where I haue beene assured to see great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie despaired to obteine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace 1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Greenewich from London by bote, I saw sundrie ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I doo not well remember now from which of these places) on whose sides I perceiued an infinit sort of shells to hang so thicke as could be one by another. Drawing neere also, I tooke off ten or twelue of the greatest of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, bicause the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certeinelie the feathers of the taile hoong out of the shell at least two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme) were garded with two shels or sheeldes proportioned like the selfe wings, and likewise the brestbone had hir couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogither resembling the figure which Lobell and Pena doo giue foorth in their description of this foule: so that I am now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some other sea-foule to vs as yet vnknowen. For by the feathers appearing and forme so apparant, it cannot be denied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in long voiages, may come to some perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpose.

There hath sometime beene, and yet is a bishop of this Ile, who at the first was called Episcopus Sodorensis, when the iurisdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is bishop there, is but a bishops shadow, for albeit that he beare the name of bishop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is supposed, the cheefe profit of his see (sauing that they allow him a little somewhat for a flourish) notwithstanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The first bishop of this Ile was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and surnamed Monachus Sauinensis, who by reason of his extreame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Ilanders, had first his sight taken from him, & then was sent into exile. After him succeeded another moonke in king Stephens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c: other after other in succession, the see it selfe being now also subiect to the archbishop of Yorke for spirituall iurisdiction. In time of Henrie the second, this Iland also had a king, whose name was Cuthred, vnto whome Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and wherin Houeden erreth not. In the yeare also 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murthered by his subiects. Then Olauus, after him Hosbach the sonne of Osmond Hacon, 1290. who being slaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of Sodora, in such wise,

Bishop of Man. Patrone of Man. King of Man.

that this had all the rest of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the first; but after the slaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his sonne succeeded. Then Harald sonne to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coastes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and seuen daies, and then was killed the first of June, whereby Olauus aliàs Harald sonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Next vnto him succéeded Magnus the second sonne of Olauus, and last of all Iuarus, who held it so long as the Norwaies were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okarefer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue set downe the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but sith I can neither come by their names nor successions, I surcesse to speake any more of them, and also of the Ile it selfe, whereof this may suffice.

After we haue in this wise described the Ile of Man, with hir commodities, we returned eastwards backe againe unto the point of Ramshed, where we found to the number of six Ilets of one sort and other, whereof the first greatest and most southwesterlie, is named
Wauay. the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we gessed, about fiue miles and more from the southeast into the northwest, betwéene which and the maine land lie two little ones, whose
Fouldra. names are Oldborrow and Fowlney. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being situate southeast of the first, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouse therin, which the inhabitants name
Fola. Roa. the pile of Fouldra. By east thereof in like sort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compasse, and yet of all these six, the first and Fouldra are the fairest and most
Rauenglasse. fruitfull. From hence we went by Rauenglasse point, where lieth an Iland of the same denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finished, nor likelie to be published. He noteth also two other Ilets, betwéene the same and the maine land; but Leland speaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet set foorth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our shore in this part of my voiage.

Hauing so exactlie as to me is possible, set downe the names and positions of such Iles, as are to be found vpon the coast of the Quéenes Maiesties dominions, now it resteth that
Iles in Scotland. we procéed orderlie with those that are séene to lie vpon the coast of Scotland, that is to saie, in the Irish, the Deucalidonian & the Germans seas, which I will performe in such order as I may, sith I cannot do so much therin as I would. Some therefore doo comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coast of this Ile now called Scotland into thrée parts, sauing that they are either occidentals, the west Iles, aliàs the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the first betwéene Ireland and the Orchades, so that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almost vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian sea, and after some are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in
Hemodes of some called Acmodes, séé *Plinie, Mela, Mortianus, Capella. Plutarch. de defect. orac.* déed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which differs call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, some speaking of 30 Hebudes and seuen Hemodes; some of fiue Ebudes, as Solinus, and such as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottish writers doo product a summe of more than 300 of these Ilands in all, which sometime belonged to the Scots, sometime to the Norwegians, and sometime to the Danes. The first of these is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Alisa a desert Ile, yet replenished with conies, soland foule, and a fit harbor for fishermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coast thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie soile, yet verie plentifull of fish all about the coast, and wherein is a verie good hauen: ouer against the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is also no small defence to such seafaring men as seeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no lesse fruitfull and stored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good store of short and indifferent pasture: it hath also a towne there called Rosse, and a castell named the Camps. There is also another called the Marnech, an Iland of a mile

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in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground also but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewise of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the lesse, not farre in sunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ships, wherof it is called Auon, that is to saie, Portuosa, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time past great vse of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw six miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of déere, and not otherwise vnfruitfull: and therefore some thinke that it was called the Ile of déere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the sea betwéene that and the Ile of déere is so swift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not easilie nauigable. Being past these, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie scattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyrastell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarues, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wikerua, Calfile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the last three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, so called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagsey, Isdalf, and the Sken (which later is also called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, sauing that it is of a more wan and féeble colour) Vderga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triarach. There is also the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile alias idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Lismor, wherein the bishop of Argill sometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without some mines also of good mettall. There is also the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Treet, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Gresse, great Ile, Ardis, Musadell, & Berner, sometime called the holie sanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochasgyr, and Drinacha, now ouergrowne with bushes, elders, and vtterlie spoiled by the ruines of such great houses as haue heretofore béene found therin. There is in like sort the Wijc, the Ranse, and the Caruer. Scarba. Slate Ile.

In this tract also, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the first is one of the most, that hath not béene least accounted of. It is not much aboue 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the south into the north, and yet it is an excéeding rich plot of ground verie plentious of corne, cattell, déere, and also lead, and other mettals, which were easie to be obteined, if either the people were industrious, or the soile yéeldable of wood to fine and trie out the same. In this Iland also there is a lake of swéet water called the Laie, and also a baie wherein are sundrie Ilands; and there vnto another lake of fresh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is situate, wherein the souereigne of all the Iles sometime dwelled. Néere vnto this is the round Ile, so called of the consultations there had: for there was a court sometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did minister iustice vnto the rest, and had the whole disposition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of those Ilands. There is also the Stoneheape, an other Iland so called of the heape of stones that is therein. On the south side also of Ila, we find moreouer the Colurne, Mulmor, Osrin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imersga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naosig, Rinard, Cane, Tharscher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Iohns Ile, and Stackbed. On the west side thereof also lieth Ouersey, whereby runneth a perilous sea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres, Merchant Ile, Vsabrast, Tahask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Colauanso. Ila. Round Ile.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and so manie in bredth, rough of soile, yet fruitfull enough: beside woods, déere, & good harbrough for ships, replenished with diuers and sundrie townes and castels. Ouer against Columkill also, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great store of salmons, and other riuellets now altogither vnfruitfull, beside two lakes, in each of which is an Iland: and likewise in euerie of these Ilands a castell. The sea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baies wherein great plentie and verie good herrings are taken. It hath also in the northwest side Columbria, or the Ile of Mula.

doues;

doues; on the southeast, Era: both verie commodious for fishing, cattell, and corne. Moreouer, this is woorth the noting in this Ile aboue all the rest, that it hath a plesant spring, arising two miles in distance from the shore, wherein are certeine little egs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and brightnesse, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egs being carried by violence of the fresh water vnto the salt, are there within the space of twelue houres conuerted into great shels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceiued.

Iona. Iona was sometime called Columkill, in fame and estimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little aboue two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all such commodities, as that climat wherein it standeth dooth yeeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue spoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were somtimes also two monasteries therein, one of moonks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a parish church, beside many chappels builded by the Scotish kings, and such princes as gouerned in the Iles. And when the English had once gotten possession of the Ile of Manaw, a bishops see was erected in the old monasterie of Columbus, whereby the iurisdiction of those Iles was still mainteined and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Iland the old burials apperteining to the most noble families that had dwelled in the west Iles; but three aboue other are accompted the most notable, which haue little houses builded vpon them. That in the middest hath

Regum tumuli. a stone, whereon is written, Tumuli regum Scotiæ, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they saie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with these words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, bicause foure of them lie in that place. The third hath these words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Norwaie, for there eight of them were buried also, and all through a fond suspicion conceiued of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in processe of time, when Malcolme Cammor had erected his abbeie at Donfermeling, he gaue occasion to manie of his successors to be interred there.

About this Iland there lie six other Iles dispersed, small in quantitie, but not altogither barren, sometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of saint Columbus, of which the Soa, albeit that it yeeld competent pasturage for sheepe, yet is it more commodious, by such egs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding doo

The Ile of Shrewes. laie within the same. Then is there the Ile of Shrewes or of women; as the more sober heads doo call it. Also Rudan, & next vnto that, the Rering. There is also the Shen halfe a mile from Mula, whose bankes doo swarme with conies: it hath also a parish church, but most of the inhabitants doo liue and dwell in Mula. There is also the Eorse or the Arse, and all these belong vnto saint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arse is the Olue, an Iland fiue miles in length, and sufficientlie stored with corne and grasse, & not without a good hauen for ships to lie and harbor in. There is also the Colfans, an iland fruitfull inough, and full of cornell trees. There is not far off also the Gomater, Stafa, the two

Mosse Ile. Kerneburgs, and the Mosse Ile, in the old Brittish speech called Monad, that is to saie Mosse. The soile of it is verie blacke, bicause of the corruption & putrefaction of such woods as haue rotted thereon: wherevpon also no small plentie of mosse is bred and ingendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the said earth, which is fullie so good as our English turffe. There is also the Long, & six miles further toward the west, Tirreie, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the most plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fish, and seafowle aboundantlie. It hath also a well of fresh water, a castell, and a verie good hauen for great vessels to lie at safegard in. Two miles from this also is the Gun, and the Coll two miles also from the Gun. Then passed we by the Calfe, a verie wooddie Iland, the foure greene Iles, the two glasse or skie Ilands, the Ardan, the Ile of woolfes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the east into the west, is sixteene miles in length, and six in breadth, full of mounteins and swelling woods: and for asmuch as it is not much inhabited, the seafoules laie great plentie of egs there, whereof such as will, may gather what number them

them listeth. Vpon the high cliffes and rocks also the Soland geese are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles also is the Ile of horsses: and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogither vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of custome breedeth there, and therevnto it is not without a conuenient hauen. Not farre off also is the Canna, and the Egga, little Iles, but the later full of Soland geese. Likewise the Sobratill, more apt to hunt in than meet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

After this we came to the Skie, the greatest Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and fortie miles long; and somewhere eight, & in some places twelue miles broad: it is moreouer verie hillie, which hilles are therevnto loaden with great store of wood, as the woods are with pasture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (besides all other commodities) with no small heards of mares, whereby they raise great aduantage and commoditie. It hath fiue riuers verie much abounding with salmons, and other fresh streams not altogither void of that prouision. It is inuironed also with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yeere. It hath also a noble poole of fresh water; fiue castels and sundrie townes; as Aie, S. Iohns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine small Ilands about this also, as Rausa a batable soile for corne & gras; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a theeuish Iland, in whose woods theeues do lurke to rob such as passe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ships; Rarsa, full of beechen woods and stags, being in length seuen miles, and two in breadth. The Ron, a woodie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie theeues. There is not farre off from this Ron, to wit about six miles also, the Flad, the Tiulmen, Oransa, Buie the lesse, and Buie the more, and fiue other little trifling Iles, of whose names I haue no notice. Skie.

After these we come vnto the Ise, a prettie fertile Iland, to the Oue, to the Askoome, to the Lindill. And foure score miles from the Skie towards the west, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Magle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vateras, which later hath a noble hauen for great ships, beside sundrie other commodities: and these nine last rehearsed are vnder the dominion of the bishop of the Iles. After this we come to the Bar, an Iland seauen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for grasse and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one baie of this Iland there lieth an Islet, and therein standeth a strong castell. In the north part hereof also is an hill which beareth good grasse from the foot to the top, and out of that riseth a spring, which running to the sea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfectlie formed, which some do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the shore where the water falleth into the sea, they take vp a kind of shelfish, when the water is gone, which they suppose to be ingendred or increased after this manner. Betweene the Barre and the Visse lie also these Ilands, Orbaus, Oue, Hakerset, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Haie, Helsaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Friskaie. The Visse is thirtie miles long and six miles broad; and therein are sundrie fresh waters, but one especiallie of three miles in length: neuerthelesse, the sea hath now of late found a waie into it, so that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three score foot, but now and then it will flowe into the same, and leaue sea-fish behind it in the lake. There is also a fish bred therein almost like vnto a salmon, sauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogither without scales: it is likewise a great harbour for theeues and pirats. Bar.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Helscher, appertinent to the nuns of Iona: then haue we the Hasker, verie plentifullie benefited by seales, which are there taken in time of the yeere. Three score miles from this also is the Hirth, whose inhabitants are rude in all good science and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth foorth sheepe farre greater than are else-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, sendeth

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ouer his bailiffe into the same at midsummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a preest
Baptisme without preests. to saie masse, and to baptise all the children borne since that time of the yeere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (bicause the voiage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptise his owne at home. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried seales and sea foule. All the whole Ile is not aboue a mile euerie waie; and except three mounteines that lie vpon one part of the shore, such as dwell in the other Iles can see no part thereof.

Being past the Visse, we came after to Walaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Ensaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Hermodraie, Scarfe, Grie, Ling, Gilling, Heie, Hoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Ise, Sein the more, Sein the lesse, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Hareie, and the seauen holie Ilands, which are desert and breed nothing but a
Wild sheepe. kind of wild sheepe, which are often hunted, but seldome or neuer eaten. For in steed of flesh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie flesh be, it is so vnsauorie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I suppose, that these be the wild sheepe which will not be tamed; and bicause of the horrible grenning thereof, is taken for
Tigers. the bastard tiger. Their haire is betweene the wooll of a sheepe, and the haire of a goat, resembling both, shacked, and yet absolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be also the same beast which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, shewed in the time of Gordian the emperour; albeit that some take the same for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantise.

There is also not farre off the Garuell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Kellas, the two Bernars,
Ile of Pigmeies. the Kirt, the two Buies, the Viraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is so called vpon some probable coniecture) for manie little sculs and bones are dailie there found deepe in the ground, perfectlie resembling the bodies of children; & not anie of greater quantities, wherby their coniecture (in their opinion) is the more likelie to be true. There is also the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Viccoll, Haueraie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iffurd, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swet; on whose east side is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a flight shoot in length, wherevnto meane ships do vse to runne for harbour with full saile when a tempest ouertaketh them, or the raging of the sea, in those parts do put them in danger of wrecke. Also we passed by the old castell Ile, which is a pretie and verie commodious plat for fish, foule, egges, corne, and pasture. There is also the Ile Eust or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for theeues, as is also the Grinort; likewise the preests Ile, which is verie full of sea foule and good pasture. The Afull, the two Herbrerts, to wit, the greater and the lesse; and the Iles of Horsses, and Mertaika: and these 8 lie ouer against the baie which is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Haraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of three score miles in length, and sixteene in breadth, being distinguished by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that doo possesse those parts. The south part is called Haraie,
Lewis called Thule by Tacitus, with no better authoritie than the Angleseie Mona. and the whole situate in the Deucalidon sea, ouer against the Rosse, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Erwijn, lake Vnsalsago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like sort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beside a monasterie called Roadill. The soile also of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither woolfe, fox, nor serpent seene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which also separate one part from the other. Likewise there be plentie of stags, but farre lesse in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland also is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with salmons. That part also called Lewisa, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the sea coasts, and hath riuers no lesse plentifull for salmon than the other halfe. There is also great store of herrings taken, whereof the fisher men doo raise great gaine and commoditie; and no lesse plentie of sheepe, which they doo not sheere, but plucke

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euerie yeere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of mosse, and the face thereof verie swart and blacke, for the space of a foot in depth, through the corruption of such woods as in time past haue rotted on the same. And therefore in time of the yeere they conuert it into turffe to burne, as néede shall serue; and in the yéere after, hauing well doonged it in the meane time with slawke of the sea, they sowe barleie in the selfe places where the turffes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and féed. Such plentie of whales also are taken in this coast, that the verie tithe hath béene knowne, in some one yéere, to amount vnto seauen and twentie whales of one greatnesse and other. This is notable also in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards déepe of water when the sea is gone, and not aboue foure when it is at the highest; ouer which great numbers doo sit of both sexes and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fish, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them also the more idle. Tithe whales.

Being past this about sixtie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which some take for the last of the Hebrides, distant (as I said) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungisbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord also of the soile dooth limit their number of housholds, & hauing assigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and smaller sorts of cattell they shall spend and inioie for their owne prouision, they send the ouerplus yéerlie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe paiments consist of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, sowed vp in shéepes skins. Also of mutton and sea foule dried, that resteth ouer and aboue, which they themselues do spend. And if it happen that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate dooth come vnto, then they send also the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which means they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from strange countries, neither know or heare of anie things doone else-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken also vpon their coasts, which are likewise replenished with seale, and porpasse, and those which are either so tame, or so fierce, that they abash not at the sight of such as looke vpon them, neither make they anie hast to flie out of their presence.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles westward, there is another called Suilscraie, of a mile length, void of grasse, and without so much as heath growing vpon hir soile: yet are there manie cliffes and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke mosse, whereon innumerable sorts of foules do bréed and laie their egs. Thither in like sort manie doo saile from Lewissa, to take them yoong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they also kill and drie in eight daies space, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie strange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colke foule, which is little lesse than a goose; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the spring, to laie hir egs and bring vp hir yoong, till they be able to shift for themselues, & then they get them awaie togither to the sea, and come no more vntill that time of the yéere which next insueth. At the same season also they cast their fethers there, as it were answering tribute to nature for the vse of hir mossie soile: wherein it is woonderfull to sée, that those fethers haue no stalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are séene to couer their bodies as it were wooll or downe, till breeding time (I saie) wherein they be left starke naked. Suilscraie. Colke foule.

The Orchades (whose first inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from those Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as some sparks yet remaining among them of that language doo declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Calidon seas, ouer against the point of Dunghisbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other saie thirtie & one, yet some saie thirtie thrée, as Orosius, but Plinie saith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are the rest whereof héeretofore I haue made report, since we crossed ouer the mouth of the Solueie streame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of these Islands reteine much of their old sparing diets, and therevnto they are of goodlie stature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great strength, whitish colour, Orchades.

as men that fèed most vpon fish; sith the cold is so extreame in those parts, that the ground bringeth foorth but small store of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it sèemeth that (in times past) some of these Ilands also haue bèene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either trée or shrub, in stéed whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is suffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the soile of it selfe will not yéeld to bring forth trées & bushes. For what store of such hath beene in times past, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground doo yéeld sufficient triall. Otes they haue vérie plentifullie, but greater store of barleie, wherof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and such indéed, as will verie readilie cause a stranger to ouershoot himselfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer so strong, & they themselues so vnmeasurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it shall not easilie be séene (saith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or mad man, dolt, or naturall foole, meet to weare a cockescombe.

If he speake all in truth.

This vnmeasurable drinking of theirs is confessed also by Buchanan, who noteth, that whensoeuer anie wine is brought vnto them from other soiles, they take their parts thereof aboundantlie. He addeth moreouer, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who first preached Christ vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and so great, that it may séeme to be reserued since the Lapithane banket, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie bishop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they assure themselues of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuerthelesse this excesse is not often found in the common sort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugall; but in their priests, and such as are of the richer calling. They succour pirats also, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to resist (their Ilands lieng so scattered) than for anie necessitie of such gains as they doo get by those men: for in truth, they thinke themselues to haue little need of other furniture than their owne soiles doo yéeld and offer vnto them. This is also to be read of the inhabitants of these Ilands, that ignorance of excesse is vnto the most part of them in stéed of physicke; and labour and trauell a medicine for such few diseases as they are molested and incombred withall.

In like sort they want venemous beasts, cheefelie such as doo delight in hotter soile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes also are so full of increase, that some doo vsuallie bring foorth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are such as bring foorth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gaine. As for wild and tame foules, they haue such plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their soile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue also neat and gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheese: wherein, next vnto fish, the chéefe part of their sustenance dooth consist. There is also a bishop of the Orchades, who hath his see in Pomona the chéefe of all the Ilands, wherein also are two strong castels, and such hath bèene the superstition of the people here, that there is almost no one of them, that hath not one church at the least dedicated to the mother of Christ. Finallie, there is little vse of physicke in these quarters, lesse store of éeles, and least of frogs. As for the horsses that are bred amongst them, they are commonlie not much greater than asses, and yet to labour and trauell, a man shall find verie few else-where, able to come neere, much lesse to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The seas about these Ilands are verie tempestuous, not onelie through strong winds, and the influences of the heauens and stars; but by the contrarie méetings and workings of the west ocean, which rageth so vehementlie in the streicts, that no vessell is able to passe in safetie amongst them. Some of these Ilands also are so small and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is scarselie sufficient to susteine one or two men: and some of them so barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing else but mosse or bare shingle. Wherefore onelie thirteene of them are inhabited and made account of, the rest being left

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vnto their sheepe and cattell. Of all these Ilands also Pomona is the greatest, and therfore called the continent, which conteineth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people; for it hath twelue parish churches, and one towne which the Danes (sometime lords of that Iland) called Cracouia: but now it hight Kirkwa. There are also two pretie holds, Kirkwa. one belonging to the king, the other to the bishop: and also a beautifull church, and much building betweene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the bishops towne. All the whole Iland is full of cliffes and promontories, whereby no small number of baies and some hauens are producted.

There is also tin and lead to be found in six of these Iles, so good and plentifullie as anie where else in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathnesse, being separated from the same by the Pictish sea: wherein also lie certeine Ilands, as Stroma, foure miles from Cathnesse, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathnesse, is not reputed for anie of the Orchades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the first Ile of the Orchades, called south Rauals, which is sixtéene miles from Dunghilsbie, aliàs Dunachisbie, & that in two houres space, such is the swiftnesse of the sea in that tract. This Ile is fiue miles long, and hath a faire port called saint Margarets hauen. Then passe we by two desert Iles, which lie towards the east, wherein nothing is found but cattell: some call them the holmes, bicause they lie low, and are good for nothing but grasse. On the northside lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betweene the same & Pomona. From Bur, toward the west lie thrée Iles, Sun, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hoie and Vall, which some accompt for two, and other but for one; bicause that in March and September, the flats that lie betwéene them, doo séeme to ioine them togither, after the tide is gone. This neuerthelesse is certeine, that in this single or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the highest hilles are to be séene that are in all the Orchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, so are they two miles from Pomona, & from saint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles, and on the north side of it lieth the Brainse, in a narrow streict, as Buchanan dooth remember. And these are the Iles which lie betweene Pomona and Cathnesse. As for the west side of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the sea, without either shelues, Ilands, or rocks appéering néere vnto it; but on the east side thereof Cobesa dooth in maner ouershadow it. Siapinsa also an Ile of six miles long, lieth within two miles of Cracouia, toward the east, on the west side of Pomona lieth the Rouse of six miles in length: and by east of that, the Eglisa, wherin (as they saie) their patrone S. Magnus lieth interred. From hense southward lie the Vera, Gersa, and not far off the Vester (which is fourescore miles from Hethland) Papa & Stronza, which is also eightie miles from Hethland as is the Vester. In the middest also of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to saie, faire Ile, in old English, faire eie: and within sight so well of Hethland, as the Orchades (by reason of three insuperable rocks which are apparant in the same) a verie poore Iland, and yet yearelie robbed of such commodities as it hath by such Flemish and English fishermen as passe by the coasts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fish for the prouision of their countries.

Next vnto this is the greatest of all the Hethlands, an Iland called the Maine, sixtie miles in length, and sixteene in bredth, full of rocks, and whose coasts are onelie inhabited, the innermost parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, bicause of the barrennesse and vnfruitfulnesse of the soile: yet of late some haue indeuoured to impeople it, but with no successe correspondent to their desire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chéefe commoditie and yearelie gaine by fish, as aforetime. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in bredth, and so wild that it will suffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betwéene this Iland also and the Maine, are other smaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Orne, Big, and Sanferre. And from hense nine miles northward Vsta, twentie miles long, & six in bredth, plaine, pleasant, but inuironed with a swift and terrible sea. Betwéene this also and the Zeale, are the Vie, the Vre, and the Ling: also towards the west, the two Skeues, Chalseie, Nordwade, Brase, and Mowse,

on the west side lie the west Skeies, Rottia, Papa the lesse, Wunnéd, Papa the more, Valla, Londra, Burra, Haura the more, Haura the lesse, & in maner so manie holmes dispersed heere and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call these the Shetland, and some the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuision Zelandine, and toward the end of his first booke seemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as doo the inhabitants of the Orchades: although not in so ciuill wise, nor in such large measure and aboundance of diet in their houses. He addeth moreouer, that their apparrell is after the Germaine cut, comelie, but not so chargeable and costlie, and how they raise their gaine by skins of beasts, as marterns, sheepe, oxen, and gotes skins, and therevnto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and sell to the merchants of Norwaie, togither with their butter, fish, either salted or dried, and their traine oile, and exercise their trade of fishing also in their vncerteine skewes, which they fetch out of Norwaie.

Their speech is Gothish, and such of them as by their dealing with forren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that will they verie often bestow vpon the furniture of their houses. Their weights & measures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and so wholesome, that a man was found which had married a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fishing with his bote at one hundred and fortie, and of late yéeres died of méere age, without anie other disease. Dronkennesse is not heard of among them, and yet they meet and make good chéere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vse of flesh or foule there, although that some of their Ilands haue plentie of both. Nor anie mention of corne growing in these parts, and therefore in steed of bread they drie a kind of fish, which they beat in morters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and drie. Their fuell also is of such bones as the fish yéeldeth, that is taken on their coasts: and yet they liue as themselues suppose in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of their happinesse to be so farre distant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein also they are like vnto the Hirthiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there commeth a priest vnto them out of the Orchades (vnto which iurisdiction they doo belong) who baptiseth all such children, as haue béene borne among them, since he last arriued, and hauing afterward remained there for a two daies, he taketh his tithes of them (which they prouide and paie with great scrupulositie in fish, for of other commodities haue they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boast of his troublesome voiage, except he watch his time. In these Iles also is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector saith) which is producted by the working of the sea vpon those coasts: but more of this elsewhere. This neuertheles is certeine, that these Ilands, with the Orchades, were neuer perfectlie vnited to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betwéene king Iames and the ladie Marie daughter to Christierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Christierne at the birth of their sonne Iames (afterward king of Scotland and called Iames the fourth) resigned all his right and title whatsoeuer either he or his ancestors either presently or hertofore had, might haue had, or herafter may or should haue, vnto the aforesaid péeres, as appéereth by the charter.

Amber.

From these Shetland Iles, and vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situat vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, & thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlie seene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discouered by anie, bicause of the great aboundance of huge Ilands of ice that mooueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpose, wherfore casting about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scotish sea, wherein we passe by seuen or eight such as they be, of which the first called the Maie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, doo séeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein

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Faux castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Iland of the Scotish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallowes, number of Ilands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me most. No meruell therefore that I haue béene so oft on ground among them. But most ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my natiue citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where good interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our wetherbeaten carcasses.

The first Iland therefore which commeth to our sight, after we passed Berwike, is that which was somtime called Lindesfarne, but now Holie Iland, and conteineth eight miles; a place much honored among our monasticall writers, bicause diuerse moonks and heremits did spend their times therein. There was also the bishops see of Lindesfarne for a long season, which afterward was translated to Chester in the stréet, & finallie to Duresme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was first erected by Oswald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scotish moonke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda speaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the said Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reason of situation & néerenesse to the coast; yet the Picts appointed the bishops of the same, and gaue the Ile with the see it selfe to such Scotish moonks as they liked, bicause that by their preaching they first receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindesfarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finished and builded the whole church with sawed timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the bishop did couer ouer with lead. Lindesfarne or Holie Iland.

Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defense so far as I remember, and so great store of egs laid there by diuerse kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man shall hardlie run for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finished. About Farne also lie certeine Iles greater than Farne it selfe, but void of inhabitants; and in these also is great store of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured fethers, sauing that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is moreouer another bird, which the people call saint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and easie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland; so called, bicause it lieth ouer against the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane seacole, which the people dig out of the shore at the low water; and in this Iland dwelled one Henrie sometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Danish race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coast of Norffolke I saw no more Ilands. Farne. Puffins. Saint Cuthberts foules.

Being therfore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile ouer against the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewise another ouer against the Claie, before we came at Waburne hope: the third also in Yarmouth riuer ouer against Bradwell, a towne in low or little England, whereof also I must néeds saie somewhat, bicause it is in maner an Iland, and as I gesse either hath béene or may be one: for the brodest place of the strict land that leadeth to the same, is little aboue a quarter of a mile, which against the raging waues of the sea can make but small resistance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in bredth, verie well replenished with townes, as Fristan, Burgh castell, Olton, Flixton, Lestoft, Gunton, Blundston, Corton, Lownd, Ashebie, Hoxton, Belton, Bradwell, and Gorleston, and beside this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities. Little England.

Going forward from hence, by the Estonnesse (almost an Iland) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerstone in Orwell mouth, & two péeces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; and then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merseie which is a pretie Iland, well furnished with wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decaied blockehouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Merseie, the other west Merseie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulenesse is an Ile void of wood, Merseie. Foulnesse.

and

and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church, and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they saie) ride thereto if he be skilfull of the causie; it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present master William Tabor bacheler of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex hath it vnder his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of maister Iohn Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.

Osithe. Northeie. Ramseie. Reie.

In Maldon water are in like sort three Ilands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Northeie, and another (after a mersh) that beareth no name so far as I remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramseie Ile, or rather a Peninsula or Biland, & likewise the Reie, in which is a chappell of saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulenesse. But to procéed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Mersland, Elie, and the rest, that are framed by the ouze, Andredeseie in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be described) sith I touch onelie those that are inuironed with the sea or salt water round about, as we may see in the Canwaie Iles, which some call marshes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, some to a vice, scrue, or wide sléeue, bicause they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same doo so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man doo imagine himselfe to looke downe from the top of the mast vpon them. Betwéene these, moreouer and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whose name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may easilie be doone at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarse comparable to the makerell gale, whereof Iohn Anele of Calis one of the best seamen that England euer bred for his skill in the narow seas was woont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to sée what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & so much may well suffice where more cannot be had.

Canwaie.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE THAMES, AND SUCH RIUERS AS FALL INTO THE SAME.

CAP. XI.

HAUING (as you haue séene) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Ilands, that are situat vpon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it hath caused me somewhat to restreine my purpose in this description also of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the first to haue written at large, of the number, situation, names, quantities, townes, villages, castels, mounteines, fresh waters, plashes or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was so deceiued in the end, that I was faine at last onelie to leane to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had alreadie purchased and gotten of the same. And euen so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, bredth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect description vnder the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. But now for want of instruction, which hath béene largelie promised, & slacklie performed, and other sudden and iniurious deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without

out occasion giuen on my part, I must needs content my selfe with such obseruations as I haue either obteined by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in steed of the same a mangled rehearsall of the residue set downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beséech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudenesse of my labour, which notwithstanding is not altogither in vaine, sith my errors maie prooue a spurre vnto the better skilled, either to correct or inlarge where occasion serueth, or at the leastwise to take in hand a more absolute péece of worke, as better direction shall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardest; and he that beginneth well, hath atchiued halfe his purpose. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from hencefoorth it will be more easie for such as shall come after to wade through with the rest, sith "Facile est inuentis addere;" and to continue and finish, is not so great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platforme of anie noble péece of workmanship, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpose. As I began at the Thames in my description of Hands, so will I now doo the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the said riuer it selfe, of whose founteine some men make as much adoo, as in time past of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet descried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whose originall was neuer knowne, nor shall be: for whilest one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to such mens writings as haue of set purpose sought out the spring of the Thames; I affirme that this famous streame hath his head or beginning out of the side of an hill, standing in the plaines of Cotswold, about one mile from Tetburie, néere vnto the Fosse (an high waie so called of old) where it was sometime named Isis, or the Ouse, although diuerse doo ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a foolish custome than anie skill, bicause they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant how it was named at the first. From hence it runneth directlie toward the east (as all good riuers should) and méeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirncester towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination.

Thamesis.

Corinium.

From hence it hasteth vnto Créekelade, aliàs Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Euesham, receiuing by the waie an infinit sort of small streames, brookes, beckes, waters, and rundels: and here on this side of the towne diuideth it selfe into two courses, of which the one goeth straight to Botleie and Hinkseie, the other by Godstow, a village not farre off. This latter spreadeth it selfe also for a while into sundrie smaller branches, which run not farre yer they be reunited, and then beclipping sundrie pleasant meadowes, it passeth at length by Oxford, of some supposed rather to be called Ouseford of this riuer, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches doo ioine and go togither by Abbandune (aliàs Sensham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the first came so néere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine streame, thorough the industrie of the moonks, as (beside the testimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be séene) by the decaie of Cair Dour, now Dorchester it selfe, sometime the throughfare from Wales and the west countrie to London, which insued vpon this fact, is easie to be seene. From hence it goeth to Dorchester, and so to Thame, where ioining with a riuer of the same denomination, it looseth the name of Isis or Ouse (whereof Ouseneie at Oxford is producted) and from thenceforth is called Thamesis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and so to Reding, which in time past, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the English name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ree, the Saxon word for a water-course or riuer; which maie be séene in Ouerée, or Sutherée, for ouer the Ree, or south of the Rhee, as to the skilfull doth readilie appéere; yet some hold (and not altogither against probabilitie and likelihood) that the word Sutherée is so called of Sudrijc, to wit, the south kingdome, wherevnto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the said church or name of the foresaid countie. Other affirme likewise, that Reding is so called of the Greeke word (ῥέω) which is to ouerflowe. Certes, as neither of these coniectures are to be contemned, so the last cõmeth most neere

Charwell.

Some write, that the maine streame was brought thither which ranne before betweene Andredercie and Culenham.

Pontium.

Saint Marie ouer Rhee.

to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the course of euerie water it selfe, but also his ouerflowing was in time past called Rhe, by such Saxons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this daie in Essex I haue oft obserued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue béene ouerflowen, the people beholding the same, haue said; All is on a Rhe, as if they should haue said; All is now a riuer, albeit the word Riuer be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins, but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceiued, which call the aforesaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Isis, or Ise: but I will procéed with the course of this noble streame, which, howsoeuer these matters stand after it hath passed by Reding, & there receiued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie west of Marleborough (& then the Thetis, commonlie called the Tide that commeth from Thetisford) hieth to Sudlington otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windleshore (or Windsore) Eaton, and then to Chertseie, where Erkenwald bishop of London sometime builded a religious house or cell, as I doo read.

Kenet.
Thetis.

From Chertseie it hasteth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (wherevpon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Sion and Brentford or Bregentford, where it méeteth the Brane or the Brene (another brooke descending from Edgworth) whose name signifieth a frog, in the Brittish speach. Vpon this also sir John Thin had sometime a statelie house, with a maruellous prouision to inclose and reteine such fish as should come about the same. From Brentfoord it passeth by Mortlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterseie, Chelseie, Lambeth, and so to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the sea, it taketh the Lée with it by the waie vpon the coast of Essex, and another that commeth from Abreche not far off, and the Darnt vpon Kent side, which riseth néere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Derntford, wherevnto the Craie falleth. And last of all the Medwaie a notable riuer (in mine opinion) which watereth all the south and southwest part of Kent, and whose description shall insue.

Cole.
Brene.
Darwent.
Craie.

Hauing in this maner bréefelie touched this noble riuer, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuer, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible. Héereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the least, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be measured by the iourneies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the thrée famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in aboundance of all kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duelie weighed. What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse doo) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celtish brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, Epistolarum lib. 8. epi. 6. nor yéeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus dooth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, swéet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit néere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.

What should I speake of the fat and swéet salmons, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie (after the time of the smelt be past) as no riuer in Europa is able to excéed it. What store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it looseth at one time, the more it yéeldeth at another.

Salmons.

another. Onelie in carps it séemeth to be scant, sith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie landflouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which means it became somewhat partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare. Oh that this riuer might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndoone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath béene choked of late with sands and shelues, through the penning and wresting of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or prise set vpon the ballasse sometime freelie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (Iusques au poinct) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (i) in the word ponct: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French toong, wherein that patent was granted.

Carps a fish late brought into England and later into the Thames.

Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanels twise in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the moone dooth exactlie touch the northeast and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe yer the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens doo reduce, and bring about the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betwéene one tide and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience dooth confirme. In like sort we sée by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatnesse: for at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest flouds, and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fuls, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, bicause the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames ouerfloweth hir banks néere vnto London: which hapneth especiallie in the fuls and changes of Januarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of custome soonest drowned. This order of flowing in like sort is perpetuall, so that when the moone is vpon the southwest and north of points, then is the water by London at the highest: neither doo the tides alter, except some rough winds out of the west or southwest doo kéepe backe and checke the streame in his entrance, as the east and northeast do hasten the comming in thereof, or else some other extraordinarie occasion, put by the ordinarie course of the northerne seas, which fill the said riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both these doo happen oft among, I refer me to such as haue not sildome obserued it, as also the sensible chopping in of thrée or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnskilfull doo descant manie things.

The iust distãce betwéene one tide and another.

The streame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

But how so euer these small matters doo fall out, and how often soeuer this course of the streame doth happen to be disturbed; yet at two seuerall times of the age of the moone, the waters returne to their naturall course and limits of time exactlie. Polydore saith, that this riuer is seldome increased or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it shalbe more apparentlie séene hereafter. For the more that this riuer is put by of hir right course, the more the water must of necessitie swell with the white waters which run downe from the land: bicause the passage cannot be so swift and readie in the winding as in the streight course. These landflouds also doo greatlie straine the finesse of the streame, in so much that after a great landfloud, you shall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whose eies are so blinded with the thicknesse of that element, that they cannot see where to become,

become, and make shift to saue themselues before death take hold of them. Otherwise the water of it selfe is verie cléere, and in comparison next vnto that of the sea, which is most subtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is most excellent, in comparison of smaller brookes: although Aristotle will haue the salt water to be most grosse, bicause a ship will beare a greater burden on the sea than on the fresh water; and an eg sinke in this that swimmeth on the other. But he may easilie be answered by the quantitie of roome and aboundance of waters in the sea; whereby it becommeth of more force to susteine such vessels as are committed to the same, and whervnto the greatest riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of sundrie bridges placed ouer this noble streame, of which that of London is most chieflie to be commended, for it is in maner a cõtinuall street, well replenished with large and statelie houses on both sides, and situat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free squared stone, euerie of them being thréescore foot in height, and full twentie in distance one from another, as I haue often viewed.

London bridge.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of swans dailie to be séene vpon this riuer, the two thousand wherries and small boats, wherby three thousand poore watermen are mainteined, through the cariage and recariage of such persons as passe or repasse, from time to time vpon the same: beside those huge tideboats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either carrie passengers, or bring necessarie prouision from all quarters of Oxfordshire, Barkeshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Herfordshire, Midlesex, Essex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for somuch as these things are to be repeated againe in the particular description of London, annexed to his card; I surceasse at this time to speake anie more of them here, as not lingering but hasting to performe my promise made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it best to resume the description of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatsoeuer is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonstration of his course. How and where the said streame ariseth, is alreadie & with sufficiencie set downe, noting the place to be within a mile of Tetburie, whereof some doo vtterlie mislike, bicause that rill in summer drouths is oft so drie, that there is little or no water at all séene running aboue ground in the same. For this cause therefore manie affirme the verie head of Isis to come from the poole aboue Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that riseth aboue Coberleie. For my part I follow Leland, as he dooth the moonke of Malmesburie, which wrote the historie intituled Eulogium historiarum, who searched the same of set purpose, and pronounced with Leland, although at this present that course be verie small, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and sand. Procéeding therefore from the head, it first of all receiueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which riseth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it selfe vnto Poole and Somerford, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Ashton, Canes, and Howston, holding on in one chanell vntill they méet with the Chirne, the next of all to be described.

2000 boates vpon the Thames and 8000 poore mẽ mainteined by the same whose gaines come in most plentifullie in the tearme time.

Isis.

Conus.

Corinium.

The Chirne is a faire water arising out of the ground aboue Coberleie, from whence it runneth to Cowleie, Cowlesburne, Randcome, and so into the Isis on the left side aboue Crekelade. These thrée waters being thus vnited and brought into one chanell, within a little space of the head of Isis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiueth the Rhe, descending from Elcombe, Escot, Redburne, Widhill, & at the fall into Isis, or not far off ioineth with another that runneth west of Purton by Braden forrest, &c. Next of all our Isis méeteth with the Amneie on the left hand, which comming from aboue Holie roode Amneie, runneth by Downe Amneie, and finallie into the Isis a little aboue Iseie. In like sort I read of another that méeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iseie also, which so far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from about Drifield and falleth so into our Isis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not so nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this voiage, the maine streame dooth crosse one water that descendeth from Swindon, and going also by Stratton toward Seuingham, is it selfe

Rhe.

Amneie.

selfe increased with two rils by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambreie, as I haue beene informed.

The Colne is a faire riuer rising by north neere to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Wittenton, Parneworth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winston, Biberie, Colne Alens, Quenington, Faireford, and west of Lachelade into the riuer Isis, which hereabout on the southside also taketh in another, whereof I find this remembrance. The Isis being once past Seuingham, crosseth a brooke from southest that mounteth about Ashbirie, and receiuing a rill from bywest (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward so diuideth it selfe, that the armes therof include Inglesham, and by reason that it falleth into the Isis at two seuerall places, there is a plesant Iland producted, whereof let this suffice. Colneius, Colineus, or Columus.

Being past Lechelade a mile, it runneth to saint Johns bridge, & thereabout meeteth with the Leche on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade taketh the name (a towne wherevnto one peece of an old vniuersitie is ascribed, which it did neuer possesse, more than Crekelade did the other) riseth east of Hampnet, frō whence it goeth to north Lech, Estenton, Anlesworth, east Lech, south Thorpe, Farendon, & so into the Isis. From hence this famous water goeth by Kenskot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riseth in an od peece of Barkeshire, and runneth by Langford) and being past the said bridge (now notable through a conspiracie made there sometimes by sundrie barons against the estate) it is not long yer it crosse two other waters, both of them descending from another od parcell of the said countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Isis beneath Radcote bridge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeshire by Arescote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other also riseth in the same peece, and runneth by Brisenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the first that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Isis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After these confluences, the maine course of the streame hasteth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioineth with the Winrush. The Winrush riseth aboue Shieburne in Glocestershire, from whence it goeth to Winrush, & cōming by Barrington, Burford, Widbrooke, Swinbecke castell, Witneie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Isis west by south of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Ensham, betweene which and Cassinton, it receiueth (as Leland calleth it) the Bruerne water. Lecus or Leche. Winrush. Briwerus.

It riseth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marsh, and through a patch of Worcestershire vnto Euenlode, betweene it and the foure shirestones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this also it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and so to Bleddenton, aboue which towne it taketh in the Rolrich water that issueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by west of little Rolrich, and ioine aboue Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thence also it goeth vnto Bruerne, Shipton vnderwood, Ascot, Short hamton, Chorleburie, Corneburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and southeast of Woodstocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riseth aboue Emstone, and goeth to Ciddington, Glimton, Wotton (where it is increased with a rill that runneth thither from steeple Barton, by the Beechin tree) Woodstocke, Blaidon, so that after this confluence, the said Enis runneth to Cassinton, and so into the Isis, which goeth from hence to Oxford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now presentlie to be described. Comus. Rolrich. Enis.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonshire, where it riseth out of a little poole, by Charleton village, seuen miles aboue Banberie northeast, and there it issueth so fast at the verie surge, that it groweth into a pretie streame, in maner out of hand. Soone after also it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere side: but forasmuch as it riseth by Bincester, the whole course therof is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine prosecuting the rest of this description reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Oxfordshire, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the same, a little aboue Edgcote, and so descending toward Charwell. Bure. Culen.

Wardington, it méeteth with another comming from by north west, betweene Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie also it méeteth with the Come (which falleth from fennie Conton by Farneboro, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the discharge of diuerse rillets, in one bottome before it come at Clifton. The said water therfore ingendred of so manie brookelets, consisteth chiefelie of two, whereof the most southerlie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wigginton, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, dooth méet with the other that falleth from by northwest into the same, within a mile of Charwell.

Come.

Ocus.

That other (as I coniecture) is increased of thrée waters, wherof each one hath his seuerall name. The first of them therefore hight Tudo, which comming betwéene Epwell and the Lée by Toddington, ioineth about Broughton with the second that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I gesse. The last falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riseth not far from Sotteswell in Warwikeshire, some are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sotbrooke. The next water that méeteth without Charwell beneath Clifton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riseth north of Michaell Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The last of all is the Reie alias Bure, whose head is not far aboue Burcester, alias Bincester, and Burncester: and from whence it goeth by Burecester to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Islip, and so into Charwell, that holdeth on his course after this augmentation of the waters, betwéene Wood and Water Eton, to Marston, and the east bridge of Oxford by Magdalene college, and so beneath the south bridge into our aforesaid Isis.

Tudo.

Ornus.

Sotbrooke.
Souarus.
Sowar.

Burus.

Middest of England whereabouts.

In describing this riuer, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helledon parish, not from Danberie, where a man maie stand and behold the heads of thrée notable riuers, whose waters, and those of such as fall into them, doo abundantlie serue the greatest part of England on this side of the Humber. The first of these waters is the Charwell, alreadie described. The second is the Leme that goeth westward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Nene or fift Auon it selfe, of whose courses there is no card but doth make sufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the same how they doo coast the countrie, and also measure by compasses how this plot lieth in respect of all the rest, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middest and center of our countrie.

But to go forward with my description of the Ouse, which being past Oxford goeth to Iflie, Kennington, Sanford, Rodleie, Newnham, and so to Abington, som time called Sensham, without increase, where it receiueth the Oche, otherwise called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brooklets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the vale and west of the hill of the White horsse, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkshire, and in one chanell, entreth into the same, vpon the right side of his course. From Abington likewise (taking the Arun withall southwest of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Clifton, Wittenham the lesse, & beneath Dorchester, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Isis loseth the preheminence of the whole denomination of this riuer, and is contented to impart the same with the Thame, so that by the coniunction of these two waters Thamesis is producted, and that name continued euen vnto the sea.

Ocus.

Arun.

Thame riuer riseth in the easterlie parts of Chilterne hils, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring west of the said parke, which is seauen miles from the stone bridge, that is betweene Querendon and Ailsburie (after the course of the water) as Leland hath set downe. Running therefore by long Merston, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Bearton, it receiueth soone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwike, and yer long an other on the other side that riseth aboue Windouer in the Chilterne, and passing by Halton, Weston, Turrill, Broughton, and Ailsburie, it falleth into the Tame west of the said towne (except my memorie doo faile me.) From this confluence the Tame goeth by Ethorpe, the

Thame.

Winchingtons, Coddington, Chersleie, Notleie abbeie: and comming almost to Tame, it receiueth one water from southeast aboue the said towne, and another also from the same quarter beneath the towne; so that Tame standeth inuironed vpon three sides with three seuerall waters, as maie be easilie seene. The first of these commeth from the Chiltern east of Below or Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Horsenden, Kingseie, Towseie, and so into the Tame. The other descendeth also from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they procéed togither as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dracot, Waterstoke, Milton, Cuddesdon, and Chiselton. Here also it taketh in another water from by-east, whose head commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Oxford to London. From whence it runneth to Weston (and méeting beneath Cuxham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and so into the Tame. From hence our streame of Thame runneth to Newenton, Draton, Dorchester (sometime a bishops see, and a noble citie) and so into the Thames, which hasteth in like sort to Bensington, Crowmarsh, or Wallingford, where it receiueth the Blaue, descending from Blaueburg, now Blewberie, as I learne. Blauius.

Thus haue I brought the Thames vnto Wallingford, situate in the vale of White horsse, that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, north Stoke, south Stoke, Goring, Bassilden, Pangburne, where it meeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamsted Norris, runneth by Frizelham, Buckelburie, Stanford, Bradfeld, Tidmarsh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betweene Mapledorham and Purleie, to Cauersham, and Cauersham manour, and a little beneath receiueth the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

The Kenet riseth aboue Ouerton 5 or 6 miles west of Marleborow, or Marlingsborow, as some call it; & then going by Fifeld, Clatfor, Maulon, & Preshute, vnto Marleburie: it holdeth on in like order to Ramsburie, and northwest of little Cote, taketh in a water by north descending from the hilles aboue Alburne chase west of Alburne town. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamstréet, & beneth Charnhamstréet it crosseth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburne rill withall) commeth from great Bedwine, & at Hungerford also two other in one botom somewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinburie, Hamsted marshall, Euburne, Newberie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Isberie, Egerston, the Sheffords, Westford, Boxford, Donington castell, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermaston, a little aboue which village it receiueth the Alburne, another brooke increased with sundrie rils: and thus going on to Padworth, Oston, and Michaell, it commeth at last to Reading, where (as I said) it ioineth with the Thames, and so they go forward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the east side receiue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the south, as by his course appéereth. Cenethus. Bedwiine. Chalkeburne. Lamburne. Alburnus.

The Loddon riseth in Hamshire betwéene west Shirburne and Wooton toward the southwest, afterward directing his course toward the northwest, thorough the Vine, it passeth at the last by Bramlie, and thorough a peece of Wiltshire, to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bridge, leauing a patch of Wiltshire on the right hand (as I haue béene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turges towne receiueth two waters in one bottome, whereof the westerlie called Basing water, commeth from Basingstoke, and thorough a parke vnto the aforesaid place. Lodunus.

The other descendeth of two heads from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes, Newenham, Rotherwijc, and yer it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Basing water, from whence they go togither to Turges, where they méet with the Loddon (as I haue said alreadie.) The next streame toward the south is called Ditford brooke. It riseth not farre from Vpton, goeth by Gruell, and beneath Wharnborow castell receiueth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the same denomination) from whence they go togither by Maddingleie vnto Swalowfield, and so into the Loddon. In this voiage also the Loddon méeteth with the Ditis vadum. Ikelus.

Elwie

Elueius. Ducus. Erin. Elwie or Elueie that commeth from Aldershare, not farre by west of Euersleie: and about Eluesham likewise with another running from Dogmansfield named the Douke: and also the third not inferior to the rest comming from Erin, whose head is in Surreie, and going by Ash becommeth a limit, first betwéene Surreie and Hamshire; then betwéene Hamshire and Barkeshire, and passing by Ash, Erinleie, Blacke water, Perleie, and Finchamsted; it ioineth at last with the Ditford, before it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therefore with our Loddon, hauing receiued all these waters; and after the last confluence with them now being come to Loddon bridge, it passeth on by a part of Wiltshire to Twiford bridge, then to Wargraue, and so into the Thames that now is maruellouslie increased and growen vnto triple greatnesse (to that it was at Oxford.)

Being therefore past Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Horsependon, or Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where sometime a great rill voideth it selfe in the same. Then to Remenham, Greneland (going all this waie from Shiplake iust north, and now turning eastwards againe) by Medenham, Hurlie, Bisham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the lesse, it meeteth with a brooke soone after that consisteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the Vse. one called the Vse, riseth about west Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to east Wickham or high Wickham, a pretie market towne. The other Higden. named Higden, descendeth also from those mounteines but a mile beneath west Wickham, and ioining both in one at the last, in the west end of east Wickham towne, they go togither to Wooburne, Hedsor, & so into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that word doo I vse in my former treatise: but to procéed. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, alias Sudlington, Braie, Dorneie, Clure, new Windsore (taking in neuerthelesse, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riseth out of a Moore, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windsor, Wraiborow, and a little by east therof doth crosse the Cole, whereof I find this short description insuing.

Colus, alias Vere and Vertume. Gadus. The Cole riseth néere vnto Flamsted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watford, and so by More to Richmansworth, where there is a confluence of three waters, of which this Cole is the first. The second called Gadus riseth not farre from Ashridge, an house or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddesdin, Hemsted, betwéene Kings Langleie, and Abbots Langleie, then to Hunters, and Cashew bridges, and so to Richmanswoorth, receiuing by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by northwest, to Northchurch, Barkehamsted, and beneath Hemsted ioining with the same. The last commeth in at northwest from aboue Chesham, by Chesham it selfe, then by Chesham Bois, Latimers, Mawdlens, Cheinies, Sarret and Richmanswoorth, and so going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vxbridge, where it taketh in the Missenden water, from northwest, which rising aboue Missenden the greater goeth by Missenden the lesse, Hagmondesham (now Hammersham) the Vach, Chalfhunt Giles, Chalfhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vxbridge (as I haue said.) Soone after this our Cole doth part it selfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows straight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe east of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leauing an Iland betwéene them of no small size and quantitie.

Vindeles. Being past the Cole, we come to the fall of the Vindeles, which riseth by northwest néere vnto Bagshot, from whence it goeth to Windlesham, Chobham, and méeting with a brooklet comming westward from Bisleie, they run togither toward Cherteseie, where when they haue met with a small rill rising north of Sonning hill in Windlesoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeast side of Cherteseie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the same side, that fell into the Thames betweene Shepperton on the one side, and Oteland on the other, and is Veius. called the Waie. The Weie or the Waie rising by west, commeth from Olsted, & soone after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riseth in Wulmere forrest, and goeth by Hedleie

Hedleie and Frensham) hasteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Waiberleie, Elsted, and so to Pepper harrow, where it ioineth with the Thuresbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the same denomination. From hence also it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shawford, but yer it come there, it crosseth Craulie becke, which rising somewhere about the edge of Sussex short of Ridgewijc, goeth by Vacherie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie, Wonarsh, and so into the Waie. From hence then our riuer goeth to Shawford, and soone after (méeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Albirie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldeford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke side taketh in a brooke that riseth of two heads, whereof one dooth spring betwéene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and so runneth through Henleie parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go foorth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Bifler, Waifred, Oteland, and so into the Thames. Thuresbie. Crawleie. Abbinger.

From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, west Moulseie, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the northside, and east Moulseie on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that stand on each side of the place, where it falleth into our streame. It riseth in Word forrest, and going by Burstow, it méeteth afterward with another gullet, conteining a small course from two seuerall heads, whereof one is also in the forrest aforenamed, the other runneth from Febush wood, and comming by Iseld, méeteth with the first aboue Horleie, and so run on in one chanell, I saie, till they ioine with the Moule water, whereof I spake before. Molte.

After this confluence in like sort, it is not long yer the Moule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Mesham on the one side, and another on the other side, running by Ocleie and Capell, and whereinto also a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northwest part. Finallie, being thus increased with these manie rilles, it goeth by east Becheworth, west Becheworth, and ouer against the Swalow on the side of Drake hill, taking in another that cõmeth thither from Wootton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Mickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Ashire parke, east Moulseie, and so into the Thames, which after this coniunction goeth on to Kingston, and there also méeteth with another becke, rising at Ewell south of Nonsuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Mauldon, & so to Kingston towne. The Thames in like maner being past Kingston, goeth to Tuddington, Petersham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the northwest side, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by west of the same, goeth by Haies, Harlington, Felthan, and Thistleworth into the Thames.

The next fall of water is at Sion, néere vnto new Brainford, so that it issueth into the Thames betwéen them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Brittish toong (as Leland saith) a frog. It riseth about Edgeworth, and commeth from thence by Kingesburie, Twiford, Periuall, Hanwell, and Austerleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brentford, Mortlach, Cheswijc, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it crossed a becke from Wandlesworth, that riseth at Woodmans turne, and going by Easthalton, méeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and so going on to Mitcham, Marton abbeie, and Wandlesworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Next vnto this is Mariburne rill on the other side, which commeth in by S. Iames, so that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we rested for a season, to take view of the seuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being past London, and in the waie toward the sea: the first water that it méeteth withall, is the Brome on Kent side, west of Gréenewich, whose head is Bromis in Bromleie parish, and going from thence to Lewsham, it taketh in a water from by east, and so directeth his course foorth right vnto the Thames. Brane. Mariburne. Bromis.

The next water that it méeteth withall, is on Essex side, almost against Woolwich, and that is the Lée or Luie, whose head riseth short of Kempton in Hertfordshire, foure miles southeast Lée.

Logus. southeast of Luton, sometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a peece of Brokehall parke (leauing Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the south, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth Marran. a water (peraduenture the Marran) rising at northwest in Brodewater hundred, from aboue Welwin, northeast of Digeswell, and going to Hartingfeld burie, where the said confluence Beane. is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield also it receiueth the Beane (as I gesse) comming from Boxwood by Benington, Aston, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increase from aboue Ware, which descendeth from two heads: whereof the greatest commeth from Barkewaie in Edwinster hundred, the other Sandon in Oddesey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemeade, they go togither by Pulcherchurch, or Puckrich, Stonden, Thunderidge, Wadesmill, Benghoo, and so into the Lée, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the same 1408, and so to Amwell, where on the north side it receiueth the water that commeth from little Hadham, through a peece of Singleshall parke, then by great Hadham, and so from Widford to the aforesaid towne. From hence also they go as one to old Stansted called Le Veil, branching in such wise yer it come there, that it runneth through the towne in sundrie places. Thence it goeth foorth to Abbats Stansted, beneath which it méeteth with the Stoure, west Sturus. (as I remember) of Roidon. This Sture riseth at Wenden lootes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Manhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elsingham, & Stansted Mountfitchet,) Thence it hieth on to Bishops Stourford, Sabrichfoord, and beneath this towne crosseth with another from the east side of Elsingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Brodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & so into the Stoure, and from whence they go togither to Eastwic, Parmedon, and next into the Lée. These things being thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneath Hoddesdon, Broxburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by west of the maine streame, a mile lower than Wormeleie it selfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormeleie locke.

It runneth also by Cheston nunrie, and out of this a little beneath the said house, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, bicause it diuideth Eastsex and Hartford shire in sunder, and in the length of one medow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great flouds, and méeteth againe with a succor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockesditch, halfe a mile from his first breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marsh point ioineth againe with the streame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the first arme to S. Maulie bridge (the first bridge westward vpon that riuer) vpon Waltham causie, & halfe a mile lower than Maulie bridge, at the corner of Ramnie mead, it méeteth with the kings streame & principall course of Luy, or Lee, as it is commonlie called. The second arme breaketh out of the kings streame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheston nunrie, and so to the fulling mill, and two bridges by west of the kings streame, wherinto it falleth about a stones cast lower at a place called Malkins shelfe, except I was wrong informed. Cheston & Hartfordshire men doo saie, that the kings streame at Waltham dooth part Hartfordshire and Essex, but the Essex men by forrest charter doo plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Maulies bridge. On the east side also of the kings streame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & so goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the K. streame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

From hence the Lée runneth on by south on Waltonstow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it selfe, and partlie by mans industrie for mils. Alfred. Howbeit heerein the dealing of Alfred (sometimes king of England) was not of smallest force, who vnderstanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ships into the countrie, there to kill and slaie his subiects, in the yeere of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuer: he in the meane time before they could returne, did so mightilie weaken the maine chanell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the same; that when they purposed to come backe, there was nothing so much water left as the ships did draw: wherefore being set on ground, they were soone fired, & the aduersaries ouercome. By this policie also much medow ground was woone,

woone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was also a part of Assyria by the like practise of Cyrus with the Ganges, at such time as he came against Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was so offended, that one of his knights whom he loued déerlie, was drowned and borne awaie with the water in his passage ouer the same, that he sware a deepe oth yer long to make it so shallow that it should not wet a woman to the knées. Which came to passe, for he caused all his armie to dig 46 new draines frō the same, wherby the vow that he had made was at the full performed. Senec. de Tra. li. 3. But to conclude with the Lee that somtime ouerflowed all those medowes, through which it passeth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being past Westham, it is not long yer it fall into that streame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conquest, that is, how Edward the first, & sonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time also he had Wittham a towne in Essex in hand, as his sister called Aelfled repaired Oxford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of some called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Benefuth, and Memmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how these waters are distinguished in these daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is possible, that the Bene may be the same which commeth by Benington, and Benghoo: which if it be so, then must the Memmarran be the same that descendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time past right well be called Marranfield, for of like inuersion of names I could shew manie examples.

Being past the Lee (whose chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the same to the north side of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Essex side in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the most) from the fall of the Lée. This water riseth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Eithorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariseth betwixt Matching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall comming from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioine (I saie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland coniectureth that the streame is called Iuell: for my part, I wot not what to say of it. But héerof I am sure, that the whole course being past Ongar, it goeth to Stansted riuers, Theidon mount, Heibridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & so into the Thames. Rodon or Rodunus. Lauer. Iuelus.

The Darwent méeteth with our said Thames vpon Kents side, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riseth at Tanridge, or there abouts, as I haue beene informed by Christopher Saxtons card late made of the same, and the like (I hope) he will doo in all the seuerall shires of England at the infinit charges of sir Thomas Sackford knight, & maister of the requests, whose zeale vnto his countrie héerin I cannot but remember, & so much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & somewhat beside this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which these riuers for the Kentish part do run. Would to God his plats were once finished for the rest! But to procéed. The Darwent therefore, rising at Tanridge, goeth on by Titseie toward Brasted, and receiuing on ech side of that towne (& seuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Nockhold, Shorham, Kinsford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that coms from Orpington by Marie Craie, Paules Craie, North Craie, and Craiford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had once passed the fall of the brooke, it is a world to sée what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentish shore, in whose description Fuichsius hath not a little halted; whilest he giueth foorth the hearbe Argentaria for Serephium, betwéene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neuerthelesse is notable in the said hearbe, that being translated into the garden, it receiueth another forme cleane different from the first, which it yéelded when it grew vpon the shore, and therevnto appeareth of more fat & foggie substance. Which maketh me to thinke that our physicians do take it for a distinct kind of wormewood, whereof controuersie ariseth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is west of the Wauie Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long course, for Darwent. Craie.

rising about Coringham, it runneth not manie miles east and by south, yer it fall into the mouth of this riuer, which I doo now describe.

I would haue spoken of one créeke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Haltsto by S. Maries: but sith I vnderstand not with what backewaters they be serued, I let them passe as not skilfull of their courses. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue doone what I maie, but not what I would for mine owne satisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will ascribe that distichon which Apollonius Rhodius writeth of the Thermodon:

Huic non est aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros
Vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit vtrinque.

Midwaie. Next vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaie water, whereof I find two descriptions, the first beginneth thus. The Midwaie water is called in Latine Medeuia (as some write) bicause the course therof is midwaie in a manner betwéene London and Dorobernia, or (as we now call it) Canturburie. In British it hight Dourbrée: and thereof Rochester was sometime called Durobreuum. But in an old charter which I haue seene (conteining a donation sometime made to the monasterie of saint Andrews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuer Wedring; and also a towne standing betweene Malling and east Farleie, Wedrington; and finallie, a forrest also of the same denomination, Wedrington, now Waterdon, wherby the originall name appeareth to be fetched from this streame. It ariseth in Waterdon forrest east of Whetlin or Wedring, and ioineth with another brooke that descendeth from Ward forrest in Sussex: and after this confluence they go on togither, as one by Ashhirst, where hauing receiued also the second brooke, it hasteth to Pensherst, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the southeast part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith or Firth, on the northwest side, and an other little streame that commeth from the hilles betwéene Peuenburie and Horsemon on the southeast. From thence also, and not farre from Yalling it receiueth the Theise (a pretie streame that ariseth about Theise Hirst). & afterward the Gran or Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbrooke, and méeting with sundrie other riuelets by the waie, whereof one branch of Theise is the last, for it parteth at the Twist, and including a pretie Iland, doth ioine with the said Midwaie, a little aboue Yalding, and then with the Lowse. Finallie at Maidstone it méeteth with another brooke, whose name I know not, and then passeth by Allington, Duton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckestane, Rochester, Chattham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, Kingsferrie, and falleth into the maine sea betwéene Shepeie and the Grane.

Frethus.

Theise.

Grane aliàs Cranus.

And thus much out of the first authour, who commendeth it also, for that in time past it did yéeld such plentie of sturgeon, as beside the kings portion, and a due vnto the archbishop of Canturburie out of the same, the deane and chapter of Rochester had no small allowance also of that commoditie: likewise for the shrimps that are taken therein, which are no lesse estéemed of in their kind, than the westerne smelts or flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The second authour describeth it after this manner, and more copiouslie than the other.

The cheefe head of this streame riseth in Waterdon forrest, from whence after it hath runne a pretie waie still within the same, east of Whetlin, it méeteth with a brooke, whose head is in Ward forrest, southwest of Greenested, which goeth to Hartfield, and so to Whetlin, and yer long ioineth with the Midwaie. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-west from Cowden ward, and the third aboue Pensherst, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other west of Crawherst; and ioining aboue Edinbridge, it doth fall into the midwaie beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingston. From Pensherst our maine streame hasteth to Ligh, Tunbridge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it crosseth a water from North, whereof one head is at the Mote, another at Wroteham, the third at west Peckham, & likewise another from southest, that runneth east of Capell. Next after this it receiueth the These, whose forked head is at Theise Hirst, which descending downe toward the north, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a brooke out of the northside of Waterden forrest,

forrest, whose name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuer goeth to Goldhirst, and comming to the Twist, it brancheth in such wise, that one part of it runneth into Midwaie, another into the Garan, or rather Cranebrooke (if my coniecture be anie thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) or the Crane (as I doo take it) riseth neere to Cranebrooke, and going by Siffinghirst, it receiueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcorne, crossing two rilles by the waie from by north, Hedcorne it selfe standing betweene them both. Finallie, the Garan or Crane meeting with Midwaie south of Yalling, they on the one side, and the These on the other, leaue a pretie Iland in the middest, of foure miles in length, and two in breadth, wherein is some hillie soile, but neither towne nor village, so farre as I remember. Garunus, Cranus.

From Yalling forward, the Midwaie goeth to west Farlegh, east Farlegh: and yer it come at Maidstone, it interteineth a rill that riseth short of Ienham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringden, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in drie yéeres: for thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, sometimes ten miles for the same: there is also at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a necessarie commoditie.

Being past Maidstone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Halling, Cuckstane, and Rochester, where it passeth vnder a faire bridge of stone, with a verie swift course, which bridge was begun 1388 by the lord Iohn Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant sir Robert Knolles, who gaue the first onset vpon that péece of worke, and therevnto builded a chappell of the Trinitie at the end therof, in testimonie of his pietie. In processe of time also one Iohn Warner of Rochester made the new coping thereof; and archbishop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the bishops also of that see were not slacke in their beneuolence and furtherances toward that worke, especiallie Walter Merton founder of Merton college in Oxford, who by misfortune perished by falling from the same, as he rode to surueie the workemen. Being past Rochester, this noble riuer goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Vpchurch, and soone after branching, it imbraceth the Greene at his fall, as his two heads doo Ashdon forrest, that lieth betwéene them both.

OF SUCH STREAMES AS FALL INTO THE SEA, BETWEENE THE THAMES AND THE MOUTH OF THE SAUERNE.

CHAP. XII.

AFTER the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riseth at Kingeswood, which is fourteene or fifteene miles from Canturburie. This riuer passeth by Ashford, Wie, Nackington, Canturburie, Fordish, Standish, and Sturemouth, where it receiueth another riuer growing of three branches. After our Stoure or Sture parteth it self in twaine, & in such wise, that one arme therof goeth toward the north, and is called (when it commeth at the sea) the north mouth of Stoure; the other runneth southeastward vp to Richborow, and so to Sandwich, from whence it goeth northeast againe and falleth into the sea. The issue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the streame that commeth downe thither, after the diuision of the Stoure, maie be the same which Beda calleth Wantsome; but as I cannot vndoo this knot at will, so this is certeine, that the Stoure on the one side, and peraduenture the Wantsome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left for an Iland. Stoure. Nailburne water also (as I heare) neer to Cantwarbirie, but I wote not whereabouts: sée *Marianus Scotus*. Wantsome.

There are other little brookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland speaketh, as Fishpoole becke that ariseth in Stonehirst wood, and meeteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chislet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which sometime inclosed Thanet, as Leland saith: the third issueth out of the ground at Northburne (where Eadbert of Kent sometime past held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the said authour reporteth: and the fourth called Bridgewater that riseth by S. Marie Burne church, and

going by Bishops Burne, meeteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: also Wiham that riseth aboue Wiham short of Adsam, and falleth into Bridgewater at Dudmill, or Wenderton: and the third namelesse, which riseth short of Wodensburgh (a towne wherein Hengist & the Saxons honored their grand idoll Woden, or Othine) and goeth by Staple to Wingam: but sith they are obscure I will not touch them here. From hence passing by the Goodwine, a plot verie perilous for sea-faring men (sometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conquerours sonne, whose name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Goodwine in time past was knowne to lie) but escaping it with ease, we came
Dour. at length to Douer. In all which voiage we found no streame, by reason of the cliffes that inuiron the said coast. Howbeit vpon the south side of Douer, there is a pretie fresh riuer, whose head ariseth at Erwell, not passing foure miles from the sea, and of some is called Dour, which in the British toong is a common name for waters, as is also the old British word Auon for the greatest riuers, into whose mouthes or falles shippes might find safe entrance; and therefore such are in my time called hauens, a new word growen by an aspiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But more of this else-where, sith I am now onelie to speake of Dour, wherof it is likelie that the towne & castell of Douer did sometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peraduenture here and there sundrie small creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble
Rother. riuer falleth into the sea. This Rother separateth Sussex from Kent, and hath his head in Sussex, not farre from Argas hill néere to Waterden forrest, and from thence directeth his course vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham or Hitchingham, and so foorth by Newendon vnto Mattham ferrie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a castell sometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamflete) and at this
Bilie. towne, where it méeteth the Bilie that riseth about Bilsington, the other by Iden, so that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Oxneie, which in time past was reputed as a parcell of Sussex; but now vpon some occasion or other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence also growing into some greatnesse, it runneth to Rie, where it méeteth finallie
Becke, with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: so that the plot wherein Rie standeth, is in manner a by-land or peninsula, as experience doth confirme. Leland and most men are of
Limenus. the likeliest opinion, that this riuer should be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhull saith) doth issue out of Andredeswald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, bicause the Danes are noted to enter into these parts by the Limen; and sailing on the same to Appledoure, did there begin to fortifie, as I haue noted alreadie. Howbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother or Appledoure water, whereof let this suffice.

Being thus crossed ouer to the west side of Rie hauen, & in vewing the issues that fall into the same, I meet first of all with a water that groweth of two brookes, which come downe by one chanell into the east side of the mouth of the said port. The first therfore that falleth into it descendeth from Beckleie or thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Pesemarsh, & soone after ioining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the same at the westerlie side of Rie: the third streame commeth from the north, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Munfield, so it runneth betweene Sescambe and Wacklinton néere vnto Bread, taking another rill withall that riseth (as I heare) not verie far from Westfield. There is likewise a fourth that groweth of two heads betweene Ielingham and Pet, and going by Winchelseie it méeteth with all about Rie hauen, so that Winchelseie standeth inuironed on three parts with water, and the streames of these two that I haue last rehearsed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by southwest of Hastings, or therabouts, is
Aestus. called Æstus or Asten: perhaps of Hasten or Hasting the Dane, (who in time past was a plague to France and England) & rising not far from Penhirst, it meeteth with the sea (as I
Buluerhithe heare) by east of Hollington. Buluerhith is but a creeke (as I remember) serued with no backewater;

backewater; and so I heare of Codding or Old hauen, wherefore I meane not to touch them.

Into Peuenseie hauen diuerse waters doo resort, and of these, that which entereth into the same on the east side riseth out from two heads, whereof the most easterlie is called Ash, the next vnto the Burne, and vniting themselues not farre from Ashburne, they continue their course vnder the name and title of Ashburne water, as I read. The second that commeth thereinto issueth also of two heads, whereof the one is so manie miles from Boreham, the other not far from the Parke east of Hellingstowne, and both of them concurring southwest of Hirstmowsen, they direct their course toward Peuenseie (beneath which they méet with another rising at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall togither into Peuenseie hauen. The Cuckmer issueth out at seuerall places, and hereof the more easterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Bishops wood, and méeting beneath Halling, they run one bottome by Micham, Arlington, Wellington, old Frithstan, and so into the sea. Peuenseie. Ash. Burne. Cucomarus.

Vnto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, sundrie brookes and riuerets doo resort, but the chiefe head riseth toward the west, somewhat betwéene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The first water therefore that falleth into the same on the east side, issueth out of the ground about Vertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Ripe, on the west side; it falleth into the aforesaid riuer beneath Forle and Glime, or three miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The next herevnto hath his head in Argas hill, the third descendeth from Ashedon forrest, and ioining with the last mentioned, they crosse the maine riuer a little beneath Isefield. The fourth water commeth from Ashedon forrest by Horstéed Caines (or Ousestate Caines) and falleth into the same, likewise east of Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuer be not called Isis, after it is past Isefield. The fift riseth about Storuelgate, and meeteth also with the maine streame aboue Linfield, and these are knowen to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the riuer. On the other side are onelie two, whereof the first hath his originall neere vnto Wenefield, and holding on his course toward the east, it meeteth with his maister betweene Newicke and Isefield (or Ifield) as some read it. The last of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like sort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth foorth with it, & they rest in one chanell by Barcham, Hamseie, Malling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and so foorth into the maine. Isis. Nisfallon. Sturewell. Plimus.

The next riuer that we came vnto west of Brighthemston is the Sore, which notwithstanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Marton colledge in Oxford: but in such sort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Appledoure streame, bicause of the said towne that standeth thervpon. But to procéed, it is a pleasant water, & thereto if you consider the situation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much resembling a foure stringed whip. Whereabout the head of this riuer is, or which of these branches may safelie be called Sora from the rising, in good sooth I cannot say. For after we had passed nine or ten mils thereon vp into the land, suddenlie the crosse waters stopped vs, so that we were inforced to turne either east or west, for directlie foorth-right we had no waie to go. The first arme on the right hand as we went, riseth out of a parke by south of Alborne, and going on for a certeine space toward the northwest, it turneth southward betwéene Shermonburie and Twinham, and soone after méeteth with the Bimar, not much south from Shermonburie, whence they run togither almost two miles, till they fall into the Sore. That on the west side descendeth from about Billingeshirst, & going toward the east, it crosseth with the fourth (which riseth a litle by west of Thacam) east from Pulborow, and so they run as one into the Sore, that after this confluence hasteth it selfe southward by Brember, Burleis, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean. Soru. Bimarus.

The Arun (of which beside Arundell towne the castell and the vallie wherin it runneth is call'd Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in English) is a goodlie water, and thereto increased with no small number of excellent & pleasant brookes. It springeth vp of two heads, whereof one descendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, méeteth with the Arunus.

next streame (as I gesse) about Doursford house. The second riseth by west from the hils that lie toward the rising of the sunne from East maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Beriton ward, and ioineth with the second betwéene Peterfield and Doursford, after which confluence they go togither in one chanell still toward the east (taking a rill with them that cõmmeth betwéene Fernehirst and S. Lukes chappell, southwest of Linchmere, and meeting with it east of Loddesworth (as I doo read, and likewise sundrie other in one chanell beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Climping (all on the west side) and so into the sea.

Hauing thus described the west side of Arun, let vs doo the like with the other in such sort as we best may. The first riuer that we come vnto therfore on the east side, and also the second, rise of sundrie places in S. Leonards forrest, & ioining a little aboue Horsham, they méet with the third, which commeth from Ifield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riseth in Witleie parke, the other by west, néere vnto Heselméere chappell, and meeting by west of Doursfeld, they vnite themselues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I spake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingshirst. The last water commeth from the hils aboue Linchemere, and runneth west and south, and passing betwéene Billingshirst and Stopham it commeth vnto the chanell last mentioned, and so into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increase, at the least that I doo heare of.

Burne. Burne hath his issue in a parke néere Aldingburrie (or rather a little aboue the same toward the north, as I haue since beene informed) and running by the bottomes toward the

Elin. south, it falleth betwéene north Berflete and Flesham. Erin riseth of sundrie heads, by east of Erinleie, and directing his course toward the sunne rising, it peninsulateth Seleseie towne

Delũs. on the southwest and Pagham at northwest. Deel springeth about Benderton, and thence running betwéene middle Lauant and east Lauant, it goeth by west of west Hampnet, by east of Chichester, or west of Rumbaldesdowne, and afterward by Fishburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming north west from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one streame toward the sea, it méeteth with another rillet comming by north of Bosham, and so into Auant gulfe by east of Thorneie Iland.

Racunus. The Racon riseth by east of Racton or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and comming

Emill. by Chidham, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Thorneie aforesaid. The Emill commeth first betwéene Racton and Stansted, then downe to Emilsworth or Emmesworth, & so vnto the Ocean, separating Sussex from Hampshire almost from the very head. Hauing in this maner passed along the coasts of Sussex, the next water that I remember, riseth by east of the forrest of Estbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, west Burhunt, Farham, and so

Badunus forte. into the gulfe almost full south. Then come we to Bedenham creeke (so called of a village standing thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almost directlie against Porchester castell, which is situat about three miles by water from Portesmouth towne, as Leland dooth report. Then

Forten or Fordon. go we within halfe a mile further to Forten creeke, which either giueth or taketh name of a

Osterpoole. village hard by. After this we come to Osterpoole lake, a great créeke, that goeth vp by west into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of stone, from whence also there goeth a chaine to another tower on the east side directlie ouer against it, the like whereof is to be séene in diuerse other hauens of the west countrie, wherby the entrance of great vessels into that part may be at pleasure restreined.

From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riseth about Eastmaine parke, ten or

Tichefield. twelue miles by northeast or there abouts from Tichefeld. From Eastmaine it goeth (parting the forrests of Waltham, and Eastberie by the way) to Wicham or Wicombe, a pretie market towne & large throughfare, where also the water separateth it selfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yer long againe vnto one chanell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maister Writhoseleies house (eauing Tichfeld towne on the right side) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the sea floweth as hir naturall course inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge

it

it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuerse streames resort, as you shall heare hereafter.

After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelrish créeke, whose fall is betwéene saint Andrewes castell, and Hoke. It riseth about Shidford in Waltham forrest, & when it is past Croke bridge, it méeteth with another brooke, which issueth not farre from Bishops Waltham, out of sundrie springs in the high waie on Winchester, from whence it passeth (as I said) by Bishops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run togither by Prowlingsworth, Vpton, Brusill, Hamble towne, and so into the sea. Hamelrish.

Now come we to the hauen of Southhampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefelie describe so néere as I can possiblie. The bredth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by estimation two miles from shore to shore. At the west point therof also is a strong castell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldshore, but now Cawshot, I wote not by what occasion. On the east side thereof also is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue thrée or foure fisher houses, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen shooteth vp on the west side by the space of seuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, standing on the other side, where it is by estimation a mile from land to land. Thence it goeth vp further about thrée miles to Redbridge, still ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, so farre as my memorie dooth serue mée. Now it resteth that I describe the Alresford streame, which some doo call the Arre or Arle, and I will procéed withall in this order following. Southhampton.

The Alresford beginneth of diuerse faire springs, about a mile or more frō Alresford, or Alford as it is now called, and soone after resorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the most part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a stone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it selfe on the left hand) toward Hicthingstocke thrée miles off, but yer it commeth there, it receiueth two rils in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forrest in maner at hand, and by northwest of old Alresford, the other frō Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swarewotton, Aberstone, &c. vntill we méet with the said water beneath Alford towne. Being past Hichinstocke, it commeth by Auington to Eston village, and to Woorthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it selfe into other that resort to Hide and the lower soiles by east of Winchester, there seruing the stréets, the close of S. Maries, Wolueseie, and the new college verie plentifullie with their water. But in this meane while, the great streame commeth from Worthie to the east bridge, and so to saint Elizabeth college, where it dooth also part in twaine, enuironing the said house in most delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Crosses, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth six miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter brooke withall on the east side, and so into the salt créeke that leadeth downe to the hauen. Alresford. Otter.

On the other side of Southhampton, there resorteth into this hauen also both the Test & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large description insuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is supposed to be somewhere about Basing stoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betwéene Ouerton and Steuenton, it commeth at last by Lauerstocke & Whitchurch, and soone after receiuing a brooke by northwest, called the Bourne (descending from S. Marie Bourne, southeast from Horsseburne) it procéedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the east side (a pretie riuelet rising about Michelheie, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increased yer it come there by an other brooke, whose name I doo not know. This Andeuer streame riseth in Culhamshire forrest, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yer it touch there it receiueth the rill of which I spake before, which rising also néere vnto Anport, goeth to Monketon, to Abbatesham, the Andeuer, and both (as I said) vnto the Test beneath Horwell, whereof I spake euen now. Stocke. Bourne.

These

These streames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the south vnder Stockbridge, and soone after diuiding it selfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from bywest of S. Ans hil, and goeth by east of vpper Wallop, west of nether Wallop, by Bucholt forrest, Broughton, and
Walopius. called (as I haue béene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north west of kings Somburne, and vniting themselues againe,
Test. they go forth by Mottcshunt, and then receiue the Test, a pretie water rising in Clarendun parke, that goeth by west Deane, and east Deane, so to Motteshunt, and finallie to the aforesaid water, which from thencefoorth is called the Test, euen vnto the sea. But to procéed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumseie, Longbridge, and beneath the same receiueth a concourse of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefield, the other from the new Forrest, and ioining in Wadeleie parke, they beat vpon the Test, not verie farre from Murseling. From thence the Test goeth vnder a pretie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, springeth in the new Forrest, and commeth
Eling. thereinto about Eling, not passing one mile by west of the fall of Test. From hence casting about againe into the maine sea, and leauing Calde shore castell on the right hand, we directed our course toward the southwest, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Mineie descendeth.
Mineie. The Mineie riseth not far from Mineiestéed, a village in the north part of the new Forrest; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the sea southwest (as I take it) of Exburie, a village standing vpon the shore.

Limen. Being past the Mineie, we crossed the Limen as it is now called, whose head is in the verie hart of the new Forrest (sometime conuerted into a place of nourishment for déere by William Rufus, buieng his pleasure with the ruine of manie towns and villages, as diuerse haue inclosed or inlarged their parks by the spoile of better occupiengs) & running southwest of Lindhirst & the parke, it goeth by east of Brokenhirst, west of Bulder, & finallie into the sea south and by east of Lemington. I take this not to be the proper name of the water, but of the hauen, for Limen in Gréeke is an hauen: so that Limendune is nothing else, but a downe or higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neuerthelesse, sith this denomination of the riuer hath now hir frée passage, I think it not conuenient to séeke out any other name that should be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we passed by is namelesse, except it be called
Bure. Milis. Bure, & as it descendeth from new Forrest, so the next vnto it hight Mile, as I haue heard in English. Certes the head thereof is also in the southwest part of the said Forrest, & the fall not far from Milford bridge, beyond the which I find a narrow going or strictland leading frō the point to Hirst castell which standeth into the sea, as if it hoong by a thred, from the maine of the Iland, readie to be washed awaie by the continuall working and dailie beating of the waues.

The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is the Auon, which (as Leland saith) riseth
Auon. by northeast, and not far from Woolfehall in Wiltshire, supposed to be the same which Ptolomie called Halenus. The first notable bridge that it runneth vnto, is at Vpnauen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambresburie, and there is another bridge, from thence to Woodford village, standing at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The bishops of Sarum had a proper manor place at Woodford, which bishop Sharton pulled downe altogither, bicause it was somewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fisherton bridge, to Cranebridge, old Salisburie, new Salisburie, and finallie to Harnham, which is a statelie bridge of stone, of six arches at the least. There is at the west end of the said bridge, a little Iland, that lieth betwixt this and another bridge, of foure pretie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round streame, which (as I take it) is a branch of Auon, that breaketh out a little aboue, & soone after it reuniteth it selfe againe: or else that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harneham bridge it goeth to Dounton, that is about foure miles, and so much in like sort from thence to Fordingbridge, to Ringwood bridge fiue miles, to Christes church Twinham fiue miles, and streight into the sea; and hitherto Leland of this streame, which for the worthinesse

worthinesse thereof (in mine opinion) is not sufficientlie described. Wherefore I thinke good to deliuer a second receiued of another, which in more particular maner dooth exhibit his course vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, rising (as I said before néere) vnto Wolfe hall; although he that will séeke more scrupulouslie for the head in déed, must looke for the same about the borders of the forrest of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbraced betwéene the first armes thereof, as I haue beene informed. These heads also doo make a confluence by east of Martinshall hill, and west of Wootton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powseie, Manningfield abbeie, Manningfield crosse, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill west from Rudborow, and another a little lower that riseth also west of Alcanninges, and runneth into the same by Patneie, Merden, Wilford, Charleton, and Rustisall. Being therefore past Newington, it goeth to Vphauen (whereof Leland speaketh) to Chesilburie, Compton, Ablington, little Almsburie, Darntford, Woodford, old Salisburie, and so to new Salisburie, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by northwest, & another from north east, which two I will first describe, leauing the Auon at Salisburie for a while. The first of these is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole shire dooth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as some fantasticall heads doo imagine: whereof also there is more plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riseth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bridge, it goeth toward Bishops straw, taking in one rill by west & another from Vpton by Werminster at northwest. From Bishops straw it goeth to Norton, Vpton, Badhampton, Steplinford, and Stapleford, where it meeteth with the Winterburie water from by north, descending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Stapleford it hasteth to Wishford, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from southwest, which riseth of two heads aboue Ouerdonet. After this it goeth by Wordcastell, to Tisburie, and there receiueth a water on ech side, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two issues (of which one riseth at Austie, the other at Swalodise) and so keeping on still with his course, our Wilugh runneth next of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberstocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington or Nader water) Westharnam, Salisburie, and Eastharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh. Wilugh. Nader becke.

The other is a naked arme or streame without anie branches. It riseth aboue Colingburne Kingston in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidworths (whereof the more southerlie is in Wiltshire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Toneie, Idmerson, Porton, the Winterburns, Lauerstocke, and so into Auon east of Salisburie. And thus is the confluence made of the aforesaid waters, with this our second Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes brooke) a mile beneath Harneham bridge, whose head is fiue miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bridge, as Leland dooth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue his due recourse also at this place into the aforesaid riuer. Certes it is a pretie brooke, and riseth six miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Salisburie in a bottome on the right hand, whence it commeth by Knighton and Fenistratford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Odstocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bridge, except he forget himselfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was sometime a pretie village before the erection of new Salisburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in stéed of this church, there is onelie a barne standing in a verie low mead on the northside of S. Michaels hospitall. The cause of the relinquishing of it was the moistnesse of the soile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie laie sometime through Wilton, licence was obteined of the king and Richard bishop of Salisburie, to remooue that passage vnto new Salisburie in like maner, and vpon this occasion was the maine bridge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchange of the waie also old Salisburie fell into vtter decaie, & Wilton which was before the head towne of the shire, and furnished with twelue parish churches, grew to be but a poore village, and of small reputa- Becquith brooke. Chalkeburne Thrée towns decaied by changing one waie.

tion. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cause of the ruine of old Salisburie, sith I read of two other, whereof the first was a salue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out, that the townesmen wanted water in old Salisburie, it is flat otherwise; sith that hill is verie plentifullie serued with springs and wels of verie sweet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

An holie conflict.

In the time of ciuill warres, the souldiors of the castell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, insomuch that after often bralles, they fell at last to sad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the cleargie going in solemne procession, a controuersie fell betweene them about certeine walkes and limits, which the one side claimed and the other denied. Such also was the hot intertainment on ech part, that at the last the Castellanes espieng their time, gate betweene the cleargie and the towne, and so coiled them as they returned homeward, that they feared anie more to gang about their bounds for the yeare. Heerevpon the people missing their bellie cheare (for they were woont to haue banketing at euerie station, a thing commonlie practised by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer said, with beefe, bread and beere) they conceiued foorthwith a deadlie hatred against the Castellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they consulted with Richard Pore their bishop, and he with them so effectuallie, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of their owne ground called Mirifield, pretending to serue God there in better safetie, and with far more quietnesse than they could doo before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentith of Aprill, and finished with the expenses of 42000 marks, in the yeare 1260, and fiue & twentith of March, whereby it appeereth that it was aboue fortie yeers in hand, although the clearks were translated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeere after the fraie. The people also seeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earnest on the other side to be neere vnto these prelats, and therefore euerie man brought his house vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeeres vtterlie desolate, and new Salisburie raised vp in steed thereof, to the great decaie also of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I spake of late. Neuerthelesse it should seeme to me that this new citie is not altogither void of some great hinderances now and then by water: for in the second of Edward the second (who held a parlement there) there was a sudden thaw after a great frost, which caused the waters so fast to arise, that euen at high masse time the water came into the minster, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the same, but came vp all to the kings pauase where he sate, whereby he became wetshod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his masse, least they should all haue beene drowned: and this rage indured there for the space of two daies, wherevpon no seruice could be said in the said minster.

New Salisburie begun.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digressed. Our Auon therefore departing from Salisburie, goeth by Burtford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Craiford, Burgate, Fording bridge, Ringwood, Auon, Christes church; and finallie into the sea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneth Christes church, it crosseth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire streame, whose course is such as may not be left vntouched. It riseth of six heads, whereof three lie on the north side of the parke at Sturton within the pale, the other rise without the parke; & of this riuer the towne and baronie of Sturton dooth take his name as I gesse, for except my memorie do too much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the six heads of the said water in his armes. But to proceed. After these branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laime mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that descendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Westouer bridge, Stoure prouost, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Moreland, & so to Stapleford, seuen miles from Wickhampton, passing in the said voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Maries, and soone after crosseth the Lidden and Deuilis waters all in one chanell, whereof the first riseth in Blackemore vale, and goeth to the bishops

Starus.

Cale.

Lidden.

Deuilis.

bishops Caundell: the second in the hils south of Pulham, and so runneth to Lidlinch; the third water issueth néere Ibberton, and going by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there méeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and so go into the Stoure. Iber. Blackewater.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minster, Fitleford, Hammond, and soone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by west Orchard, and a second from Funtmill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweston, Knighton, Brainston, Blandford, Charleton: and crossing yer long a rill that riseth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launston, Munketon, Caunston, Tarrant, it proceedeth foorth by Shepwijc, and by and by receiuing another brooke on the right hand, that riseth about Strictland, and goeth by Quarleston, Whitchurch, Anderston, and Winterburne, it hasteth forward to Stoureminster, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, alias Twinburne minster, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wikehampton, Estambridge, Hinton, Barnsleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riseth short of Woodcotes, and east of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Ashleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton dooth the Cranburne. Finallie, meeting with the Terig aboue Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preston, Kingston, Perleie, and Yolnest: but yer it come at Yolnest it taketh in two brookes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondesham, Vertwood, and Mannington, and ioining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and so into Stoure. After which confluence, the said Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and so into Auon, leauing Christs church aboue the méeting of the said waters (as I haue said before.) This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perch, roch, dace, gudgeon and eeles.

Hauing in this maner passed Christes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little brooke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whose mouth vpon the shore, by southwest in a baie of three miles off, is a poore fisher towne called Sandwich, where we saw a péere and a little fresh brooke. The verie vtter part of saint Adelmes point, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth west Lilleworth, where (as I heare) is some profitable harborough for ships. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it standeth almost as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it selfe also, if a man should measure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did gesse by the view. Burne. Poole.

Going therefore into the same, betwéene the north and the south points, to sée what waters were there, we left Brunkeseie Iland, and the castell on the left hand within the said points; and passing about by Pole, and leauing that créeke, bicause it hath no fresh, we came by Holton and Kesworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the south waters. The north streame hight Piddle as I heare. It riseth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterstow, and yer it come at Birstam, receiueth Deuils brooke that commeth thither from Brugham and Melcombe by Deuilish towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Ashe piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yer it come there, a water that runneth from Helton by Middleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hide, and so into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianus Scotus speaketh, except I be deceiued. The south water is properlie called Frome for Frame. It riseth néere vnto Euershot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelmington, and Catstocke, it receiueth there a rill from beside Rowsham, and Wraxehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newton, where it méeteth with the Owke, that riseth either two miles aboue Hoke parke at Kenford, or in the great pond within Hoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & so go as one from thence to Fromevauchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Muckilford, and receiueth néere vnto the same a rill from aboue Vpsidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimston. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bradford Peuerell, and beneath this Bradford, it crosseth the Silleie alias Minterne and Cherne brooks both in one chanell: whereof the first riseth in vpper Cherne parish, the other at Minterne, and méeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by Piddle. Deuils. Frome. Ocus. Silleie. Minterne. Cherne.

nether Cherne, Forston, Godmanston, and aboue Charneminster into Frome. In the meane time also our Frome brancheth and leaueth an Iland aboue Charneminster, and ioining againe neere Dorchester, it goeth by Dorchester, and Forthington; but yer it come at Beckington, it meeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinstow, Heringstow, Caine and Stafford, and from thence goeth without anie further increase as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Morton, Wooll, Bindon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueth the issue of the Luckeford lake, from whence also it passeth by Eastholme, Warham, and so into the Baie. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we saw a little creeke, then by Owre, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by saint Helens, and Furleie castell, we went abroad into the maine, and found ourselues at libertie.

Luckford.

Seeke more for Wilie brooke that goeth by West burie to Pole hauen.

When we were past Pole hauen, we left the Handfast point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at last to Lughport hauen, whereby and also the Luckeford lake, all this portion of ground last remembred, is left in maner of a byland or peninsula, and called the Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good store of alum and hard stone. In like sort going still westerlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a creeke. Then vnto Waie or Wilemouth, by kings Welcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whose head is not full foure miles aboue the hauen by northwest at Vphill in the side of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we saw three falles, whereof the first and greatest commeth from Vpweie by Bradweie, and Radipoole, receiuing afterward the second that ran from east Chekerell, and likewise the third that maketh the ground betweene Weimouth and Smalmouth passage almost an Iland. There is a little barre of sand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the sea runneth vp by the right hand; and scant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the shore, is a right goodlie and warlike castell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth vp also further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a passage is into Portland, by a little course of pibble sand. It goeth vp also from the said passage vnto Abbatsbirie about seauen miles off, where a litle fresh rondell resorteth to the sea. And somewhat aboue this, is the head or point of the Chesill lieng northwest, which stretcheth vp from thence about seauen miles, as a maine narrow banke, by a right line vnto the southeast, and there abutteth vpon Portland scant a quarter of a mile aboue the Newcastle there. The nature of this banke is such, that so often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at southeast, so often the sea beateth in, and losing the banke soketh through it: so that if this wind should blow from that corner anie long time togither, Portland should be left an Iland as it hath beene before. But as the southwest wind dooth appaire this banke, so a northwest dooth barre it vp againe. It is pretie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth streight against Milton on the other side, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of small breadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one side of the shore to another, whereby the ferrie men doo guide their botes without anie helpe of Ores. But to proceed with our purpose. Into the mouth of this riuer doo ships often come for succour.

Chesill.

Going by Portland and the point thereof called the Rase, we sailed along by the Shingle, till we came by saint Katharins chappell, where we saw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdeene Beaconward, by Portsham and Abbatsburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the sea, neere Birton, and descended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bride or Brute port, a pretie hauen, and the riuer it selfe serued with sundrie waters. It riseth halfe a mile or more aboue Bemister, and so goeth from Bemister to Netherburie by Parneham, then to Melplash, and so to Briteport, where it taketh in two waters from by east in one chanell, of which one riseth east of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Porestoke and Milton, the other at Askerwell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence also our Bride going toward the sea, taketh the Simen on the west that commeth by Simensburge into the same, the whole streame soone after falling into the sea, and leauing a pretie hauenet.

Bride.

Nature hath set the mouth of this riuer in maner betwixt two hils, so that a little cost would make an haue there.

Simen.

Chare.

The next port is the Chare, serued with two rils in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The cheefe head of this riuer is (as Leland saith) in Marshwood parke, and commeth downe by

by Whitechurch: the other runneth by west of Wootton, and méeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I said) dooth fall into the sea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townesmen call the Buddle, which commeth about three miles by north of Lime, from the hils, fleting vpon Rockie soile, and so falleth into the sea. Certes, there is no hauen héere that I could sée, but a quarter of a mile by west southwest of the towne, is a great and costlie iuttie in the sea for succour of ships. The towne is distant from Coliton, about fiue miles. And heere we ended our voiage from the Auon, which conteineth the whole coast of Dorcester, or Dorcetshire, so that next we must enter into Summerset countie, and sée what waters are there. Buddle.

The first water that we méet withall in Summersetshire is the Axe, which riseth in a place called Axe knoll, longing to sir Giles Strangwaie, néere vnto Cheddington in Dorsetshire, from whence it runneth to Mosterne, Feborow, Claxton, Weiford bridge, Winsham foord, and receiuing one rill from the east by Hawkechurch, and soone after another comming from northwest by Churchstoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Axeminster, beneath which it crosseth the Yare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitstaunton, Yarecombe, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a brooke from by south, that runneth by Dalwood) and so into the Axe. From hence our Axe goeth to Drake, Musburie, Culliford: but yer it come altogither at Culliford, it méeteth with a water that riseth aboue Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widworthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill also, procéedeth on after the confluence aboue Culliford bridge, into the Axe, and from thence hold on togither into the maine sea, whereinto they fall vnder the roots of the winter cliffes, the points of them being almost a mile in sunder. The most westerlie of them called Berewood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton. Axe. Yare aliàs Arte.

But the other toward the east is named Whitecliffe, of which I saie no more, but that "in the time of Athelstane, the greatest nauie that euer aduentured into this Iland, arriued at Seton in Deuonshire, being replenished with aliens that sought the conquest of this Iland, but Athelstane met and incountered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew six thousand of his aforesaid enimies. Not one of them also that remained aliue, escaped from the battell without some deadlie or verie gréeuous wound. In this conflict moreouer were slaine fiue kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Axe minster, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the chéefe of his nobilitie, and they also buried in the churchyard aforesaid. Héervnto it addeth how the bishop of Shireburne was in like sort slaine in this battell, that began at Brunedune neere to Coliton, and indured euen to Axe minster, which then was called Brunberie or Brunburg. The same daie that this thing happened the sunne lost his light, and so continued without anie brightnesse, vntill the setting of that planet, though otherwise the season was cléere and nothing cloudie."

As for the hauen which in times past as I haue heard, hath béene at Sidmouth (so called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewise at Seton, I passe it ouer, sith now there is none at all. Yet hath there béene sometime a notable one, albeit, that at this present betweene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble stones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Axe is driuen to the verie east point of the hauen called White cliffe. Thereat also a verie little gull góeth into the sea, whither small fisherbotes doo oft resort for succour. The men of Seton began of late to stake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the course of the Axe, and (almost in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Chesill, thereby to haue let out the Axe, & to haue taken in the maine sea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton westward lieth Coliton, about two miles by west northwest, whereof riseth the riuer Colie, which going by the aforesaid towne, passeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betweene Axe bridge and Axe mouth towne into the Axe riuer. Sidde. Seton. Colie.

By west of Bereworth point lieth a créeke, serued (so farre as I remember) with a fresh water that commeth from the hilies south of Southleie or Branscombe. Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither commeth a fresh water by S. Maries from the said hils, that goeth from Sid.

S. Maries

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S. Maries aforesaid to Sidburie, & betweene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine sea. By west of Auterton point also lieth another hauen, and thither commeth a pretie riueret, whose head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe first by Vpauter, then by a parke side to Mohuns Auter, Munketon, Honniton, Buckewell, and north of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riseth northwest of Brodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehemburie, Vinniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betwéene Cadde and Autrie, to Herford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and so into the sea. On the west side of this hauen is Budeleie almost directly against Otterton. It is easie to be seene also, that within lesse space than one hundred yeers, ships did vse this hauen, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie hauen of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little créeke comming out of the maine hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time past béene a towne of great estimation.

Autrie alias Ottereie.

Tale.

Exe.

The Ex riseth in Exmore in Summersetshire, néere vnto Ex crosse, and goeth from thence vnto Exeford, Winsford, and Extun, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. Ater this confluence it goeth on toward the south, till it méet with a pretie brooke rising northeast of Whettell (going by Brunton Regis) increased at the least with thrée rilles which come all from by north. These being once met, this water runneth on by west of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & soone after taketh in the Barleie, that receiuethin like sort the Done at Hawkbridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth méet with the Exe, almost in the verie confines betwéene Dorset & Summersetshires. Being past this coniunction, our Exe passeth betwéene Brushford and Murbath, and then to Exe bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by west from east Austie: and after this likewise another on ech side, whereof one commeth from Dixford, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, somewhat by east of Okeford. From these meetings it goeth to Caue and through the forrest and woods to Hatherland and Washfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riseth aboue Ashbrittle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, vpper Loman, and so to Tiuerton that standeth almost euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Simming brooke or Sunnings bath. After this our Exe goeth to Bickleie, Theuerten, (taking in a rill by west) nether Exe, Bramford, beneath which it ioineth with the Columbe that riseth of one head northeast of Clarie Haidon, and of another south of Shildon, and méeting beneath Columbe stocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there crossing a rill that commeth by Ashford, it runneth south to Wood, More haies, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe Iohn, Hoxham, and ioining (as I said) with the Exe at Bramford, passing vnder but one bridge, yer it meet with another water by west, growing of the Forten and Cride waters (except it be so that I doo iudge amisse.) The Cride riseth aboue Wollesworthie, and néere vnto Vpton: after it is past Dewrish, crosseth a rill from betweene Puggill and Stockeleie by Stocke English, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it méeteth with the Forten, wherof one branch commeth by Caldbrooke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and ioining aboue Creditón, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which yer long also receiueth another from by north, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betwéene Haine and Newton Sires, to Pines, and so into the Exe, which staieth not vntill it come to Excester. From Excester (whither the burgesses in time past laboured to bring the same, but in vaine) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by west, and an other lower by Exminster, next of all vnto Toppesham; beneath which towne the Cliue entreth thereinto, which rising about Plumtree, goeth by Cliff Haidon, Cliff Laurence, Brode Cliff, Honiton, Souton, Bishops Cliff, S. Marie Cliff, Cliff saint George, and then into the Exe, that runneth forward by Notwell court, Limston and Pouderham castell. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ken, or Kenton brooke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunsdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and so into Exe hauen, at whose mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkstones, except I be deceiued. The next fall, whereof Leland saith nothing at all, commeth by Ashcombe and Dulish, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

Barleie.

Done alias Doue stroke.

Woodburne.

Lomund or Simming.

Columbe.

Cride.

Forten.

Cliuus.

Ken.

The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came to, & it is a goodlie port foure miles from Exemouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the sea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewise an other west of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bridford, Kirslowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bouie, whose course is to north Bouie, Lilleie, and Bouitracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a brooke beneath Preston that commeth from Edeford by the waie. And when it is past this confluence, at kings Teignton, it crosseth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Bushels: and soone after the Aller that riseth betwéene Danburie and Warog well, afterward falling into the sea by Bishops Teignton, south of Teignmouth towne. Teigne. Crokerne. Bouie. Eidis. Leman. Aller.

The verie vtter west point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Nesse, and is a verie high red cliffe. The east part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low sandie ground, either cast vp by the spuing of the sand out of the Teigne, or else throwne vp from the shore by the rage of wind and water. This sand occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betweene the hauen where the sand riseth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (surnamed Regis) hath in time past béene sore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignemouth we came to Tor baie, wherof the west point is called Birie, and the east Perritorie, betwéene which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie also to Dartmouth is six miles, where (saith Leland) I marked diuerse things. First of all vpon the east side of the hauen a great hillie point called Downesend, and betwixt Downesend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it selfe, in like sort, is not full a mile from Downesend vpward into the hauen. Kingswere towne standeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the second baie. Somewhat moreouer aboue Kingswere towne goeth a little créeke vp into the land from the maine streame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for vessels to be made in. In like sort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer créeke, and aboue that also a greater than either of these called Gawnston, whose head is here not halfe a mile from the maine sea, by the compassing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta muth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fiftéene miles aboue Totnesse, in a verie large plot, and such another wild morish & forrestie ground as Exmore is. Of it selfe moreouer this water is verie swift, and thorough occasion of tin-workes whereby it passeth, it carrieth much sand to Totnesse bridge, and so choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it selfe is almost spoiled by the same. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vprising, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and soone after taking in the Ashburne water on the one side that runneth from Saddleton rocke by north, and the Buckfastlich that commeth from north west, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemston, and there also crossing a rill on ech side passeth foorth to Totnesse, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke, méeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Rost bridge, two miles aboue Totnes, or (as another saith) by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Asprempton into Darent, which yer long also commeth to Corneworthie, Grenewaie, Ditsham, Darntmouth towne (whervnto king Iohn gaue sometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totnesse) from thence betwéene the castelles, and finallie into sea. Dart. Ashburne. Buckeastlich. Hartburne.

From hence we went by Stokeflemming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the second that falleth in east of Slapton, and so coasting out of this baie by the Start point, we saile almost directlie west, till we come to Saltcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little fresh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (such as it is) riseth néere Buckland, and goeth to Dudbrooke, which standeth betwéene two créekes. Thence it hieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill,

rill, whose head commeth from south and north of Shereford. Finallie it hath another créeke that runneth vp by Ilton: and the last of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whose head is so néere the baie last afore remembred, that it maketh it a sorie peninsula (as I haue heard it said.)

Awne. Then come we to the Awne, whose head is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dixford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleston, and so into the

Arme. sea ouer against a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riseth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fléet, Orchardton, Ownewell, and so vnto the sea, which is full of flats and rocks, so that no ship commeth thither in anie tempest, except it be forced therto, through the vttermost extremitie and desperat hazard of the

Sée Hen. 7. pag. 792, 793, 794. fearefull mariners. King Philip of Castile lost two ships here in the daies of king Henrie the seuenth, when he was driuen to land in the west countrie by the rage of weather.

Yalme. Yalme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Yalmeton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and so into the sea, about foure miles by south east from the maine streame of Plimmouth. Being

Plim. past these portlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a verie busie péece to describe, bicause of the numbers of waters that resort vnto it, & small helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courses; yet will I doo what I may in this, as in the rest, and so much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as shall suffice my purpose in this behalfe.

Plim. The Plimne or Plim, is the verie same water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ships doo ride, is walled on ech side and chained ouer in time of necessitie, and on the south side of the hauen is a blocke house vpon a rockie hill: but as touching the riuer it selfe, it riseth in the hils west of Cornewood, and commeth downe a short course of three miles to Newenham after it be issued out of the ground.

Stoure alias Catwater. From Newenham also it runneth to Plimpton, and soone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariseth northwest of Shepistour, & goeth frō thence to Memchurch, Hele, Shane, Bickleie, and so to Eford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill it go past Plimmouth, and fall into the hauen south east of Plimmouth aforesaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cause whie so manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the British word for a streame, I rested thervpon as resolued for a season: but afterward finding the word to be méere Saxon, and that Stouremare is a prouince subiect to the duke of Saxonie, I yéelded to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the said name was first deriued from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimmouth it selfe standeth betweene two créeks, not serued with anie backewater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thamar that dischargeth it selfe into the aforesaid hauen. Going therfore vp that streame, which for the most part parteth Deuon-

Taue or Tauie. shire from Cornewall, the first riueret that I met withall on the east side is called Tauie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles aboue Peters Tauie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Marie Tauie betwéene them, though nothing neere the confluence. From hence the Taue or Tauie runneth to Tauistocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another aboue north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and commeth therevnto by Sandford and Harrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, moonks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton follie. Hauing thus dispatched the Tauie, the next that falleth in

Lidde. on the east side vpwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hils aboue Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, aboue which it receiueth the

Trushell. Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Brediston, goeth by Trusholton to Ibaine, where it receiueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanswike, and after the confluence runneth to Liston, and from thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is

Core. the Corewater, this ariseth somewhere about Elwell or Helwell, and going by Virginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton,

the other from Holsworthie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west northwest of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summersetshire, about three miles northeast of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth ouer the whole west countrie betweene sea and sea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of six miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bridge Reuell, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boiton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the west side called Arteie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort frō this confluence, we met with the Kenseie, whose head is short of Warpeston by south east: from whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Tresmure, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowwhitton vnto Bradston, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Pitherwije, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This riuer riseth at Dauidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancast, and Trelaske first; and then vnder sundrie bridges, vntill it méet with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bridge, Calstocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (there abouts taking in a créeke aboue Landilip) and running on from thence, hasteth toward Saltash, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Broomwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wootton, Blosfleming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Bicton by Quithiocke, saint Germans, and Sheuiocke. But to procéed. After the confluence, it goeth betweene Erlie and Fro Martine castell, and soone after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbrooke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betwéene saint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimmouth water, and all such falles as are betwéene Newston rocke on the east side, and the Ram head on the other.

Thamar. Arteie. Kenseie. Enian. Liuer.

After this we procéeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came soone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Liscard, & his course by Minheniet, Chafrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and so into the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betwéene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence aboue Low. The chiefe head riseth in the hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little aboue Low, where it crosseth and ioineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Next vnto these are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawy.

Sutton. Low. Polpir.

Foy or Fawy riuer riseth in Fawy moore, on the side of an hill in Fawy moore, from whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it méet with the Glin water west of Glin towne, which rising aboue Temple, & meeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Resprin from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Resprin bridge, Lestermen castell, Lostwithiell bridge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Winnow, and Golant, and here also receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining house. Being thus vnited, it proceedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from aboue it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth three good miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuer addeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawy riseth in Fawy moore (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sixteene miles from Fawy towne) in a verie quaue mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Resprin bridge, and Lostwithiell bridge,

Fawie. Glin. Lerinus. Faw.

where it meeteth with a little brooke, and néere therevnto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and soone after ioining againe, the maine riuer goeth to saint Gwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie dooth faile me. Here goeth in a salt créeke halfe a mile on the east side of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the créeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

In the middle of this créeke was a cell of S. Ciret in an Islet longing sometime to Mountegew a priorie.

From Lerine créeke, to S. Caracs pill or créeke, is about halfe a mile, and Lower on the east side of the said hauen: it goeth vp also not aboue a mile and an halfe into the land. From Caracs créeke to Poulmorland a mile, and this likewise goeth vp scant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parteth it selfe in twaine. From Poulmorland vnto Bodnecke village halfe a mile, where the passage and repassage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a créeke goeth vp not fullie a thousand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching against the tower on Fawy side, betwéene which (as I doo heare) a chaine hath sometime beene stretched, and likelie inough; for the hauen there is hardly two bow shot ouer. The verie point of land at the east side of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus crosse, but now Panuche crosse. It shall not be amisse in this place somewhat to intreat of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Comwhath, and being situat on the northside of the hauen, is set hanging on a maine rockie hill, being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memorie deceiue me.

Comwhath.

The renowme of Fawy rose by the wars vnder king Edward the first, Edward the third, and Henrie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine pirasie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling themselues somwhat at ease and strong in their purses, they fell to merchandize, and so they prospered in this their new deuise, that as they trauelled into all places, so merchants from all countries made resort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ships of Fawy sailing oft a time by Rhie and Winchelseie in the time of king Edward the third, refused stoutlie to vale anie bonet there, although warning was giuen them so to doo by the portgreues or rulers of those townes. Hereupon the Rhie and Winchelseie men made out vpon them with cut and long taile: but so hardlie were they interteined by the Fawy pirates (I should saie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no small losse and hinderance. Such fauour found the Fawy men also immediatlie vpon this bickering, that in token of their victorie ouer their winching aduersaries, and riding ripiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded for new, wherein the scutchion of Rhie and Winchelseie is quartered with theirs, and beside this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy or Foy, whereof they not a little reioiced, and more peraduenture than for some greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we see what great successe often commeth of witlesse and rash aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpose from whence we haue digressed, and as hauing some desire to finish vp this our voiage, we will leaue the Fawmouth & go forward on our iournie.

Gallants of Foy or Fawy.

Being therefore past this hauen, we come into Trewardith baie, which lieth into the land betwéene Cantuasse and the Blacke head point, and here about Leland placeth Vrctoum promontorium. In this we saw the fall of two small brookes, not one verie far distant from another. The first of them entring west of Trewardith, the other east of saint Blaies, and both directlie against Curwarder rocke, except I mistake my compasse. Neither of them are of anie great course, and the longest not full three miles and an halfe. Wherfore sith they are neither branched nor of anie great quantitie, what should I make long haruest of a little corne, and spend more time than may well be spared about them?

When we were past the Blacke head, we came to Austell brooke, which is increased with a water that commeth from aboue Mewan, and within a mile after the confluence, they fall into the sea at Pentoren, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the

Austell.

the Dudman point, till we came to Chare haies, where falleth in a pretie water, whose head is two miles aboue saint Tues. Thence we went by here and there a méere salt créeke, till we passed the Graie rocke, in Gwindraith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauen. Chare.

The Fala riseth a little by north of Penuenton towne, and going westward till it come downwards toward saint Dionise, it goeth forth from thence to Melader, saint Steuens Graupont, Goldon, Crede, Corneleie, Tregue, Moran, Tregunnan, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force: and this is the course of Fala. But least I should séeme to omit those creekes that are betwéene this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in so manie of them, as come now to my remembrance. Entring therefore into the port, we haue a créeke that runneth vp by saint Anthonies toward saint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by east of saint Maries castell, with a forked head, passing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in the verie midst of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betwéene saint Maries castell and Pendinant. Fala.

Thence we cast about by the said castell, and came by another créeke that falleth in by east, then the second aboue saint Iustus, the third at Ardenora, the fourth at Rilan. And hauing as it were visited all these in order, we came backe againe about by Tregonnian, and then going vpward betweene it and Taluerne, till we came to Fentangolan, we found the confluence of two great creekes beneath saint Clements, whereof one hath a fresh water comming downe by S. Merther, the other another from Truro, increased with sundrie branches, though not one of them of anie greatnesse, and therefore vnworthie to be handled. Pole hole standeth vpon the head almost of the most easterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro stand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by west from certeine hils: as for the fift and sixt, as they be litle créeks and no fresh, so haue I lesse language and talke to spend about them.

Of saint Caie, and saint Feokes créeke, whose issue is betwéene Restronget and créeke of Trurie, I sée no cause to make any long spéech; yet I remember that the towne of S. Feoke standeth betwéene them both. That also called after this saint, rising aboue Perannarwothill, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeast of Milor, which standeth vpon the point betwéene it and Milor créeke. Milor creeke is next Restronget: some call it Milor poole, from whence we went by Trefusis point, and there found an other great fall from Perin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin towne almost in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But for somuch as Leland hath taken some paines in the description of this riuer, I will not suffer it to perish, sith there is other matter conteined therein worthie remembrance, although not deliuered in such order as the thing it selfe requireth. S. Caie. S. Feoks. Milor.

The verie point (saith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a castell) is called Pendinant. It is about a mile in compasse, almost inuironed with the sea: and where the sea couereth not, the ground is so low that it were a small mastrie to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore, there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maister Killigrewes house one great arme of the hauen runneth vp to Penrine towne, which is three miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good miles from Penfusis. Moreouer there is Leuine, Priselo, betwixt saint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of sand. But to procéed. Fala. Leuine.

The first creeke or arme that casteth on the northwest side of Falemouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the lesse runneth to Glasenith, Viridis nidus, the gréene nest, or Wagméere at Penrine: the other to saint Glunias the parish church of Penrine. In like sort out of each side of Penrine créeke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I vnderstand also that stakes and foundations of stone haue béene set in the créeke at Penrine a little lower than the wharfe, where

it breaketh into armes: but howsoeuer this standeth, betwixt the point of Trefusis and the
Milor. point of Restronget is Milor créeke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ships. The next creeke beyond the point of Restronget wood,
Restronget. is called Restronget, which going two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Restronget and the creeke of Trurie be two créekes; one called saint
S. Feoks. Feokes, the other saint Caie, next vnto which is Trurie créeke that goeth vp about two
S. Caie. miles créeking from the principall streame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, casting in a branch westward euen hard by Newham wood.

Trurie créeke. This creeke of Trurie is diuided into two parts before the towne of Trurie, and each of them hauing a brooke comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trurie standeth betwixt them both. In like sort Kenwen stréet is seuered from the said towne with this arme, and Clements street by east with the other. Out of the bodie also of Trurie creeke breaketh another eastward a mile from Trurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Cresilian bridge of stone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this créeke is a rode of ships called Maples rode: and here fought not long since eightéene ships of Spanish merchants, with foure ships of warre of Deepe, but the Spaniards draue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe aboue the mouth of Crurie creeke, is another named Lhan Moran of
Moran. S. Morans church at hand. This créeke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine streame into the hauen, as the maine streame goeth vp two miles aboue Moran créeke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher, is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a bridge of stone vpon the Fala riuer. Fala it selfe riseth a mile or more west of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I saw a bridge of stone.

Graund pont. This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his course. From Cregowie to passe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie horne pill or créeke, on the south side of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall streame of the hauen. From Lanihorne pill also is a place or point of sand about a mile waie of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninsula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or créeke that runneth into the south southeast part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the créeke that hemmeth in this peninsula, of both dooth seeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the west creeke of this peninsula, vnto saint Iustes creeke, is foure miles or more.

S. Iustus. In like maner from saint Iustes pill or créeke (for both signifie one thing) to saint Mawes
S. Mawes. creeke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betwéene them both is called Pendinas. The créeke of saint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by east northeast into the land, and beside that it ebbeth and floweth so farre, there is a mill driuen with a fresh créeke that resorteth to the same. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a créeke in maner of a poole, whereon is a mill also that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the south side entereth a créeke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine sea by a small sandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little créekelet. But how so euer these créekes doo run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouslie well woodded. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being past Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maister Killegrewes place which standeth on the brimme or shore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betwéene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were serued with anie backe fresh water or not.

Polwitherall, Polpenrith. From thence we went by Polwitherall creeke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, wherevnto a riueret falleth that riseth not farre from thence, and so goeth to the maine streame of the hauen at the last, whither the créeke resorteth about three miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare

and

and Mogun bridges, doo fall in one bottome (as Leland hath reported.) Vnto this hauen also repaireth the Penkestell, the Callous, the Cheilow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth against saint Mawuons on the hither side hard without the hauen mouth (if I haue doone aright.) For so motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are those bookes of Leland which I haue, and beside that, his annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie sense from them by a leafe togither. Wherefore I suppose that he dispersed and made his notes intricate of set purpose: or else he was loth that anie man should easilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no lesse trauell atteined vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala hauen, as more troublesome for me to describe, than profitable for seafaring men, without good aduise to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came straight southwest to Helford hauen, whose water commeth downe from Wréeke (where is a confluence of two small rilles whereof that rill consisteth) by Mawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Constantine, after whose confluence it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is spoiled by sand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this also is another rill comming from S. Martyrs, by whose course, and another ouer against it on the west side that falleth into the sea by Winniton, all Menage is left almost in maner of an Iland. From hence we go south to the Manacle point, then southwest to Lisard, and so north and by west to Predannocke points, beyond which we méet with the fall of the said water, that riseth in the edge of Menag, and goeth into the sea by Melien on the north, and Winniton on the south. By north also of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth short of Magan, and touclieth with the Ocean south of Pengwenian point.

Wike. Gare. Mogun. Penkestell. Callous. Cheilow. Gilling. Haile. Curie.

From hence we sailed to the Loo mouth, which some call Lopoole, because it is narrower at the fall into the sea, than it is betwéene the sea and Hailston. It riseth aboue S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it hasteth to Hailston or Helston, from whence onelie it is called Loo: but betwéene Helston and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this riuer Leland saith thus: The Lopoole is two miles in length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of sand that once in thrée or foure yéeres, what by weight of the fresh water, and working of the sea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noise: but soone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the superfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and éele) draineth out through the sandie barre into the open sea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Haileston towne, where coinage of tin is also vsed, as at Trurie and Lostwithiell, for the quéenes aduantage.

Loo.

Being passed the Loo, I came to another water that descendeth without anie increase from Crowan by Simneie, whose whole course is not aboue thrée miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going streight north (leauing S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which rising short of Tewidnacke, descendeth by Lidgenan, and so into the sea. Certes the course of these waters cannot be long, sith in this verie place this breadth of land is not aboue foure miles, and not more than fiue at the verie lands end. There is also a rill east of Korugie, and Guluall, and another west of the same hard at hand, and likewise the third east of Pensants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the second, southwest of Pensants also lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going southwest out of the baie by Moushole Ile, that lieth south of Moushole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamorleie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by west of Sancrete, the other from by west of an hill that standeth betwéene them both, and ioining aboue Remels, it is not long yer they salute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Rosecastell, there are two other creekes, whereof one is called Boskennie, that riseth south of saint Buriens, and an other somewhat longer than the first, that issueth by west of the aforesaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore doo

Simneie. Lid.

appoint

appoint S. Buriens to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not néere the lands end by thrée miles. This latter rill also is the last that I doo reade of on the south side, and likewise on the west and north, till we haue sailed to S. Ies baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Bresan Ile eastward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middest and highest part of the baie of the same. The soile also is verie hillie here, as for saint Ies towne, it is almost (as I said) a byland, and yet is it well watered with sundrie rilles that come from those hilles vnto the same.

Bresan Ile.

Haile.

The Haile riseth in such maner, and from so manie heads, as I haue before said: howbeit I will adde somewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chéefe head of Haile riseth by west of Goodalfin hilles, and going downe toward saint Erthes, it receiueth the second, and best of the other three rilles from Goodalfin towne: finallie, comming to saint Erthes, and so vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, south of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the said village standing directlie betwixt them both.

Clowart.

Caine.

The Caine riseth southeast of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increase by west of Gwethian, and so into the sea west of Mara Darwaie. From hence we coasted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riseth of two heads from those hilles that lie by south of the same: one of them also runneth by saint Vni, another by Redreuth, and méeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another small rill, and likewise two other créekes, betwixt which the towne of saint Agnes standeth; and likewise the fourth halfe a mile beyond the most easterlie of these, whose head is almost thrée miles within the land in a towne called saint Alin. Thence going by the Manrocke, and west of saint Piran in the sand, we find a course of thrée miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts doo méet at west aboue saint Kibbard, and so go into the sea. I take this to be saint Pirans créeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or créeke, whose head is at Guswarth, from whence it goeth vnto Trerise, and soone after taking in a rill from by west, it runneth into the sea coast of saint Carantakes. Beyond this is another créeke that riseth aboue little saint Colan, and goeth by lesse saint Columbe; and east and by north hereof commeth downe one more whose head is almost south of the Nine stones, & going from thence to great saint Columbes, it passeth by Lamberne, and so into the sea. S. Merous créeke is but a little one, rising west of Padstow, and falling in almost ouer against the Gull rocke. Then turning betwéene the point and the blacke rocke, we entred into Padstow hauen thrée miles lower than port Issec, and a mile from port Ewin, whose waters remaine next of all to be described.

Luggam.

S. Pirans créeke.
Carantocke.

Padstow.
Locus bufonis.

Alannus.

The Alan ariseth flat east from the hauen mouth of Padstow, well néere eight or nine miles about Dauidstone, neere vnto which the Eniam also issueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it passeth to Camelford, saint Aduen, saint Bernard (both Cornish saints) and soone after receiueth a rill at northeast, descending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Bliseland, and Helham, the first bridge of name that standeth vpon Alin. Yer long also it taketh in one rill by south from Bodman, another from saint Laurence, the third by west of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them excéeding the course of thrée miles, and all by south. From hence it goeth toward Iglesaleward, and there receiueth a water on the east side, which commeth about two miles from saint Teath, by Michelston, saint Tuchoe, saint Maben (mo Cornish patrons) and finallie south of Iglesall, méeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Woodbridge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there should fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carneseie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I sée them to issue on seuerall sides beneath Woodbridge almost directlie the one against the other. That which descendeth from northwest, and riseth about saint Kew, is named Carneseie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the southwest

Eniam.

Carneseie.
Laine.

southwest banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to rise two miles aboue S. Esse. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, there are two other créekes on ech side also, beneath these, as Pethrike creeke, and Minner créeke (so called of the Cornish saints) for that soile bred manie, wherewith I finish the description of Alen, or (as some call it) Dunmere, and other Padstow water. Pethrike. Minner. Dunmere.

From Padstow hauen also they saile out full west to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewise two rockes, which lie in the east side of the hauen, secretlie hidden at full sea, as two pads in the straw, whereof I think it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padstow is a corrupted word for Adlestow, and should signifie so much as Athelstani locus, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time past sundrie charters of priuilege from Athelstane, although at this present it be well stored with Irishmen. But to our purpose. Leland supposeth this riuer to be the same Camblan, where Arthur fought his last and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that doo eare the ground there, doo oft plow vp bones of a large size, and great store of armour, or else it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had some field (or Castra) thereabout, for not long since (and in the remembrance of man) a brasse pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus passed Padstow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a poore fisher towne, where I find a brooke and a péere. Then I came to Portissec alias Cunilus two miles further, and found there a brooke, a péere, and some succor for fisher boats. Next of all vnto a brooke that ran from south east, directlie north into the Sauerne sea, and within halfe a mile of the same laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to saint Simphorian, and in which paroch also Tintagell or Dundagie castell standeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the situation, and would be made with little reparations one of the strongest things in England. For it standeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the sea. There is a chappell yet standing in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to saint Vlet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a mile in sunder.

The next creeke is called Bosinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the same Tredwie water resorteth, and so they go to the sea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one side lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the fashion of an hauenet or peere, whither shiplets sometime doo resort for succour. A frier of late daies tooke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie also two blacke rocks as Ilets, at the west northwest point, or side of this creeke, the one (sauing that a little gut dooth part them) ioining with the other, and in these by all likelihood is great store of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boscastell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this description of the latter. Boscastell créeke that lieth east of Tintagell, is but a small thing, running at the most not aboue two miles into the land, yet it passeth by foure townes, whereof the first is called Lesneth, the second saint Juliet, the third Minster, and the fourth Boscastell or Bushcastell, as some men doo pronounce it. Tredwie. Boscastell.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whose chiefe head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancels rill before it come at Norham. And here also it crosseth another whose head is east of saint Marie wijke, from whence it runneth by Wolston and Whalesborow, and thence into the sea betweene Efford and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters that lie betweene the point of Cornewall, and the Hartland head vpon the north side of Cornewall. Now let vs doo the like with those that remaine of Deuonshire, whereof the said Hartland is the verie first point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barstable bar, and so into the hauen, whereinto two principall streams doo perpetuallie vnburden their chanels. Bede. Lancels.

The first and more westerlie of these is called Ocus, whose head is not farre west of the head of Darnt, and both in Darntmore. Rising therefore in the aforesaid place, it runneth northwest to Snorton, and so to Okehampton, beneath which towne it méeteth with an other water comming from southeast, & riseth not much west from the head of Tawe. From Ocus.

hence

hence it goeth to Stow Exborne, Moonke Okington, & Iddesleie, where it taketh in the
Tanridge. Tanridge a verie pretie streamelet, whose issue is not full a mile by east from the head of
Turrege. Thamar, three miles by north east from Hartland. Comming therefore by west and east Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from ech side of Bradworthie by Surcombe, Treborow, Milton, & so to Thornebirie, where meeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunsland, ioineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with speed into the Tanridge water. After
Buckland. this confluence it runneth on to Sheepewash (by west whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and so to Haitherlaie, north wherof it taketh in a rill from by south, and endeth his race at Iddesleie, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus hasteth to Dowland, and betweene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by east, as it dooth an other betweene Doulton and Marton from by west, and so proceeding on with his course, it commeth east of Torrington the lesse, and taking in a water at east, that runneth from three heads (by Wollie parke) betweene which Combe and Roughborow are situat,
Langtree. it descendeth to Torington the more, and meeting with the Langtree water on the one side,
Were or Ware. and the Ware brooke on the other, it proceedeth to Bediford, crossing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betweene Annarie & Littham. From Bediford bridge it goeth without anie increase to Westleie, Norham, Appledoure, and so into the hauen.

Taw. The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithstanding that his hauen be barred with sand; and thereby dangerous, and hath most rils descending into his chanell. Howbeit, by these two is all the hart of Deuonshire well watered on the northside of the moores. The Tawy riseth directlie at south west of Throwlie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland saith) in Exmore south east from Barstable. From thence also it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bath, Northtaueton, Ashridge, Colridge, and soone after receiueth the
Bowmill. Bowmill creeke, wherof one head riseth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meeting beneth Bishops Morchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue beene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by south whereof it meeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence
Moulebraie. it goeth to Burrington, and Chiltenholtwood, and there taketh in the Moulebraie water consisting of two in one chanell, wherof the Moll dooth rise aboue north Moulton, and comming to Moulton receiueth another rill running from Molland, and soone after the second that growing by two brookes (the head of one being at Knawston, and of the other west of Crokeham, and both vniting themselues beneath Mariston) dooth fall into the same yer long also, and so go togither till it crosse the Braie, which (being the second of the two that maketh the
Braie. Moulbraie) riseth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and south of Holtwood dooth make his confluence with Taw. Being past the wood, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Taueton, Tauestocke, & Berstable, sometime a pretie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and such in deed, as that the suburbes thereof are greater than it selfe. I suppose that the name of this towne in the British speach was Abertaw, bicause it stood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdnesse pronounced short (as I gesse) for Abernesse. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to doo in the proper name of the towne. King Athelstane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is also worthie to be noted hereof, that the houses there are of stone, as most are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpose. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head neere about Challacombe, & another at east Downe, whereof this descending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themselues within three miles of Berstaple. Soone after also it taketh in another that descendeth from Bitenden by Ashford, and
Doneham. the last of all east of saint Anthonies chappell, named the Doneham, bicause one head is at west Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting west of Ash. And thus is Taue described, which is no great water nor quicke streame, as may appeere in Low water marke at Berstable, and yet is it a pretie riueret. This also is worthie to be noted thereof, that it

receiueth no brooke from by west, whereof I would somewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Being past the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint alias Bagpoint, we go by More baie, Morstone alias Mortstone, and then toward the northeast, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & so to Combe Marton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are sundrie creekes of salt water, but not serued with anie fresh that I as yet doo heare of. Marrie there is betweene Martinbow & Trensow, a creeke that hath a backewater, which descendeth from Parracombe (so farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greatest of all is betweene Linton and Connisberie called Ore, which riseth in Summersetshire in Exmore (east of Hore oke, more than a mile) and going by Owre, falleth into the sea betweene Linton and Conisberie, so that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard reported. Thus haue I finished the discourse of the waters of Deuonshire, whose breadth in this place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkstones in the mouth of Ex, on the south side of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and so much likewise is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadest part there commeth to six and thirtie miles, whereas the broadest part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Paradine. Orus. The breadth of Deuonshire & Cornewall.

Being past the aforesaid limits of the counties we came to Portlochbaie, whither commeth a water named Loch that descendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increase. Thence to Dunsteir brooke, which runneth from about Wootton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunsteir, then to another that commeth west of Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the west side, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Quantocke hils south of Bickualer by Westquantocke head, and almost at Doniford, receiueth the Williton becke, then to east Quantocke brooke (omitting a creeket) & next of all to Doddington water, that goeth by Holford, Alfoxton, and afterward into the sea. From hence we go by Bottesall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers doo make their confluence, which I will seuerallie describe, as to my purpose apperteineth.

Loch. Durus. Vacetus. Williton. Doddington.

The first of these is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Yoo, who saith that the riuer Yoo dooth runne from Ilchester to Bridgewater, and so into the sea. It riseth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receiueth a water, whereof Leland saith thus. There are seuen springs in an hill called the seuen sisters, north east from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Mere. Another brooke likewise commeth by Heidon from Puscandell, three miles from thence by flat east, betwixt the parke and the Mere full so great as the streame of the Mere, and ioining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Mere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on towards Glasen Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by south, descending from about west Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorsetshire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the same, so that they run foorth by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they meet with the Iuell) and so to Clifton, Euill a proper market towne, Trent, Mutford, Ashinton, and east of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade that runneth from Yarlington, by north Cadbirie, and soone after crossing a rill also from by east, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it hasteth to south Cadbirie, Sparkeford, Queenes Camell, west Camell, and so into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilchester, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The first of all these riseth southeast betweene the Parrets (where it is called Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Meriot taketh in a brooke from the east, which consisteth of two courses vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one descendeth from Pen by Hasilburie, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I doo vnderstand.

Iuelus. The seuen sisters. Cade. Parret.

From hence also they go as one with the Parret water, toward south Pederton (taking in at east a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambrooke, Thorneie bridge, and Muchelneie where it meeteth with the second called Ill or Ilus, whose head is aboue Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chascombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilmister on the east side,

Ill.

side, it meeteth with another from by east, descending from about Whitlakington. Then it
Ilton. goeth to Pokington (where it crosseth the Ilton water by west) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioineth with a rillet that riseth by west at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after some mens opinion, the Iuell looseth his name, and is called Parret: but this coniecture cannot hold, sith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the sea. Neuerthelesse, how soeuer this matter standeth, being past Langport, it goeth by Awber toward saint Anthonies, where it méeteth with the Tone next of all to be described.

Tone. The Tone issueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by west of Wiuelscombe, to Stawleie, Ritford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water cõming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Brunt Rafe, Miluerton, Oke and Hilfarens. After this confluence also it runneth to Helebridge, and there below méeteth with one water that runneth by Hawse, Hethford, and Norton, then another from Crokeham by bishops Slediard, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that descendeth from Kingston by north, and another by south that riseth about Pidmister. And thus is the Tone increased, which goeth from Taunton to Riston, Crech, Northcurrie, Ling, and so by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after
Chare or Care. this confluence méeteth yer long with the Chare, a pretie riuer that commeth by east from Northborow, by Carleton, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham, Audrie moore, Audrie, and Michelsborow. From whence going on betweene Quéenes moore and North moore, it
Peder. receiueth one brooke called Peder from by southwest, that runneth through Pederton parke and North moore; and likewise another that passeth by Durleie, yer it doo come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northwest, and then turning flat west, it goeth northward towards the sea, taking in two waters by the waie, whereof one runneth
Camington. by Coripole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Siddington
Brier. and Comage, and then receiuing the Brier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this suffice for the description of the Iuell, whose streame dooth water all the west part of Summersetshire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

Brier. The Brier, Bruer, or Bréer, riseth of two waters, wherof one is in Selwood forest, &
Leland writeth the first Brieuelus and the second Mellodunus or the Milton water. commeth downe by Bruecombe, Bruham, and Bruton. The other which Leland nameth Mellos, is northest of Staffordell towne, and going by the same, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it méeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnsford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riseth néere Dolting, and commeth
Dulis. by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Basborow wood, the Torhill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his sword) by Glastenburie and so into the Méere. Beside this riuer there are two other also that fall
Sowaie or Stowaie. into the said Méere, whereof the one called Sowaie commeth from Créechurch parke, and
Cos. Pulton by Hartlacke bridge, the other named Cos or the Coscombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which east of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and so into the Méere. Finallie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Buttlehouse, and soone after diuiding it selfe, one arme goeth by Bastian alias Brent bridge, to High bridge, leauing Huntspill a market towne by southwest, the other by Marke to Rokes bridge, Hebbes passage, and so into the sea, leauing a faire Iland, wherin beside Brentmarsh are seuen or eight townes, of whose names I haue no knowledge.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I said) into the Coscombe water on the right hand of the Cawseie; you shall vnderstand that as manie springs are in Wels, so the chiefe of them is named Andres well, which riseth in a medow plat not farre from the east end of the cathedrall church, and afterward goeth into the Coscombe, in
Milton. such place as I haue noted. Leland speaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which
Golafer. should fall likewise into the Brier: but whether those be they whereof the one riseth aboue Staffordell, and in the descent runneth by Shipton, Pitcombe, and so to Awnsford on the one side, as the other dooth rise betwéene Batcombe and Vpton noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of these names are seuerallie to be attributed: as yet I doo not read.

The

The second Axe which commeth by Axe towne in old time called Vexa, issueth out of Owkie hole, from whence it goeth by Owkie towne, afterward meeting with the Chederbrooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Æoli, wherof much hath béene written & surmised past credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compasse into the northeast branch of the aforesaid riuer last described, betweene Rokes bridge and Hebbes passage, as I haue beene informed. From the fall of Axe we come to an other called Bane, northeast of Woodspring, whose head is about Banwell parke, or else in Smaldon wood. Then to an other, and to the third, called Artro, which riseth about Litton, and going by the Artroes, Vbbeie, Perribridge (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by south) beneath Cungesbirie, or (as I learne) betwéene Kingston and Laurence Wike, it méeteth with the sea.

Axe. 2. The Cheder-brooke driueth twelue miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

Bane.

Artro.

Sottespill water riseth betwéene Cheueleie and Naileseie, howbeit it hath no increase before it come into the sea at Sottespill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne neere to the fall thereof. It riseth southeast of Barrow, goeth by Burton Naileseie, and so vnto Cleuedon. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by sundrie occasions, to be particularlie touched in our description of Bristow. Yet thus much will I note héere thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie same yeare that the old monasterie of Euesham fell downe by itselfe, a porpasse was taken therein neere to the said monasterie, and neuer anie before or since that time heard of to haue béene found in that streame. And euen so not manie yeares before I first wrote this treatise, a sturgion was taken aliue in Rochester streame, which the bishop gaue vnto your honor, and you would as gladlie haue sent it to the quéenes maiestie, if she might haue béene presented withall aliue as it was taken. Certes both these rare occurrents gaue no lesse occasion of strange surmises to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Brerton, when they appeare, doo vnto that familie; of which the report goeth that they are neuer séene but against some mischéefe or other to befall vnto that house. But how farre am I gone from my purpose?

Sottespill.

Cleueden.

Auon. 3.

Sturgion taken in Rochester water.

The Auon therefore riseth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Brokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmsburie, where it receiueth two waters, that is to saie, one from by west comming by Foreleie and Bromleham, which runneth so néere to the Auon in the west suburbe of Malmsburie, that the towne thereby is almost made an Iland. Another from Okeseie parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Garesden. After this confluence it hasteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the southeast, till it méet with a water comming from southwest (betwéene Hullauington and Bradfield) by Aston: and soone after with another at the northside from Binall by Wootton Basset (through the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bridges) and after the confluence to Dauntseie, Segar, Sutton, Christmalford, Auon, Calwaies house, and then to west Tetherton. Beneath this towne also it taketh in a water increased by two brookes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie house and Bramble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) passeth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thencefoorth goeth to Chippenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Cosham water, goeth to Lacocke, Melsham, and yer it come at Whaddon, crosseth two other in one chanell, whereof one riseth about Brumham house, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and from thence runneth to Potterne wood, Creeke wood, Worton, Maston, Bucklington, and ioining with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforesaid into the maine streame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and southwest of that towne méeteth with the Were that commeth from Vpton by Dilton, Brooke parke (there crossing a rill called Bisse from Westbirie vnder the plaine) then to north Bradleie, Trubridge, and so into Auon that goeth from thence to Bradford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Freshford, it méeteth with the Frome, whose description dooth insue.

Cosham.

Were.

Westbirie vnder the plaine, neuer without a théefe or twaine.

The Frome riseth in the east part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Astwijc, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Elmesbridge, and soone after taketh in the

Frome.

Nonneie. Nonneie water, comming from Nonneie castell, thence to Walles and Orcharleie bridge, where it receiueth a pretie brooke descending from Frome Selwood west of Brackleie, increased with sundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood forrest (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningsham, and the fourth from Cosleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie castell, Bord and Fresh foord, and Silling. taking in the Silling brooke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and east of Freshford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from southwest, increased by sundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Eston, Midsummer Norton, by Welston, Rodstocke, Wrigleton, Foscot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it méeteth with another water comming from Barthford, whose head is at Litleton from whence it runneth by west Kineton to Castell combe (where it ioineth with a rill rising by north from Litleton drue) and thence commeth south to Slaughtenford, Haselburie, Box, Baithford, and so into the Auon, which turning plaine west, hasteth to Baithwijc, and (meeting with another in his passage from Caldaston) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coston.

Héere also it taketh in a rill by the waie from Markesburie by Wilmerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it méeteth with one rill soone west of Northstocke, named Swinford. Swinford, and another by Bitton, from Durhain by Wike, and so procéedeth still holding Swinford parteth Summerset & Glocestershires in sunder. on his way to Caimsham, a towne in Summerset shire (so called of Caim an English saint, by whose praiers, as the countrie once beléeued, all the adders, snakes and serpents were turned into stone, their formes reserued, and for a certeine space of ground about the said towne, and whereof some store as yet is to be found in those quaries. But this miracle is so true as the historie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike should chase all venemous creatures out of Italie, with his staffe; or that maid Radegund should driue the crowes to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while she went vnto a chappell to heare & sée a masse) where it crosseth the Chute, which issueth at Winford, and goeth by bishops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue comming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & so into the Auon. The Auon likewise after all these confluences goeth to Briselton, and so to Bristow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each side (wherof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glocestershire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Hambroch, Stapleton, and through Bristow, the other by south from Dundreie hill and towne, by Bisport and Bedminster) and so descending yet lower, goeth to Rawneham passage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, next of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the sea, whither all waters by nature doo resort.

Alderleie. Beside this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie brooke, which in some ancient records is also called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like maner he talketh of Douresleie becke, whose principall head is in Douresleie towne: howbeit he saith no thing of it Douresleie. more, than that it serueth sundrie tucking lucking milles, and goeth by Tortworth or foure Torworth. miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard stone about Douresleie, he telleth of the Tortworth becke, that runneth within a flight shot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I mistake his meaning, which may soone be doone among his confused notes.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SAUERNE, & SUCH WATERS AS DISCHARGE THEMSELUES INTO THE SAME.

CHAP. XIII.

THE Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Iland, which sometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, so called of Camber, the second sonne of Brute, as our histories doo report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walsh, whereby that nation dooth vse to call all strangers without respect of countrie. This riuer tooke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, base daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Estrildis daughter to Humber otherwise called Cumbrus or Vmar, and for which some write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that sometime inuaded this Island, and was ouerthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as shall be shewed at hand: although I suppose rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added "Propter euphoniam:" for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the British speech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is so much to saie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our discourse of Humber or Vmar, which is worthie to be remembred. Sauerne.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to passe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir sonne: and then getting the said Estrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, she drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir husbands disloialtie towards hir, she caused the streame to be called Habren of the yoong ladie, for which the Romans in processe of time for readinesse and mildnesse of pronunciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time doo pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the said Abren also I find these verses insuing:

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine sea betweene Wales and Cornewall, which is and shall be called the Sauerne sea, so long as the riuer dooth keepe hir name. But as the said streame in length of course, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: so for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & store of all kind of fish, as salmon, trouts, breames, pikerell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or second to the same. Finallie, there is nothing to be discommended in this riuer, but the openesse thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby sundrie perils oft ouertake such as fish or saile in small vessels on the same.

The head of this noble streame is found in the high mounteines of south Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon; in English, the blacke mounteins, or moore heads, from whence also the Wie and the Rhidoll do procéed: and therefore these thrée waters are commonlie called the thrée sisters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fiftéene and fiftie, as the description inferreth. So soone as it is out of the ground, it goeth southeastward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by south southwest, called the Dulas, which commeth thereinto on the south side, & southwest of Lan Idlos. It riseth (as it should séeme) of diuerse heads in the edge of Radnorshire, and taking in sundrie small rilles, it meeteth at the last with the Brueham brooke, and so they go togither till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdogh, from northwest, a water producted by the influence of foure pretie brookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaslin, the third Lhoid rising in lin Begilin, and the most southerlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne procéedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landiman, taking in by the waie, on the east side the Couine, thence Brucham. Clewdogh. Bacho. Dungum. Lhoid. Bigga. Couine.

Carnon. Taran. Hawes. Dulesse. 2.

thence to Cairfuse castell, where it meeteth with the Carnon, and the Taran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforesaid fortresse. After this it crosseth the Hawes on the north halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Dulesse that riseth in the edge of Radnor shire, and méeteth with it before it come at Newton in Powisie, otherwise called Trenewith, as I find in British language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot eschue (right honorable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the originall of my ladie your bedfellowes ancestrie, which came from hence, & were surnamed Newtons onelie, for that the grandfather of sir John Newton either dwelled or was borne there: otherwise the right name is Caradoc, for which some doo corruptlie write Cradocke, respecting rather the shortnesse of pronuntiation, than the true orthographie and writing of the word. Certes the Caradockes haue béene, and yet are a linage of great honor, antiquitie, and seruice; their lands also sometime belonged (for the most part) to the noble Connoanies of Summersetshire: but in what order they descended to the Newtons, in good sooth I cannot tell. But to procéed with our riuer, which being past Newton, runneth foorth by Landilouarne, and so foorth on till it come to the fall of the Mule, whose head is in the edge of Radnor also, and thereto his passage by Kerie and Lanmereiwijc. After this also it procéedeth further till it meet with the Kenlet or the Camalet, which taketh in also the Tate or Tadbrooke water rising out of the hilles a mile from Bishops towne, the whole course thereof being about seauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this also I find two descriptions, whereof one I borrow out of Leland, who saith that it is a pretie brooke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie priorie stood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (saith he) that run from the hilles thorough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne shore, and likewise of the Lan Idlos brooke that méeteth withall within foure miles of the head, I speake not, but thinke it sufficient to touch those of some estimation, onelie leauing the rest to such as maie hereafter deale with things more particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet or Kenlet to run by More, Liddiom, Sned, Churchstocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winsbirie, and so into the Sauerne.

Mule. Kenlet. Camalet. Tate. Lan Idlos.

From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Fordon, Leighton, and Landbreuie toward Meluerleie, and there it méeteth with sundrie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie pretie water (whereinto the Peuereie or Murneweie doth fall, which descendeth from the hilles by west of Matrafall not farre from Lhan Filin) the other Auernie, and ioining beneath Abertannoth, or aboue Lannamonach neere unto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they méet with the Mordant brooke, and there loose their names so soone as they ioine and mix their waters with it. The head of the Mordant issueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerse saie, that the parish church of crosse Oswald or Oswester sometimes stood. Certes, Oswester is thirtéene miles northwest from Shrewesburie, and conteineth a mile within the walles. It hath in like sort foure suburbs or great stréetes, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wuliho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundred and fortie barns standing on a row belonging to the citizens or burgesses, and the fourth named the Blackegate stréet, in which are thirtie barns mainteined for corne and haie. There is also a brooke running thorough the towne by the crosse, comming from Simons well, a bow shoote without the wall; & going vnder the same betweene Thorowgate & Newgate, running vnder the Blacke gate. There is another, ouer whose course the Baderikes or Bederich gate standeth, and therefore called Bederich brooke. The third passeth by the Williegate or Newgate, & these fall all togither with the Crosse brooke, a mile lower by south into the Mordant that runneth (as I said) by Oswester. From hence also it goeth to Mordant towne, and betwéene Landbreuie and Meluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our principall streame goeth to Sheauerdon castell, Mountford, and Bicton chappell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riseth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Merton, the other at Ellismere, and ioining betweene Woodhouses & Bagleie, the confluence

Tanet. Peuereie or Murneweie. Auernie. Mordant. Simons becke. Bederich.

fluence runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddesmer, Roiton, Baschurch, Walford, Grafton, Mitton, and so into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Hitz, Eton, or Leiton, Barwijc, vpper Rossall, Shelton, and so to Shrewsburie, where it crosseth the Mele water, whose head (as I heare) is said to be in Weston.

The Mele therefore rising at Weston, goeth by Brocton, Worthen, Aston Pigot, Westleie, Asterleie, and at Lea it méeteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontesford and Aunston. After this confluence also it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other side that descendeth by Westburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bracemele, and Shrewesburie, it falleth (as I said) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne hasteth to Vffington, Preston, and betwéene Chilton and Brampton taketh in the Terne, a faire streame and worthie to be well handled; if it laie in me to performe it. This riuer riseth in a mere beside Welbridge parke, néere vnto Ternemere village in Staffordshire. From whence it runneth by the parkes side to Knighton, Norton, Betton, and at Draiton Hales crosseth with a water comming from about Adbaston (where maister Brodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chippenham and Amming: so that the Terne on the one side, and this brooke on the other, doo inclose a great part of *Blore heath, where a noble battell was sometime purposed betwéene king Henrie the sixt, and the duke of Yorke: but it wanted execution

Mele. Haberleie. Terne. * Sée Hen. 6. pag. 649.

But to procéed. After this confluence, it runneth to Draiton Hales, Ternehill bridge: and yer long taking in a rill from Sandford by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it crosseth with a brooke that riseth about Brinton, and going by Higham, Morton, the great Mere, Forton, Pilson, Pickstocke, Keinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it ioineth with the said Terne not farre from Water Vpton. Thence passing to Crogenton, it méeteth with another brooke that commeth from Chaltwen Aston, by Newport, Longford, Aldneie, and so through the Wilde moore to Kinsleie & Sléepe, and finallie into the Terne, which hasteth from thence to Eston bridge, and néere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riseth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Ouenleie, crosseth a rill from Cowlemere by Leniall. Thence it goeth to Horton, and (ioining with another rill beneath Nonlaie that commeth from Midle) runneth on to Wen, Aston, there crossing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Prées ward, and so to Lée, Befford, Stanton, Morton, Shabrée, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Vpton, Norton, Barwijc, Acham, and so into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie (as I wéene.)

Roden.

Thus haue I described the Terne in such wise as my simple skill is able to performe. Now it resteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne streame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth vnto Roxater or Roxcester, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton, where it ioineth with the Euerne that runneth from Frodesleieward by Withiall and Pitchford, Cresfedge, Garneston, Leighton, and betwéene the two Bildasses crosseth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and so goeth on to Browsleie and Hoord parke, where it vniteth it selfe with another brooke to be described in this place, whilest the Sauerne rests, and recreates it selfe here among the plesant bottoms.

Euerne. Wenlocke or Rhe.

This water ariseth aboue Tongcastell, and yer it haue run anie great distance from the head, it méeteth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Roiton, and there crossing another from Woodhouses, comming by Haughton and Euelin, it procédeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to crosse the Worfe (sometime a great streame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon poole) and so passeth foorth to Badger, Acleton, Worffield: a litle from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another brooke into it called Churle, & so goeth on to Rindleford, and then into Sauerne somwhat aboue Bridgenorth at Penston mill (except mine information deceiue me.) From Bridgenorth our Sauerne descendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Marbrooke beneath Eaton that riseth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Moruill & Vnderton, it runneth by Didmanston, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, crosseth with a brooke comming

Worfe. Marbrooke.

comming from Vpton parke, by Chetton, Billingsleie, and Highleie, which being admitted,
Dowlesse. it holdeth on to Areleie, Ciarnewood parke, Hawbach and Dowlesse. Here also it méeteth with the Dowlesse water, a pretie brooke issuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, verie high to looke vpon, and three miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through
Lempe. Clebirie parke in Wire forrest, & taking withall the Lempe, dooth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bewdleie.

But to procéed. From Bewdleie our Sauerne hasteth directlie to Ribford, Areleie and
Stoure. Redston, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, descending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Worcestershire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water yer long running from Sturton castell) then to Kniuer Whittenton, Ouerleie and Kidormister, aboue which it crosseth one brookelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belborow, betwixt which two waters lieth an od peece of Staffordshire included, and also the Cle hill. From hence the aforesaid Sauerne hasteth by Redston
Astleie. to Shrawleie; and aboue this towne receiueth the Astleie water, as beneath the same it dooth another. From Witleie then it goeth on to Holt castell, and so to Grimleie, taking in there-
Doure. about with the Doure, and Sulwaie waters, whereof this riseth at Chadswijc, and runneth
Sulwaie. by Stoke priorie, & Droitwich, the other aboue Chaddesleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth foorth vnto Worcester, in old time called Cair Brangon, or Cair Fran-
Tiber. gon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand aboue that citie, and beneth it neere vnto Powijc with the Temde, whose description shall be set downe before I procéed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

Temde. The Temde, or (as some name it) the Tame riseth vp in Radnorshire, out of the Melenith hilles, and soone after his issue, méeting with a water from Withall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuerwaterden, and so to Knighton, which is fiue or six miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standish, and crossing a rill that
Clude. commeth from betwéene the parke named Clude, (and is bound of Radnorshire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it meeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find these descriptions here folowing word for word
Barfield. in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riseth aboue New Chappell, in the honour of Clun,
Clun. hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun issueth out of the ground betwéene Lhan Vehan and Maiston, and going on by Bucton, Cluncastell, Clundon, Purslaw, and Clunbirie, it crosseth with a brooke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence going foorth by Clunbirie, Brome, Abcot and Marlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and so in the Temde, not verie far from Temderton. I suppose that Leland calleth the Bard-
Owke. well by the name of Owke, but I will not abide by it bicause I am not sure of it. After these confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Trippleton, Dounton, Burrington, and
Oneie. Broomefield, where it méeteth with the Oneie, which is an indifferent streame, and increased with sundrie waters, whereof I saie as followeth.

Bow. The first of all is called the Bow. It riseth (as I learne) in the hilles betwéene Hissington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwijc, where it crosseth
Warren. the Warren that issueth out of the ground about Rotlie chappell, and runneth by Adston and Wentnor. After the confluence also going on by Cheulton and Cheinies, it taketh in
Queneie and Strabroke. the Queneie and Strabroke both in one chanell, wherof the first riseth at Lebotwood, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it passe by Fellanton. The second mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rushburie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaster, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Queneie, and so by Stratford into the Oneie, which hath borne that name since the confluence of the Bow and Warren at Hardwijc, whereof I s ake before.
Somergill. Finallie, the Oneie which some call the Somergill being thus increased, it runneth on to Hawford chappell, Oneibirie, Broomefield, and so into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow.
Corue. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, méeteth with the Corue, which commeth thorough Coruedale from aboue Brocton by Morehouses, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath

taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Brencost castell, goeth on to Corsham castell, and there crossing another from saint Margarets Clée, it hieth to Stanton Lacie, and so likewise to Ludlow.

From Ludlow in like sort it goeth to Ludford, the Ashfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burfford vniteth it selfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneath Milburne stoke, from betweene Browne, Cleehill, and Stittertons hill, to Middleton, Henleie, Ladwich, Conam, and so into Temde, which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on the other side, and the second on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hound, Nene, Clebirie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by Astham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Clifton, Whitburne (and crossing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwijc and Bradwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that descendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credeleie, Aufrike, and so into Temde, and then procéeding forward, the said streame runneth to Braunford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riseth about Martleie, and passeth by Kengewijc) it goeth to Powijc, and so into the Sauerne before it come at Wickecester. Ladwich. Rhe. Langherne.

Thus haue I brought all such streames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntill I come to Powijc, wherof (as you may easily perceiue) the Temde is the most excellent. Now it resteth that I proceed with the rest of the discourse intended concerning this our riuer. Certes, from Powijc mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worcester, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempseie and Cleueld, whence after it hath crossed a brooke comming from Cowleie, it hasteth first to Stoke, and so to Vpton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Glocester, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yer it come there, it drowneth another fall descending from Maluerne hilles by Blackemoore parke, & soone after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth also from Maluerne hils by little Maluerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After these confluences in like sort, it runneth to Bushelleie, and Tewkesburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be described, before I procéed anie further in my discourse of Sauerne.

The Auon riseth at Nauesbie in the borders of Northamptonshire, a little side hand of Gillesborow and foot of the hils whereon Nauesbie standeth, and euen out of the church yard of the said village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Clifton, and Rugbie, by north whereof it crosseth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colsford. From thence also it goeth to Newbold, Wolston, Ruington, and betweene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a pretie water comming from aboue Calendon to Whitleie, and soone after méeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which some doo call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue read from Kenelsworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & so into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon procéedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Ashehow, Miluerton, Edmonds cote, and appace to Warwijc. Auon. 4. Swinethus. Sowe. Kinell.

But yer it come there, it méeteth from south east with two waters in one chanell, whereof the least commeth to Marton from Bishops Itchington, by Herburbirie and Thorpe, where it crosseth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that descendeth from about Helladon, or néere vnto Catesbie in Northamptonshire, and going by Ouencote, Braunston, Lemington and Mertun, it ioineth with the other, and then go from thence togither vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and so into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike also the Auon taketh in a water running northwest from Groue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there crossing another from Shirburne, it passeth forth to Bishops Hampton, méeting finallie with the third, from Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this last rehearsed confluence, it hasteth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riseth aboue Cherington, & whose course from thence is such, as that being once past the head, it goeth by Leame. Stoure.

Weston, and yer long crossing a water from Campden, hanging Aston, & Todnam, it runneth to Barcheston, Aldermaston, Clifford, & so into the Auon.

From hence then the said Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and
Arow. being parted from the said towne, yer it come at Sawford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which rising in the blacke hils in Worchestershire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Ypsleie,
Alne. Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alne, out of Fecknam forrest, and going by Coughton parke, it hasteth to Alcester, Arow, Ragleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and so into Auon, which after this coniunction goeth to Vffenton & then to Eouesholme: but yer it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first riseth about Willerseie, the other néere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Badseie, they fall into Auon, vnder
Pludor. the name of Pludor brooke, before it come to Eouesholme.

Being past Eouesholme it crosseth the Vincell, which rising out of the hils somewhere about
Vincélus. Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, procédeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath crossed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the last on the right hand also (as all aboue rehearsed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as some doo write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie wike, and almost at Persore bridge, méeteth with a branched water that commeth
Piddle. by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Persore it goeth to Birlingham, and soone after carrieng a brooke withall descending from Fakenham, by Bradleie, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Besseford and Desseford, it fléeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Mitton, and Tewkesburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

Now to resume the course of the Sauerne, you shall vnderstand, that from Tewkesburie it
Chilus. goeth to Derehirst, the How passage, and soone after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Ashelworth, Sainthirst; and here it parteth it selfe till it come to Glocester, where it vniteth it selfe againe. But in the meane time the easterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, whereof one head is not far frō Leke Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The
Leadon. other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preston, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the said branch on the right side, before it come at Glocester.

The Sauerne therefore being past Glocester, it méeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his course by Elmore, Minsterworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it re-
Strowd. ceiueth yer it come at this latter the Strowd brooke, which rising not farre from Side, goeth by Massade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneswijc Lodge, by Pittescombe on the one side, and another from Radbridge on the other, it prosecuteth his voiage to Stone house, Eslington, white Misen, & so toward Framilode, where the said Strowd dooth fall into the Sauerne. After the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and soone after receiuing a water on each side, whereof one commeth from Vleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth foorth till it méet with another water on ech side, whereof that on the English halfe is forked, so that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and méeting aboue Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie castell, and so
Newarne. into the Sauerne. That on the Welsh halfe is named Newarne, which cōmeth from the forrest of Deane, and so into the Sauerne.

OF SUCH WATERS AS FALL INTO THE SEA IN COMPASSE OF THE ILAND, BETWEENE THE SAUERNE AND THE HUMBER.

CHAP. XIV.

THE Sauerne being thus described, it resteth that I go forward with the names of those that lie vpon the coast of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betweene Aust in Glocestershire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wie, which ferrie is about three miles ouer (saith Leland) or else my memorie dooth faile me. This riuer Guie or Wie beginneth (as I said before) on the side of the hilles, where the Sauerne dooth arise, and passing through Wenceland, that is, southeast by Raiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon meeteth withall) it goeth to Glasburie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne sea at Chepstow: for so they call Monhafren, which seuereth Wales from Summersetshire, Deuonshire, Cornewall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third sister, it hath the shortest course of all, for it runneth northward, and into the sea at Aberistwith, which is not farre off, as the writers doo report. Wie mouth. Guie alias Wie.

Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wie saith thus; The Wie goeth thorough all Herefordshire by Bradwarden castell, belonging to sir Richard Vehan, and so to Hereford east, thence eight miles to Rosse, a market towne in Herefordshire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwise called grailings. It is also found by common experience, that the salmon of this riuer is in season, when the like fish to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vse; wherof we of the east parts doo not a little maruell. But let vs not staie vpon these descriptions, sith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of these. Vmber a fish onelie in the Wie.

The Guie therefore riseth out of the blacke mounteines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne springeth in Radnorshire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Raiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the west called Darnoll, and another from by northeast comming by saint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Raiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whose head is neere to Comeristwith, and taketh likewise into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a season Radnorshire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewise increased by the Clarthie within three miles of his head and lesse, hauing his course from southwest & hille soile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth west of Dissart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer rising aboue Lhanibister, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lambaderne yawr: beneath which it crosseth a water on ech side, whereof that on the right hand consisteth on the Dulesse and the Cluedoch, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whose head is aboue Lanthangle, and in the forrest of Blethwag. After these confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in strange manner, vnder the name of Ithor, till it come to Dissart, taking in the Hawie on the left side yer it come there, and then into the Wie on the north side, which directeth his course further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Yrwon, a notable streame, descending from the hilles aboue Lanihangle Abergwessen, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marsh, Lanauan, Vechan, Langantan, and so to Beth or Bealt, being inlarged by the waie with sundrie faire waters, as the Weuereie, whose head is about Lanauan moore, the Dulasse, or (as some call it) the Dowlasse, that commeth from the hilles west of the head of Weuereie. The Comarch whose head and course is west of the Dowlasse on the north side, and likewise by two other on the southwest, and Dilasse from by southwest, which last rehearsed falleth into him halfe a mile and more aboue the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other side. After this our Yrwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it crosseth the Dehon on the southwest side, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the northeast, which ariseth in the hilles aboue Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lanhaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanstephan, and there (or a little aboue) taketh in the Machaweie that commeth by castell Paine, and so going on Ithan. Dulesse. Cluedoch. Lamaron. Hawie. Yrwon. Weuereie. Dulasse. Comarch. Dulesse. Dehon. Edwie. Machaweie.

Leuenni. on in processe of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here insueth.

Euer. Euerie. The Leuenni, otherwise called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre streame rising in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atterill hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men doo fish in Vniligneis or botes of one peece, as they doo in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Brennich. Finallie bringing great store of red sand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath Trufrin. his originall issue at Mennith gader, and is increased with the Trufrin) it falleth into the Wie aboue Glesbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the onelie fall of this brooke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a pretie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Jewes monie: and after it hath passed or Dulesse. crossed a little brooke, which commeth from Lanigon, it méeteth with the Dulesse that commeth also from the Atterill by Kersop, and from thence goeth to Clifford castell (being now entred into Herefordshire, and leauing Radnor, wherevnto it hath for a long course béene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Monington, Biford, Bridgesalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windlesses, & there méeteth with a water rising short of Wormesleie, which goeth by Maunsell, Lacie, Brinsop, Crednell, Stretton, and Huntington, and soone after into the Wie, beside a little rill that runneth betwéene them both euen into Hereford towne. From hence in like sort the Wie hasteth to Rotheras church, Hampton, and Mordeford, where it taketh in sundrie waters in one chanell, of Lug. which the Lug or Luie is the principall, and next of all to be described, before I go anie further with the course of the Wie, whereinto it dischargeth the chanell. It riseth in the edge of the forrest of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Momonacht, Pilleth Whitton, Fuldibrooke, Prestaine, so into Herefordshire, where betweene Bonie & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whose crotched head being march to Radnor forrest, directeth his streame betwéene the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Nash, and so into the Lug, which presentlie passeth by Kinsham, Shirleie, Ailmister, Kingsland, Eaton chappell, and so into Lemister, where it crosseth the Oneie (a streamelet rising short of Shobden, and going by Chorlester) a little before it come to the west side of the towne.

At Lemister it selfe in like sort three waters doo méet, and almost inuiron the towne, Pinsell. that is to saie, the Lug, the Pinfulleie or Pinsell (a riueret rising at Kingsland two miles Kenbrooke. from Lemister) & the Kenbrooke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Lemister, otherwise called Leofminster, of the builder, and also Leonminster, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and aboue Hope, whereof one head is betwéene Hatfield and Bickleton, another néere vnto Marston, and méeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Morton, Fromeie. Sutton, Shelwijc, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it crosseth the Fromeie or Frome, a pretie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riseth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the southest by Edwinsloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Bishops Loden alias Acton. Frome, Castell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Bishops Grendon, by Pencombe, Cowarne, Stoke Lacie, Cowarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Yarkeleie, Dornington, and Longward, and so into the Lug, betwéene Longward and Suston, which runneth foorthwith to Mordford, or Morthford, and there into the Wie, vnto whose description I now returne againe.

Being come therefore vnto Mordford, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballingham, Treske. Capull regis, where it receiueth a water called Treske, from little Berch by Treske, Fawleie, How, Capull Inkeston, Foie, Brampton, Bridstow, Wilton castell, the Rosse, and there a rill from Bishops Vptonward by Rudhall, Weresend, Ham, Glewston, Godderich, here in like sort meeting with another that commeth from Ecleswall in the confines of Glocestershire, by Peniard castell & Coughton, to Welch Bicknor, English Bicknor, Huntesham, including a parcell of Monmouthshire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell

of

of Herefordshire which butteth vpon Glocestershire (as you shall find the like peece of Herefordshire in the confines of Salop and Worcester, wherein Rochford standeth, beside manie other which I haue elsewhere spoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran crosseth the Garran brooke, that riseth in Gregwood, short of Arcop, six miles from Monemouth by northwest: after which these two doo runne as one to Marston, and almost Whitchurch, and so into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gunnarew, S. Michaell, Dixton, and Monemouth, where I will staie a while, till I haue described the Mone, next of all to be remembred here. Gainar. Garran.

The Mona or Monbecke, riseth in the forrest of Hene, twentie miles from Monemouth by west in Eirisland, and going by Creswell, or Craswall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeast of Hatuill hils, which after it hath run a good distance from the head receiueth first the Eskle, and passeth by Lanihangle and the old Court, from northweast, then the Olcon, from southwest, which méeteth withall neere Cledoll or Knedoch, & passing by the old towne, it hasteth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betwéene Hereford and Monemouth shires, and taketh in a water comming by Trewin, & likewise the Hordwie or Hodneie which riseth in Becknocke, among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Cumroie, Michaell church in Monemouthshire, and ioineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which after this confluence hasteth to Walderstone, Lansillo Langua, betwéene which and Kinechurch it ioineth with the Doure that riseth about the Bache aboue Dourston, which is six miles aboue Doure abbie, so that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Fowchurch, Morehampton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Dulesse, from southwest and Lanihangle, by Harleswas castell on the one side, and yer long the Wormesbecke, descending from aboue Keuernall by Didleie, Deuerox, Workebridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and so running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech church, Grismond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire, and so to Monemouth, where it meeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which riuers Monemuth towne hath his particular bridge. Mona. Eskill. Elkon. Hodneie. Doure. Dulesse. Wormesbecke.

The Guie or Wie therefore being increased with thus manie brookes and waters, passeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it méeteth with the Trollie becke, whose head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouth shire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanihangle, Gracedieu, Diggestow, Wonastow, Troie, and so into Wie, that runneth also by Wies wood chase, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from aboue Landelwie by Langowen, Lannissen, Penclase, Trilegh, and Langogo, where méeting with the aforesaid streame, the Wie directeth his course from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it crosseth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcasicke, Penterie chapell, Lancante, Chepstowe, and so into the sea, leauing the Treacle (a chappell standing on a rocke) on the hand betweene it & Sauerne, ouer against the point that lieth south of Betteslie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great course, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the bishops of Landaffe. Thence passing by Charston rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell standeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riseth short of Trogie castell, and runneth toward the sea, by Landuair, Dewston, Calicot, and so into the Ocean, ouer against the Charston rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by saint Brides, north and by west of Dennie Iland, which lieth midwaie betweene that fall & Porshot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I crosse another fall of a fresh brooke, whose head is aboue Landueigo in Wencewood, and course by Lhanbed, Langston, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Witston. Trollie. Elwie. Trogie. Dennie Iland in the middest of the Sauerne, and likewise another litle one called Beuerage.

Next vnto this is the Aberwish, or Wiske, in Latine Osca, whereon Caerleon standeth, sometime called Chester and Ciuitas legionum, bicause the Romans soiourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who also held a noble parlement in the same, whereof Galfride maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in those daies the maiestie thereof was such, as that all the forefronts of their houses were in maner laid ouer with gold, according Wiske.

according to the Romane vsage. There was in the same in like sort a famous vniuersitie, wherein were 200 philosophers; also two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Iulius and Aaron, two Brittish martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropoliticall sée in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greatest in Southwales, and huge ships might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuerthelesse, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welsh or twelue English miles from Chepstow or Strigull, and of some thought to be in base Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockshire, as Renni is middle to Wenceland & Glamorganshire. But to leaue these by-matters, and come to the description of the water.

Vske. You shall vnderstand that the Vske or Wiske, in Latin Osca riseth in the blacke mounteins ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Yminidh Duy out of which it falleth, and situate in the verie confines betwéene Brechnocke and Carmardine shires, from whence winding into the northeast, it commeth to Trecastle, and Craie. in the waie betwéene it and Capell Ridburne, it taketh in the Craie brooke, on the right hand before it come to Ridburne chappell. Going also from thence toward Deuinocke, it Sennie. crosseth the Senneie on the same side (which riseth aboue Capell Senneie) next of all Camblas. the Camblas, & at Aberbraine, the Brane, or the Bremich, whose head is three miles from Brane. Brechnocke, and running by Lanihangle, it méeteth I saie with the Vske, about master Yster. Awbries manor. Beneath Aber Yster, it receiueth the Yster, which riseth northwest aboue Martyr Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanspithed Hodneie. and Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honthie on the one side, whose head is in Blaine Hodneie, and comming downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanihangle and Landiuilog, it méeteth with the Vske or Brechnocke townes end, which of the fall of this water was sometime called Aberhodni, as I haue beene Tertarith. informed: on the other halfe likewise it receiueth the Tertarith that riseth among the Bane hils, fiue miles from Brechnocke, and commeth likewise into the verie suburbs of the towne, beneath Trenewith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the course.

Kinuricke. After these confluences, the Vske procéedeth on toward Aberkinurike, or the fall of a water whose head is in the roots of Menuchdennie hill, and passage by Cantreffe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie castell, Lansanfreid, Landettie, Langonider, and Riangall. soone after receiuing the Riangall (which riseth about the hill whereon Dinas castell standeth, and runneth by Lanihangle and Tretoure) it passeth betwéene Laugattocke and Groini. Cerigkhowell, to Langroinie, and there about crosseth the Groinie brooke, that descendeth from Monegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Vske is past this brooke, it taketh in three other short rils, from by south within a little distance, whereof Cledoch Vaur. the first hight Cledoch Vaur, the second Fidan, and the third Cledochvehan. Of these Fidan. also the last falleth in néere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Vske runneth to Abergeuenni Cledochvehā. towne, where it méeteth with the Kebbie water from by north, that riseth short of Bettus Kebbie. chappell aboue the towne, and the Geuennie that descendeth from aboue Landilobartholl Geuenni. beneath not farre from Colbroke, and so goeth on to Hardwijc, beneath which it crosseth three namelesse rilles, on the right hand or southwest side before it come at Lanihangle vpon Vske, of whose courses I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the chanell of sufficient greatnesse seuerallie to intreat of. Betwéene Kemmeis and Birthin. Trostreie it meeteth with such an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence Caer Vske standeth on one side of Vske, and Caerleon on the other, but Caer Vske by diuerse miles further into the land. it goeth to Caer Vske or Brenbigeie (whose bridge, I mene that of Vske, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon saint Hughes daie after a great snow) but yer it come there, it receiueth the Birthin on the right hand, which is a pretie water, descending from two heads, whereof the first is northwest of Manihilot, as the other is of Lanihangle and Pentmorell.

Elwie. Next vnto this it ioineth with the Elwie aboue Lanbadocke, whose head is east of Penclase,

Penclase, and running westwards by Penclase, Lanislen, Langowen (and beneath Landewie taking in a brooket from Ragland castell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth southwest, vntill it come at the Vske, which crinkling towards the south, and going by Lanhowell, méeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the first lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the midlemost falling into the same, not farre from Lantressen, as I haue béene informed. From the mouth of the Romeneie to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the greatest riuer in all Glamorganshire, (called by Ptolomie Rhatostathybius, as I gesse) and the citie Taffe it selfe of good countenance, sith it is indued with the cathedrall see of a bishop. The course of the water in like maner is verie swift, and bringeth oft such logs and bodies of trées withall from the wooddie hilles, that they doo not seldome crush the bridge in péeces, but for so much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter cost, wheras if it were of hard stone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riseth in Brechnockshire among the woodie hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Monuchdenie, the other west of that mounteine, of which the first called Taffe vaure, goeth by Capell lan vehan, Vainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Nantie, and ioining at southwest beneath Morlais castle, they go to Martyr Tiduill, and toward Lannabor, but by the waie it taketh in from northwest a brooke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockshire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodneie comming out of the same quarter (but not out of the same shire) which rũneth by Estridinodoch, a crotched brooke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie vaure, & Rodneie vehan, that being ioined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Eglefilian, castle Coch, Whitchurch, Landaffe, Cardiffe, and so into the sea, not far from Pennarth point, where also the Laie dooth bid him welcome vnto his chanell or streame. Furthermore, from Marthellie it hasteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Chester in the south, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the first commeth downe from the north betweene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoch, without anie further increase: but the other is a more beautifull streame, called Auon, and thus described as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riseth in the hilles that séeme to part Monemouth and Brechenocke shires in sunder, and after a rill receiued from Blorench hill on the northside of the same, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by south almost of equall course, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in processe of time another little one from the same side, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanihangle, from whence it goeth to Guennocke and Penrose, & so in Vske before it go by Caerleon. But here you must note, that the course of this streame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which descendeth (as I said) from the hilles about foure miles aboue Landgwaie and Langweth, dooth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penrose standeth, & much Romane coine is found of all sorts, so that the influence of the one into the other séemeth to me to be but a draine deuised by man, to kéepe the citie from the violence of such water as otherwise would oft annoie the same. Auon.

Being past Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where maister Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another brooke withall, that riseth north of Tomberlow hill, and descendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch castle Newith) and from thence vnder a bridge, after thrée or foure miles course to the sea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which méeteth with the same almost in the verie mouth or fall, and riseth in the edge of Brecknoch shire, or (as Leland saith) high Winceland, from two heads of which one is called Eberith Vehan, the other Eberith Mawr, as I haue beene informed. The course of the first head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they passe togither by Lanhileth, and comming by west of Tomberlow hill (crossing a rill, from north east by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Trestrent, & is of lesse race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that same quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Risleie, Rocheston castell, next of all thorough a parke, and so by Greenefield castell, and is not long yer it fall into the sea, being the last issue that I doo find in the countie, which Ebowith. Serowie.

which beareth the name of Monemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Romeneie. The Romenie or (as some corruptlie call it) the Nonneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betwéene Monemouch & Glamorgan shires. The head hereof is aboue Egglins Tider vap Hoell otherwise called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie springs, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiueth no water on the east side, but on the west diuerse small beckes, whereof three (and one of them called Ifra) are betwéene the rising and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cõmeth in by Capell Gledis, and Kethligaire, the fift from betwéene the Faldraie and Lanuabor, the sixt & seuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer against Bedwas it selfe from chappell Martin, Cairfillie castell, and Thauan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Keuen, Mableie and Romeneie, & yer long crossing a becke at north west that commeth from aboue Lisuan, Lamssen and Roch, it falleth into the sea, about six miles from the Wisbe, and albeit the mouth therof be nothing profitable for ships, yet is it also a march betwéene the Silures and Glamorganshire.

Laie. The Laie falleth into the sea a mile almost from the Taffe, and riseth in the hilles aboue Lantrissent (for all the region is verie hillie.) From whence comming by Lantrissent and Auercastell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder, S. Brides, Lhannihangle, saint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Cogampill, and so into the sea, without anie Dunelais. maner increase by anie rils at all sauing the Dunelais, which riseth foure miles from his fall, east northeast, and meeteth withall a litle more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Methcoid. Velim Vaur, and likewise by west, the Methcoid that commeth from Glinne Rodeneie, and Pedware. wherein to the Pedware dischargeth that small water gathered in his chanell. Here will I staie a little and breake off into a discourse, which Leland left also as parcell of this coast, who toucheth it after this maner.

Laie. From Taffe to Laie mouth or Ele riuer a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that Thawan. standeth on the west point of it) to the mouth of Thawan riuer (from whence is a common passage ouer vnto Mineheued in Summersetshire of 17 miles) are about seuen Welsh miles, Scilleie. which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie succour for ships) whose head is in Wenno paroch two miles and a halfe from the Barrie. shore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of fresh water into Sauerne, whose head is scant a mile off in plaine ground by northeast, and right against the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Iland a flight shot from the shore at the full sea. This Ile went fiftie yeares agone for x. pound. Halfe a mile aboue Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come kidie, which riseth flat north from Come kidie. the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and serueth oft for harbour vnto sea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are three miles, wherevnto ships may come at will.

Colhow. Two miles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill resorteth from Lau Iltuit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to saint Dinothes castell, and three miles Alen. further. The Alen riseth by northeast vp into the land at a place called Lhes Broimith, or Skirpton, about foure miles aboue the plot where it commeth by it selfe into Sauerne. Ogur. From thence to the mouth of Ogur aliàs Gur three miles. Then come they in processe of Kensike. time vnto the Kensike or Colbrooke riuer, which is no great thing, sith it riseth not aboue Auon. three miles from the shore. From Kensike to Aber Auon two miles, and herein doo ships molested with weather oftentimes séeke harborough. It commeth of two armes, wherof that which lieth northeast is called Auon Vaur, the other that lieth northwest Auon Vehan. They meet togither at Lhanuoie Hengle, about two miles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two miles also from the sea.

Neth. From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come shiplets almost to the towne of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline Tauie. becke is two miles, and being passed the same we come vnto the Tauie, which descendeth from the aforesaid hilles and falleth into the sea by east of Swanseie. Being past this we Lochar. come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we passed

passed to the Wandresmouth, wherof I find this description following in Leland. Both Vendraith Vaur and Vendraith Vehan rise in a péece of Carmardineshire, called Issekenen, that is to saie, the low quarter about Kennen riuer, and betwixt the heads of these two hils is another hill, wherein be stones of a gréenish colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Vendraith Vaur riseth in, is called Mennith Vaur, and therein is a poole as in a moorish ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall spring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles from Kidwellie: the hill that Vendraith Vehan springeth out of, is called Mennith Vehan, and this water commeth by Kidwellie towne. Wandres. Vendraith Vaur, Vendraith Vehan.

But about thrée or foure miles yer it come thither, it receiueth a brooke called Tresgirth, the course whereof is little aboue a mile from the place where it goeth into Vendraith, and yet it hath foure or fiue tucking milles and thrée corne milles vpon it. At the head of this brooke is an hole in the hilles side, where men often enter and walke in a large space. And as for the brooke it selfe, it is one of the most plentifull and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the sides also of Vendraith Vaur, you shall find great plentie of sea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Vendraith Vehan, where men vse to enter into vaults of great compasse, and it is said, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Cairkemen castell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true these things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Vendraith Vehan. There are diuerse prints of the passage of certeine worms also in the caue, at the head of Vendraith Vehan, as the inhabitants doo fable: but I neuer heard of anie man that saw anie worme there, and yet it is beléeued that manie wormes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne course.

Leauing the Laie, which some call Elaie, and passing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betwéene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen before described) and came vnto the Barrie, whose head is aboue Wrinston castell, and from whence he runneth by Deinspowis, Cadoxton, Barrie, and so into the sea. Laie. Barrie.

Being past the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riseth two or thrée miles aboue Lansanor, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Cowbridge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanpéere, Flimston, Gilston, and betweene the east and the west Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne sea. But yer it come all there it receiueth a brooke called Kensan, or Karnsan, or Kensech, on the east side, whose head is east of Bolston, & comming by Charnelhoid, Lhancaruan, & Lancadle, it falleth into the former aboue either of the Thawans. Leland saith, that Kensan hath two heads, whereof the more northerlie called Brane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth seauen miles before it méet with the other. Leauing this water we sailed on, casting about the Nash point, omitting two or thrée small waters (whereof Leland hath alreadie as ye see made mention) because I haue nothing more to add vnto their descriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Iltruit, of whose course (to saie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge. Aberthaw. Kensan.

The Ogur or Gur, which some call the Ogmur, is a well faire streame (as we were woont to saie in our old English) whose head is in the same hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much more westerlie, and running a long course yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Languineuere or Langouodoch, to S. Brides vpon Ogur, then to Newcastell, and Marthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Ogur or Ogmur castell on the east side of the banke. It riseth fiue or six miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at last by Lanharne, it crosseth a rill yer long from northeast, and the confluence passeth foorth by Coitchurch, Ogur castell, & so into the Ogur. Leland writing of the waters that fall into this Ogur saith thus. Into the Ogur also resorteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lansanfride bridge, descending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermore (saith he) another called Leuennie rising in the parish of Ogur. Wennie. Garrow. Leuennie.

Corug. Glin Corug, at northwest, and then running two miles lower, vniteth it selfe with the Corug brooke, a little short thing, and worthie no longer speach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth seauen miles further yer it meete with the Ogur on the west side, at Lansanfride, two miles aboue Penbowt. And so far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Kensig. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kensig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kensig
Margan. castell, and being past the same we crosse the Margan rill, where sir Edward Manxell dwelt,
Auon. and so vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is said) the more easterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodaport chappell, the other by Glin Corug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and so into the sea, yéelding also in time of néed a good harbour for ships to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Neth. The
Neth. Neth is a faire water, rising of diuerse heads, whereof the more easterlie named Nethuehan
Nethuehan. riseth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedorin to
Nethuaur. Aberpirgwin it receiueth Nethuaur, a little aboue the towne, which rising not farre southeast
Trangarth. of the head of Tauie in Brecknoch shire (as all the rest doo) receiueth the Trangarth, the
Meltaie. Meltaie and the Hepsaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell,
Hepsaie. about a mile or more before it ioine with Nethuehan. For as Trangarth riseth east of Nethuaur, so the Melta riseth by east of Trangarth, and ioineth with the same aboue Istrad wealthie, and a little beneath the same towne taketh in the Hepsaie. So that albeit their seuerall risings be half or a whole mile in sunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like distance from Aberpirgwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamorganshire, which they directlie doo crosse. After these confluences, the maine streame runneth in and out by sundrie miles, and through the wooddie soiles, till it meet with Cledaugh, which ioineth with the same beneath the Resonlaie, and goeth withall to Lanisted, where it taketh in the
Dulesse. Dulesse, whose head is aboue Chappell Krenaunt, in the marches of Brecknoch. Thence
Cledoch. it goeth to Cador towne, or betwéene it and Lannistide, then to Neth towne, whither small vessels often come: and beneath the same receiuing the Cledoch that runneth by Kelebebilch (and also Neth abbeie where maister Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitfranke forrest, Nethwood, Briton ferrie, and so into the sea.

Tauie. The Tauie riseth in the thickest of the blacke mounteines in Brecknochshire west of Nethnaur, and comming downe west of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the east banke a
Coilus. rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus vnited, the
Torch. chanell passeth foorth by Istradgunles, and then méeting with the Turch or Torch water that cōmeth from the foot of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinshire, it runneth to Langoge, Lansamled, saint Iohns, Swanseie, and so into the Baie. Being past this, we come by another little fall, whose water runneth thrée or foure miles yer it come into Swanseie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whose description I neither haue, nor find anie great want therof. Wherfore going about by Oistermont castell, and Mumbles point, we passe foorth toward the southwest,
Ilston. by Penmarch point, til we come to Ilston water, whose head is not farre within the land; and yet as it commeth thorough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch castell, a rill or two dooth fall into the same. Then casting about by Oxwich point, we go onward there by, and sailing flat north by the Holme (hauing passed the Wormeslead and S. Kennets
Lochar. chappell) and then northeast by Whitford point, we went at length to the Lochar or Loghor, or as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichwr, whose indraught for a certene space is march betwéene Caermardine and Glamorgan shires. It riseth aboue Gwenwie chappell, from whence it
Amond. goeth Landbea, to and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that entreth thereinto from northeast. Being past Bettus, it passeth by Laneddie, Arthelas bridge, and ouer against
Cumbwilie. Landilo Talabout, it crosseth from by west, the Combwilie by west of Parkreame, and
Morlais. afterward the Morlais aboue Langnarch on the same side. Then comming to Loghor castell,
Lhu. it taketh in on the east side, the Lhu, whose course is not aboue fiue miles, and thence
Burraie. loosing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraie, as some gesse, vntill it come to the sea, where it parteth it selfe going on each side (of Bachannie Iland, a small thing) and not worthie

worthie for anie thing I read thereof, as yet to be particularlie described. From this water we passed (I saie) by Bachannies Ha, to the Aberlhoddie water, whose head being in the hilles aboue Prenacrois, it passeth by Lhaneltheie, and thence into the sea. Then went we to the Dulesse a little rill, whose head is not farre from Trinsaren: thence by the Pembraie and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wandres or Vendraith mouth, whose description is partlie touched alreadie; but bicause it is not such as I would wish it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale somewhat further withall. Gwendrath or Vendraith vaur riseth in the lower ground, or not far from the hill Renneth Vaur, whereon castell Careg standeth, and descending by a pretie long course vnder sundrie bridges, commeth at the last to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and so vnto the sea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Vendraith Vehan riseth a mile higher towards the north than Vendraith Vaur, but out of the same soile, & thence directing his course toward the southwest, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Leighdenie, Kidwillie, and so into the sea, about one mile from the fall of Vendraith Vaur. Dulesse. Wandres.

The Towie riseth in the mounteines of Elennith foure miles by southeast from Lintiue, and two from Lingonon, in a moorish ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a forrest called Bishops forrest, midwaie betwixt Landwibreuie & Landanuerie castell. For fish, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw or Taffe, whose head breedeth no fish, but if it be cast into it, they turne vp their bellies flote aloft and die out of hand. It parteth Brecknoch from Cardigonshire also for a certeine season, till it come by the water of Trausnant, that falleth thereinto from by east out of the confins of Brecknoch, vnto Pilin capell, and so to Istrodefine, where it méeteth with the Tothee that commeth thither from Lhinuerwin where it riseth, and so through Rescoth forrest, vniting it selfe by the waie with the Pescotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonshire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the same, till it ioine with the Tothée, and both come togither beneath Istrodefine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbreie, Lanihowell, and Lanimphfrie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the first is called Brane, the other Gutherijc (which lieth more southerlie of the two) and fall (as I said) into Towie beneath Landonuereie, which runneth on till it méet with the first Dulesse that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Morlais, and these on the northwest. Certes the Brane is a pretie brooke rising two or three miles aboue Capell Newith, and descending by Lanbrane and Vstradwalter, it méeteth (I saie) with the Gutherijc, whose head is west of Tridcastell in Brecknochshire, and thereby it is not a little increased. But to proceed with the Towie, which being past Lanimphfrie and a rill that méeteth with the same, descending from northwest of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerse waters in one chanell, of which the greatest is called Modewie, and thereof I find this description. Towie. Trausnant. Tothée. Pescotter. Brane. Gutherijc. Dulesse. Morlais.

The Modewie, or (as some pronounce it) Motheuie, riseth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanihangle, the streame runneth on till it méet with the Cledoch on the left hand, procéeding also further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawtheie, whose two heads descend from the blacke mounteines or east edge of Carmardineshire (as mine information leadeth me.) After this confluence the second Dulesse dooth méet with the Towie, whose head is in the hilles aboue Talthogaie abbeie, northwest from Langadocke full fiue miles: then comming downe by Landilovaur, Newton, Dinefar castell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third Dulesse from by north that commeth in by Lanihangle and Drislan castell, and after that the Cothie, whose race is somewhat long, and therefore his description not vtterlie to be passed ouer. Modewie. Cledoch. Sawtheie. Dulesse. 2. Dulesse. 3. Cothie.

Not farre from the head (which is three miles from Landanbreuie, vnder the hulke of Blame Icorne, a narrow passage, and therein manie heaps of stones) and somewhat beneath Lana Pinsent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lanacroies: thence it goeth to Lansawell, Abergorlech, Breghuangothie, Lannigood, and so into Towie, which hasting forward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Rauelthie from by north, then Turche. Rauelthie.

Gwilie. then the Gwilie from northwest, whose head is aboue Lanie Pinsent, and race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewilie, and Merling hill as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwilie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanstephan, S. Ismaels, and so into the sea.

Taue. Next vnto the Towie is the Taue, whose head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the roots of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembrookeshire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langludien, Dudderie. Lanualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from southwest, out of the same countie by Lanbeder- Marlais. uelfraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Eglesware chappell, beneath which it crosseth the Marlais Vennie. by north that runneth by Lanbedie and Whitland. Thence meeting with one rill called Venni, Caire. as I take it, that commeth through Cardith forrest on the one side, and the Caire on the other Carthkinnie. that runneth into it west of Landowror, it hasteth to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carth- Gow. kinnie, or Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow or Tow both in one chanell, of which the first riseth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilsant, and Langinnin, the other issueth out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Midrun, & ioining with the former a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Gowen. Lanihangle, and betwéene it and Abercowen, admitteth finallie the Gowen or Gow streame, which comming likewise from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & so into the Taue, who directeth his course by Lancharne castell, and then into the sea.

Gwair. The next water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a small thing rising aboue Lambeder Velfraie, and going from thence by east of castell Merhie hill, Crumuier and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, and so we leaue Cairdinshire, and go ouer into Penbrooke. Then passed we by an other comming out of Rathe forrest called Coit Rathe, the water it selfe rising about Templeton. Thence leauing the Monkeston rocke, we came to Tenbie or Dinbechie Piscood, and passing into the port betwéene the castell and S. Katha- Brechnocke. rines rocke, we found it serued with two little backe waters, of so small countenance, that they are not worthie of anie further talke to be spent in their descriptions: yet the one séemeth to be called Florence brooke, the other Fresto, Gunfreston standing betwéene them From Londie to both, whereby their sight cannot perish. After this we passed betwéene Londie and an other Caldie thirtie miles. Ilet or rocke lieng by northwest of the same, to Ludsop point, & so to Abertrewent, where Trewent. I found a sillie fresh water named Trewend that riseth a mile or thereabout within the land. From thence we went southwards by Brode hauen, till we came to S. Gowans point. Then gathering west and by north before we came at Shepe Iland, we found another fresh water, that riseth short of Kiriog Maharen, and running south of Vggarston, Windmill hill, or betwéene it and Castell Norton and Gupton, it holdeth on flat west all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Being passed this water, we cast about toward the northwest, by the Poptons and Pennar, Pennar. till we came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the salt water issueth that in maner inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting sundrie salt créekes on both sides of the hauen, not appertinent to our purpose) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whose confluence Williamston parke standeth, and whereof one (a méere salt course) incloseth thrée parts of Carew castell. The other rising neere to Coit Rath forrest is a fresh, & going by Geffraiston, Creswell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the south side, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two swords, or hauen of Milford, whereinto two riuers direct their Dugledu. course from the northeast called Dugledu or the two swords, and betwéene them both is a Cultlell. rill which they call also Cultlell (that is to saie) the knife. Hereof riseth a merrie tale of a Welshman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peraduenture not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hostesse (where he did breake his fast the next morrow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, bicause he came so soone to hir house yer anie of hir maid were vp? Oh good hostesse (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous estate, for I slept betweene two swords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indéed that he laie betwéene these two riuers, and his brest towards the south neere to

the

the head of Cultlell. But to passe ouer these iests. Here Leland speaketh of a riuer called Gwilie, but where it riseth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requisit that I proceed according to my purpose. Gwilie.

The one of these swords is called Clotheie or Clothie, of which I find this short and breefe description. The Clothie riseth at the foot of Wrennie vaure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by northwest before it come at Lanhaddon castell, which commeth from aboue the moore by Clarbaston and Bletherston, his head arising in the hill west of Mancloghaie, as Leland dooth informe me. Yer long also and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the east side from Narbarth castell, comming by Robeston, then going by Cunaston, Slebach, Picton castell, Sister houses, Minware & Martheltwie, at Rise castell point west of Coit Kenles (as I haue béene informed) it taketh in the other sword, named Dugledie, wherof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is somwhere at northwest, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dugwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbaxton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camrose at the west, it goeth to Hauerford or Hereford west, and there vniteth it selfe with a water, which peraduenture is the same that Leland called Gwilie. Certes it riseth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergest, it falleth I saie into the Dugledie, ouer against the towne of Hauerford or Herford west, but in Welsh Hulford; as Lhoid dooth set it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another water from south west, whose head is short of S. Margarets chappell, and enterance betweene Harraldston and Herford, which Harraldstone receiueth the name of Harrald the successour of Edward the confessour as some call him, who was a greeuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the said Edward; as I haue noted elsewhere. Then the Dugledie still descending taketh in the Frese frō Fresethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making hast vnto Culthell, & omitting two rils betwéene it and the Clotheie on the southside, of no great weight and moment. The Cultlhell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolston, with a streight course from by north, of three or foure miles, rising by west of Slebach, and comming by Bowlston, after whose vnition with the aforesaid water they run on as one till they méet with the Clothie, casting out by the waie sundrie salt créekes, as the maine chanell dooth from thence foorth vntill it passe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a sillie fresh rill commeth of small value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean. Clotheie. Dugledie. Gwilie.

Having thus shewed the courses of those few fresh waters that come to Milford hauen, we cast about by the Blockehouse and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betwéene S. Annes and the Wilocke point, directlie ouer against Stockeholme Iland that is situat further off into the sea, toward the southwest, and is full halfe so great as the Scalmeie that I elsewhere described. Betwéene the Willocke point also and the Scalmeie, directlie west is the Midland Ile, full so great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and south of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Yardland stone, the other Mewstone, it shall not be greatlie requisit to stand on their discourses, sith they are such as may hardlie be taken for Ilands, and euen in like sort we may iudge of S. Brides Ile, which is southwest of Calthrop rode, & likewise of the Gresholme, whereof I find this short description. The Gresholme lieth directlie west of Scalmeie, from whence if you saile thither on the south side, you must néeds passe by the Mewstone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you must leaue the Yarland stone on your left hand. Wherto if you note well the situation of these Ilands alreadie named, and confer them with the Ramseie and S. Dauids land, you shall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Bridbaie, wherein (notwithstanding the greatnesse) are 1000 perils, and no fresh brookes for me to deale withall. Finallie, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnsearched, at lestwise to sée what Ilands might there be found, & long entred into the same, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides Iland, a verie little place and situate néere the land, before I came at Galtroie rode. From thence we went Gateholme Ile. Stockeholme Ile. Midland Ile. Gresholme. S. Brides Iland.

went about by the little hauen, Doluach hauen, Caruaie hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbud-die, and Carnaie baies, Portelais, and so into the sound betweene Ramseie and the point. In this sound likewise is a little Ile, almost annexed to the maine: but in the middest thereof, I meane of the sound, is a rocke called the horsse (a mile and more by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth south east of Ramseie) and more infortunate than ten of Seians colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence passing by S. Stephans, and White-sand baies, we saluted the Bishop and his clerks, as they went in procession on our left side (being loth to take anie salted holie water at their hands) and came at last to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth Octapitanum promontorium, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to staie a while, and insert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof some men may peraduenture haue vse, his words are these. Being therefore past this hauen and point of Demetia, in casting about the coast we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth Octapitanum promontorium, I read to be separated from the rest of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerse other little creekes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fischard, beside those that are heere mentioned out of a register of that house.

A sort of dangerous rocks lieng on a row vpon the west end of South-wales called the Bishop & his clerkes.

S Dewie or Dauid all one.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a creeke serued with a backe fresh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this creeke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about foure miles is Saluach creeke, otherwise called Sauerach, whither some fresh water resorteth: the mouth also thereof is a good rescue for balingers, as it (I meane the register) saith. Thence go we to Portelais three miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that commeth through saint Dewies close dooth run. It lieth a mile south-west from S. Dewies, saint Stinans Chappell also is betweene Portelais, and Portmaw. The next is Port Maw, where I found a great estuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Vehan is three miles from Pendwie, where is a salt creeke, then to Tredine three miles, where is another creeke to Langunda, foure miles, and another creeke is there in like sort where fishermen catch herrings. Heere also the Gwerne riuer diuideth Penbidianc from Fischerdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fischard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a portlet or hauenet also for ships. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Saluach.

Portelais.
Alen.
Portmaw.
Maw.
Pendwie.
Lanuehan.
Tredine.
Langunda.

Fischard.
Gwerne.

Besides this also, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and pooles, but for as much as my purpose is not to speake of lakes and lhinnes, I passe them ouer as hasting to Teifie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius or Tiuirobius, which is the next riuer that serueth for my purpose. And yet not forgetting to touch the Gwerne, for after we came from saint Dauids head, we coasted along toward the southeast, till wee came ouer against saint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad hauen, and the Strombles head, we sailed thence northeast, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat south by the Cow and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & so coasted ouer to Abergwin or Fischard, where we found a fresh water named Guin, or Gwerne, whose course is in maner directlie out of the east into the west, from Vremie hils by pont Vaunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foresaid towne. It riseth flat north of the Perselie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerillidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & so to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we cast about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport standeth. The head of this riuer is aboue Capell Nantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riseth short of Wrenie vaure, and thence go foorth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I did stumble on, wherein lieth a little Iland ouer against the north point. Hereinto also commeth the Teifie, a noble riuer which riseth in Lintiuie, and is fraught with delicate samons, and herein and not else where in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Castor or Beuer to be found. But to proceed. The verie hed thereof (I saie) is foure miles aboue Stradflore in Luitie, and after it hath run from thence a little space, it receiueth

Gwerne.

Neuerne.

Teifie or Tine.

a brooke from southeast that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradflore abbeie, beneth which it méeteth with the Miricke water (that riseth aboue Stradmirich) and soone after with the Landurch (both from the northwest) and finallie the Bremich aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the east; as Leland hath set downe. Miricke. Landurch.

Néere to Landwibreuie also it crosseth the Bromis by east northeast, and then goeth to Landuair, Cledogh, Kellan, and soone after taking in the Matherne from by east, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine shire, and likewise that Dulas aboue Lanbedder (which riseth aboue Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northwest, it goeth next of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Laniuair, beneath which it crosseth the Grauelth, thence to Pencarocke, Lanibether, Lanlonie, Lanihangle, and Sandissell, and there it vniteth it selfe with the Clethor or Dettor, which commeth downe thither by Lantisilued chappell, Lanfraine, and finallie Landissell from by north, as I doo here affirme. After this confluence it procéedeth on to Landuaie, Alloine, Bangor, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcastell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by north, whose head is not farre from that of Clethor, and whose course is somewhat inlarged by such rilles as descend into the same. For west of Kenwith two becks in one chanell doo fall into it, which be namelesse, and but of a little length. Bromis. Matherne. Dulas. Grauelth. Clethor. Kerie.

Beneath Tredwair also it crosseth another from by west, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie méeting with the Teifie, they run as one by Kennarth (still parting Cardigon shire from Carmardin, as it hath doone sith it met with the Matherne) and so forth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which rising southeast aboue chappell Euan, dooth part Carmardine and Brechnocke shire in sunder, till it come vnto the Teifie. From this confluence, and being still a limit vnto Cardigon shire, it goeth by Marierdine, and so to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north descending by Penneralt, by north of Monardiue or Marierdiue, and two other from by southwest, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron castell, the other from Lantwood north west of Oswid Mortemer, which lieth southeast of Cardigan, and then going forward betweene S. Dogmaile, & Langordmere, it is not long yer it fall into the Irish sea, flat west and by north from his vprise, and sending vs forth from Penlooke into Cardigon shire, wherevnto it hath become march euer sithence it came from Kellan, or confluence with the Matherne. Cheach.

Being come into Cardigon shire, and hauing passed the Cardigon point, an Iland of the same denomination lieng by west thereof, we came vnto the fall of Airon three miles beneath Lancleere, it riseth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Peniall belonging to Landwie breuie about three or foure miles from Tiue banks, & runneth on by Lamberwooddie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, Talaferne, and soone after taking in a rill from by south from Siliam by Lanleir it runneth by Istrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the sea, crossing by the waie the Bidder brooke, which comming from Dehewide, dooth fall into the same, betweene Lanchairin, and Henuenneie. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of anie long course, yet somewhat crotched, and it riseth three or foure miles or more within the land slopewise, and comming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the sea, northeast of Aberarth. Airon. Bidder. Arth.

Being past the Arth, & hauing staied there a while bicause we found some harborough, we came next of all vnto the Wereie, which riseth of two heads, aboue whose confluence standeth a towne, named Lanihangle, Redrod, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruthen to Laristed, & so into the Ocean. Then went we to the Ystwith, which riseth in the blacke mounteins aboue Comerstwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, vntill it come vnto Ispittie, Istwith, Lananon, Laniler, Lan Nachairne, and so into the sea, taking withall first the Meleuen, then the Ridall or Redholl not farre from the shore, whereof I haue this description. The Ridall riseth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Ridall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinwen, it crosseth one water on the north, and another beneth it on the southeast, and so goeth on by Lanbeder vaure, till it come to Aberistwith, the Istwith, and so into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Istwith, and taken our selues againe to the sea, we crossed the Salke or Salique brooke, whereof I find this memoriall. Risalias Wereie. Istwith. Redholl.

The

Massalique. The Salique brooke descendeth in like sort from the blacke mounteins, & going from Vmaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiueth the Massalique, and from thence goeth into the sea, southwest from his originall. From hence we went to the Lerie, an indraught of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I gesse (yet I may be deceiued) for anie ship to harborough in. It riseth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanihangle castell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeast into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by northeast of his course. But what stand I vpon trifles?

Lerie.

Wie. Thus haue I brought my selfe out of Caerdigan shire vnto the Wie, which is limit betwéene it and Merioneth for a certeine space, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the description of the same to come downeward as in the rest, which we will doo in such good manner as for the time and want of some information is possible to be performed. It ariseth in the south part of Snowdonie and goeth on foorth right to Lammothwie, by Mowdhewie, Mathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Mathew, it receiueth two rilles from northwest, and the third comming by Mailroid called Cludoch from northeast, & so holdeth on crossing the Angell water at the west, which boundeth Mongomerie shire in part, till it come to Romis, beneath which water it taketh in the Towin that passeth by Lambrin mawr from Talgarth, and then goeth to Mathrauerne, crossing another from by north and so foorth to Lanworing, where it méeteth with the Kerig on the one side, and the Gwidall which commeth from Dorowen on the other.

Remis.

After this, our maine riuer goeth by Pengos, and beneath the same taketh in an influence from southeast, called the Dulas, and another from the northwest: from thence it hasteth on to Magenillet, or Machenlet, first crossing the Leuennie from southeast, secondlie the Peniall from northwest, thirdlie the Einon, fourthlie the Kinar, fiftlie the Cleidor, these thrée last rehearsed falling into it from southeast, & the last hauing his course by Langwinhelin and so into the sea, as mine instruction vpholdeth. It seemeth in some mens iudgements to part Northwales and Westwales in sunder, and the same which in Latine hight Deuus, in Welsh or British Difi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth séeme to fetch his sound. But to procéed with the rest of such falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore northwestward we come to a fall frō the north called Towen Merionneth which is the mouth of the Difonnie streame, a pretie riuer rising in the hilles aboue Lanihangle, and west of castell Traherne receiueth the Ridrijc, which commeth from Chadridrijc hill, by Tallillin castell, Treherie, and so into the Difonnie from southeast, fetching his course by Lanegrin, and so into the sea within fiue miles thereof.

Being past this we did cast about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and so to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence described, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Moth or Derie, for so are the two chiefe heads called out of which this riuer descendeth, and are about six miles west of the Lin, out of which the Dée hath his issue, and betwéene which the Raran vaure hilles are situat and haue their being. After the ioining of the two heds of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiueth a rill from northeast called Cain, & another beneath the same, comming from Beurose wood, and so holdeth on towards the south betweene Lanil-tid and Kemmor abbaie, till it meet a little by west of Dolgelth with the Auon vaure, which comming also out of the Woodland soile, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, hasteth northwestward (by Dolgelth) to ioine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Kessilgunt, then the Hirgun, & after a course of foure to fiue miles it falleth into the sea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this shire. From hence we crosse the Skethie which runneth by Corsogdale and Lanthwie, alias Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro aboue Lambader, doth fall into the sea, southeast of the point, and flat south of Landango, which is a towne situat on the other side of the turning.

After this we passed by Aberho, so named of the riuer Ho, that falleth there into the sea, and commeth thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, mounteins, no lesse fertile for grasse,

grasse, wood, cattell, fish and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the seas, whereof all the writers doo make so honorable report. From hence we sailed by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like sort from Snowdonie, and taketh diuerse riuers with him whose names I doo not know. Then vnto the Artro a brooke, whose head commeth from by north east, and in his course receiueth the Gedar on the north side, and so holdeth on till it fall into the sea, after a few windlesses which it maketh as it passeth. After this we come to Traith vehan, which is the fall of the Drurid, a pretie riuer comming from the marches of Caernaruonshire, which passing by Festimog, soone after taketh in the Cunwell, then the Velenrid; and so holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the said Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by south hereof, and haue their issue also into the same, I make but small accompt, bicause their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles hath his issue, a riuer proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, descending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his course and passage. It is parcell of the march also betweene Merioneth and Caernaruon shires. From Traith mawr we passe by the Krekith, and come to another water descending from the north by Lanstidwie, and after that to the Moie, whose mouthes are so neere togither, that no more than halfe a mile of the land dooth seeme to keepe them in sunder.

Mawr. Artro. Farles.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a pretie brooke descending from Madrijn hils, into whose mouth two other of no lesse quantitie than it selfe doo seeme to haue their confluence, and whose courses doo come along from the west and northwest; the most southerlie being called Girch, and the other the Hellie: except my memorie doo faile me. Then casting about toward the south (as the coast lieth) we saw the Abersoch or mouth of the Soch riuer vpon our right hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by south thereof lie two Ilands, of which the more northerlie is called Tudfall, and the other Penrijn: as Leland did obserue. I would set downe the British names of such townes and villages as these waters pa se by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is so hard to me, that I choose rather to shew their falles and risings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vse such words as our Englishmen doo giue vnto some of them, but that is not often, where the British name is easie to be found out and sounded.

Erke. Soch.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron riuer, wherevpon standeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the shore betwixt Aberdaron and Vortigernes vale, where the compasse of the sea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Edarne becke, a mile and more south of Newin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Vennie brooke, whose course is little aboue so manie miles; and not farre from it is the Liuan, a farre lesse water, comming also from the east: and next vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by south and the Carrog by north after their coniunction doo make their common influence. Hauing passed this riuer, we cast about toward the north east, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the streicts or streame called Menaie, betweene Angleseie and the maine, meeting first of all with the Gornaie, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Treuennian lake, and passeth by Lanunda into the sea or Menaie streame at Southcrocke. Next of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, passeth by Lanihangle, and so falleth into the Menaie at Abersaint, which is on the southwest side of Caernaruon: on the other side also of the said towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it standeth betweene two riuers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Orueg.

Daron. Edarne becke.

Then come we (saith Leland) to Gwiniwith mirith (or Horsse brooke) two miles from Moilethon, and it riseth at a Well so called full a mile from thence. Moilethon is a bowe shot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleseie. Aberpowle runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Meneie shore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Meneie. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mounteine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronnen hath his course) almost a mile aboue it. Aber Ogwine is two miles aboue that; it

Conte. Gegeine. Torronnen.

Ogwine. Auon. Lanmar.Vehan. Duegeuelth.

it riseth at Tale linne, Ogwine poole, fiue miles aboue Bangor in the east side of Withow. Aber Auon is two miles aboue Aberogwene, and it riseth in a poole called Lin man Auon, thrée miles off. Auon lan var Vehan riseth in a mounteine therby, and goeth into the sea, two miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three miles aboue Conweie, which rising in the mounteins a mile off, goeth by it selfe into Meneie salt arme. On the said shore also lieth Conweie, and this riuer dooth run betwixt Penmaine Maur, and Penmaine Vehan. It riseth about three miles from Penmaclon hils which lie about sixtie miles from Conweie abbeie, now dissolued out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and west of this riuer standeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

Téec.

This riuer (which Ptolomie calleth Toesobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, passeth on the west side by Spittieuan and Tiherio, beneath which it taketh in a streame comming from the east out of Denbighshire, deriued from thrée heads, and of the greatest called Nag. Soone after also another, and then the third, which commeth in from the west by Lanpen Mawr: next of all the Leder on the same side, which commeth by Dolathelan castell: and aboue that from a Lin of the same denomination. Beneath this and selfe hand lieth likewise the Ligow or Ligwie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Mumber and the Ligow. On the right hand as we still descend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we méet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be past another on the right side, we come to the Perloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowlid, to the Ygan, to the Idulin, to the castell Water on the left, & then to the Melandider on the right, without the sight of anie other, till we come almost to Conweie, where we find a notched streame comming from by west, and called Guffen or Gyffin into the same by one chanell on the northeast side of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and ouer against Lansanfraid in Denbighshire; so farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruonshire stretcheth also beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Ormeshed point, wherein also is a rill, whose fall into the sea is betwéene Penrin and Landright. And thus we haue made an end of the chéefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

Ligow.

Ormeshed.

The next is a corner of Denbigh, by which we doo as it were step ouer into Flintshire, and whose first water is not great, yet it commeth from southwest, and falleth into the north or Irish sea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the next that commeth south from Bettas dooth the like thrée miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it selfe importeth) but also noted to take his course through the Canges. Hauing thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighshire, that lieth betwéene those of Carnaruon and Flint, we come next of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a streame not to be shortlie intreated of. It riseth among certeine hilles, which lie not far distant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighshires. Southeast from his fall, and hauing run foure or fiue miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Maniton on the left hand, and the Mespin on the right: and soone after the third from bywest, whose head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen also it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and so holdeth on till it méet with the Cluedoch, then with the Ystrade, which passeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Whéeler on the right, and so to his ioining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Asaphes, a bishops sée that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riseth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lanuair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lansannan, and ioineth with him fiue miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence passeth on to the sea by Rutland castell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by east, and hath a course almost of sixteene miles. From hence we tooke sea toward the Dée mouth: and as we passed by the rest of the shore, we saw the fall of a little brooke néere Basing Werke, of another néere to Flint, of the third at Yowleie castell, which with his two armes in maner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Hawarden hold, which in like sort goeth round about the same, & from whence we came to the Dée, where we landed and tooke vp our lodging in Chester. In this

Gele.

Maniton.

Cluedoch.

Elwie.

this place also it was no hard matter to deliuer & set downe the names of such riuers and streames as are also to be found in Angleseie, finding my selfe to haue some leasure and fit opportunitie for the same: and imagining a iourneie thither also, as vnto the other places mentioned in this description, whither as yet it hath not béene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amisse to take it also in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnaruonshire to Beaumarise, I went by land without crossing of anie riuer or streame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the southest point of that Iland. This Brant riseth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his course southward to Lanthoniell Vaall, it goeth on to Bodoweruch, Langainwen, and so into the sea.

The next fall we came vnto was called Maltrath, and it is producted by the confluence of two riuers, the Geuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langrestoll. This also last rehearsed hath his head neere to Penmoneth, the other being forked riseth in the hillie soile aboue Tregaion and Langwithlog: so that part of the Iland obteineth no small commoditie and benefit by their passage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whose head is neere to Langinewen, and passage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth east of Aberfraw, and so into the sea. The next riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer course than that which I last described. For it riseth two or thrée miles aboue Haneglosse: and passing from thence to Treualghmaie, after the descent of foure miles, it falleth into the sea. After this we came to an other, which riseth more to Cap legan ferwie, and falleth into the sea; southeast of the little Iland, which is called Ynis Wealt, it is namelesse also as the other was: and therefore hauing small delight to write thereof, we passed ouer the salt créeke by a bridge into Cair Kibie, which by the same, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in some respect not vnworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north side therefore of Cair Kibie is a little rill or créeke: but whether the water thereof be fresh or salt, as yet I doo not remember. Fraw.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforesaid bridge, into the maine of Angleseie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by thrée riuerets, each one hauing his course almost south from other; and the last falling into the confluence of the two first, not halfe a mile from the west, where I first espied the streame: the name of the most northerlie is Linon, of the second Allo; but the third is altogither namelesse for aught that I can learne, wherefore it shall not be necessarie to spend anie time in the further searching of his course. Being past this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eastward, we butted vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the ioining of the Nathanon and the Geger, which méet beneath and néere to the Langechell. And after the same we passed on somewhat declining southward by the Hillarie point, toward the southeast, till we came to the Dulesse: and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eastward; and finallie southward, till we came to Langurdin; from whence vnto Beaumarise (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I go forward with the description of the Dee. Linon. Allo.

The Dee or Deua (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, & breeder of the best trout, whose head is in Merioneth shire, about thrée miles aboue the lake, situate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Tegnis, whose streame yet verie small, by reason of the shortnesse of his course, falleth into the said lake, not far from Lanullin. There are sundrie other waters which come also into the said lake, which is foure or five miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by south, whose fall is east, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his issue into the same by Langower: the third on the north side of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glanlintegid called the Jauerne, the lake it selfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a pretie streame, and not a little augmented by the Kelme and Monach which fall by north into the same, and ioineth with the Dée south of Lanuair; from whence forth it looseth the name, and is afterward called Dée. East of Bala in like sort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and so passing on by Dée or Deua. Trowerin. Ruddoch. Cleton.

Landright to Langar, it méeteth with a confluence procéeding from the Alwen and the Giron, of which this riseth in the hils aboue Langham, the other in the mounteines about fiue or six miles by northwest of Lanihangle in Denbighshire, where (as I gesse) it falleth into the ground; and afterward rising againe betwéene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full six miles aboue Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lansanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighshire, and so to Langellon, Dinas, Bren, &c: kéeping his course by certeine windlesses, till he receiue the Gristioneth, descending by Ruabon, then another est of the same; the third from by west called Keriog (whose head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and course by Lanarmon, Lansanfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from south east out of Shropshire, called Morlais, and so passeth as bounds betwéene Denbighshire, and the Outliggand of Flintshire, to wit by Bistocke on the one side and Bangor on the other, till it come to Worthenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell descending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chappell, the second from Hamnere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by east of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betwéene Chad and Worsall. These two later méeting aboue nether Durtwich, doo hold on to Talerne, as mine information instructeth me.

Gristioneth.
Keriog.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northwestwards toward Shocklige, méeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to those trouts for which the Dée is commended) and descendeth from Capell Moinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrexham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrexham, not far from Hantwerne. Soone after also our maine riuer receiueth another becke from by east, which is bound on the northwest side to the Outliggand of Flintshire, and so passeth on betwéene Holt castell and Ferneton, Almere and Pulton, as march betwéene Denbighshire and Cheshire, and then taketh in the Alannus or Alen; a pretie riuer and worthie to be described. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighshire, and so disposed that it riseth in two seuerall places, ech being two miles from other, the one called Alen Mawr, the other Alen Vehan, as I doo find reported. They méet also beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill comming from by west, it runneth on to the Mold to Horsheth, and so in and out to Greseford, taking the Cagidog from southwest with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and so into the Dée, a mile and more aboue the fall of Powton becke, which also descendeth from southwest out of Flintshire, and is march vnto the same, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dée hauing Chestershire on both sides, goeth to Aldford with a swift course, where it méeteth with the Beston brooke, whereof I doo find this description following.

Cluedoch.
Gwinrogh.

Alannus.

Beston.

"The Beston water riseth in the wooddie soile betwéene Spruston and Beston castell with a forked head, and leauing Beston towne on the northeast, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakesleie, where it diuideth it selfe in such wise, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Léehall, to Alford, and so into the Dée, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it brancheth againe, sending foorth one arme by Stanneie poole, and the parke side into Merseie arme, toward the northwest, and another by southwest, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backeford, Charleton, Vpton, the Baites, and so vnder a bridge to Chester ward, where it falleth into the Dée arme at Flockes brooke, excluding Wirall on the northwest as an Iland, which lieth out like a leg betwéene the Merseie and the Dée armes, and including and making another fresh Iland within the same, whose limits by northwest are betwéene Thorneton, Chester, & Aldford, on the northeast Thorneton and Hakesleie, and on the southeast Hakesleie and Aldford, whereby the forme thereof dooth in part resemble a triangle." And thus much of the Dee, which is a troublesome streame when the wind is at southwest, and verie dangerous, in so much that few dare passe thereon. Sometimes also in haruest time it sendeth downe such store of water, when the wind bloweth in the same quarter, that it drowneth all their

their grasse and corne that groweth in the lower grounds néere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about thrée hundred foot, at his departure from the Tignie, and worthilie called a litigious streame; because that by often alteration of chanell, it inforceth men to séeke new bounds vnto their lands, for here it laieth new ground, and there translateth and taketh awaie the old, so that there is nothing more vnconstant than the course of the said water. Of the monasterie Bangor also, by which it passeth after it hath left Orton bridge, I find this note, which I will not omit, because of the slaughter of monks made sometime néere vnto the same. For although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogither to omit it.

This abbeie of Bangor stood sometime in English Mailor, by hither and south of the riuer Dée. It is now ploughed ground where that house stood, by the space of a Welsh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe English) and to this day the tillers of the soile there doo plow vp bones (as they saie) of those monks that were slaine in the quarrell of Augustine, and within the memorie of man some of them were taken vp in their rotten weeds, which were much like vnto those of our late blacke monks, as Leland set it downe: yet Erasmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was such as most men did weare generallie at their first institution. But to proceed. This abbeie stood in a valleie, and in those times the riuer ran hard by it. The compasse thereof likewise was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may easilie be discerned, of which the one is named Port Hogan lieng by north, the other Port Clais situat vpon the south. But the Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth through the verie middest of the house betwixt those two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As for the squared stone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no such necessitie of the rehersall therof, but that I may passe it ouer well inough without anie further mention. The situation of the monasterie of Bangor.

Being past the Dée we sailed about Wirall, passing by Hibrie or Hilbrée Iland, and Leuerpole, Nasse, making our entrie into Merseie arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betwéene Seacombe and the Ferie, which dooth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. For rising néere to the northwest shore, it holdeth a course directlie toward the southeast by Wallaseie and Poton, and so leaueth all the north part beyond that water a peninsula, the same being three square, inuironed on two sides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforesaid brooke, whose course is well néere three miles except I be deceiued. Frō hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betwéene Bebington and Brombro chappell, descending from the hilles, which are seene to lie not farre from the shore, and thence crossing the fall of the Beston water, we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, than the which I read of no riuer in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windlesses and crinklings, before it come at the sea. It riseth at Buckle hilles, which lie betwéene Ridleie and Buckle townes, and soone after making a lake of a mile & more in length called Ridleie poole, it runneth by Ridleie to Chalmondlie. Wiuer.

Thence it goeth to Wrenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a moore that commeth from Marburie: and beneth Sandford bridge the Combrus from Combermer or Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerslaw, then betweene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and so into the Wiuer, which watereth all the west part of England, and is no lesse notable than the fift Auon or third Ouze, whereof I haue spoken alreadie. After these confluences it hasteth also to Audlem, Hawklow, and at Barderton crosseth the Betleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Widdenberie, and so by Barderton into the aforesaid streame. Thence it goeth to Nantwich, but yer it come at Marchford bridge, it meeteth with a rill called Salopbrooke (as I gesse) comming from Caluerleie ward, and likewise beneath the said bridge, with the Lée and the Wuluarne both in one chanell, wherof the first riseth at Weston, the other goeth by Copnall. From hence the Wiuer runneth on to Minchion and Cardeswijc, and the next water that falleth into it is the Ashe (which passeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke, the vale Roiall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Northwich where it receiueth the Dane, to be described as followeth. Combrus. Betleie. Salop. Lée and Wuluarne.

Dane. followeth. The Dane riseth in the verie edges of Chester, Darbishire, & Staffordshire, and comming by Warneford, Swithamleie and Bosleie, is a limit betwéene Stafford and Darbie shires, almost euen from the verie head, which is in Maxwell forrest.

Bidle. It is not long also yer it doo méet with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth vnto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Croxton, there taking

Whelocke. in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Morton to Sandbach, crosseth another that descendeth from church Cawlhton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, ioining also beneath Midlewish with the Croco or Croxston, the second great water, whose head commeth out of a lake aboue Bruer-

Croco. ton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one vnto the Dane, at Croxton, as the Dane dooth from thence to Bostocke, Dauenham, Shebruch, Shurlach, and at Northwich into the foresaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like sort receiueth two brookes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Allostocke, by Holme & Lastocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chel-

Piuereie. ford (where it taketh in a rill called Piuereie) thence to ouer Peuer, Holford, and there cross-

Waterlesse. ing the Waterlesse brooke (growing of two becks and ioining at nether Tableie) it goeth foorth to Winshambridge, and then méeting with the other, after this confluence they procéed till they come almost at Barneton, where the said chanell ioineth with a pretie water running thorough two lakes, whereof the greatest lieth betwéene Comberbach, Rudworth and Marburie. But to go forward with the course of the maine riuer. After these confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbridge, and Dutton, ouer against which towne, on the other side it méeteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: also the second going by Norleie, and Gritton, finallie the third soone after from Kimsleie, and then procéedeth on in his passage by Asheton chappell, Frodesham, Rockesauage, and so into the sea: and this is all that I doo find of the Wiuer, whose influences might haue beene more largelie set downe, if mine iniunctions had béene amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may suffice for his description, and knowledge of his course.

Merseie. The Merseie riseth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Woodhouse, and taking sundrie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwéene Chester and

Goite. Darbishires. Going also toward Goitehall, it méeteth with a faire brooke increased by sundrie waters called Goite, whereof I find this short and briefe description. The Goite riseth not far from the Shire méere hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their originall) that parteth Darbishire and Chestershire in sunder, and thence commeth downe to Goite houses,

Frith. Ouerton, Taxhall, Shawcrosse, and at Weibridge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall,

Set. the Set that riseth aboue Thersethall and runneth by Ouerset. After this confluence also the

Tame. Merseie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockford or Stopford towne méeteth with the Tame, which diuideth Chestershire and Lancastershire in sunder, and whose head is in the verie edge of Yorkeshire, from whence it goeth southward to Sadleworth Firth, then to Mukelhirst, Stalie hall, Ashdon Vnderline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddish, and so at Stockford into the Merseie streame, which passeth foorth in like sort to Diddesbirie, receiuing a brooke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by Brumhall parke and Chedle.

Irwell. From Diddesbirie it procéedeth to Norden, Ashton, Aiston, Flixston, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefore his description is not to be omitted before I doo go forward anie further with the Merseie, although it be not nauigable by reason of sundrie rockes and shalowes that lie dispersed in the same. It riseth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Rosendale, and in the waie to Aitenfield it taketh in a water from Haselden. After this con-

Ræus, or Rache. fluence it goeth to Newhall, Brandlesham, Brurie, and aboue Ratcliffe ioineth with the Rache

Leland speaketh of the Corue water about Manchester; but I know nothing of his course. water, a faire streame and to be described when I haue finished the Irwell, as also the next vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, bicause I would not haue so manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therfore past these two, our Irwell goeth on to Clifton,

Yrke. Hollond, Edgecroft, Strengwaies, and to Manchester, where it vniteth it selfe with the Yrke, that runneth thereinto by Roiton Midleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Manches-

ter also it méeteth with the Medlocke that commeth thither from the northeast side of Oldham, and betwéene, Claiton and Garret Halles, and so betwéene two parkes, falling into it about Holne. Thence our Irwell going forward to Woodsall, Whicleswije, Eccles, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth néere vnto Flixton, into the water of Merseie, where I will staie a while withall, till I haue brought the other vnto some passe, of which I spake before. Medlocke.

The Rache, Rech or Rish consisteth of sundrie waters, whereof ech one in maner hath a proper name, but the greatest of all is Rache it selfe, which riseth among the blacke stonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebrough, and being past Clegge, receiueth the Beile, that commeth thither by Milneraw chappell. After this confluence also, it méeteth with a rill néere vnto Rachedale, and soone after with the Sprotton water, and then the Sudleie brooke, whereby his chanell is not a little increased, which goeth from thence to Grisehirst and so into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The second streame is called Bradsha. It riseth of two heds, aboue Tureton churth, whence it runneth to Bradsha, and yer long taking in the Walmesleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the More. From hence (receiuing a water that commeth from the roots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the More, and so into Bradsha water, which taketh his waie to Leuermore, Farnworth, Leuerlesse, and finallie into the Irwell, which I before described, and whereof I find these two verses to be added at the last: Rache. Beile. Sprotton. Sudleie. Bradsha. Walmesleie.

Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meet with the Merseie, do loose their name.

Now therefore to resume our Merseie, you shall vnderstand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth the Gles, or Glesbrooke water, increased with sundrie armes, wherof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Hulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleie: and being all vnited néere vnto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling gréene into the swift Merseie. After this increase the said streame in like sort runneth to Rigston, & there admitteth the Bollein or Bolling brooke water into his societie, which rising néere the Chamber in Maxwell forrest goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Prestbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from about Pot Chappell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Woodford, Wimesleie, Ringeie, and Ashleie, there receiuing the Birkin brooke that commeth from betwéene Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberleie, and soone after the Marus or Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawstorne, and after these confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer against Rixton beneath Crosford bridge into the Merseie water, which procéeding on, admitteth not another that méeteth with all néere Lim before it go to Thelwall. Thence also it goeth by Bruche and so to Warrington, a little beneath crossing a brooke that commeth from Par by Browseie, Bradleie, and Saukeie on the one side, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with these it runneth on to nether Walton, Acton grange, and so to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bold, and soone after the Grundich water on the other side, that passeth by Preston, and Daresbirie. Finallie our Merseie going by Moulton, it falleth into Lirepoole, or as it was called of old Liuerpoole hauen, when it is past Runcorne. And thus much of the Merseie, comparable vnto the Wiuer, and of no lesse fame than most riuers of this Iland. Gles. Bollein brooke. Birkin. Mar. Bold. Grundich.

Being past these two, we come next of all to the Tarbocke water, that falleth into the sea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo till we be past all Wirall, out of Lirepoole hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the north point of the aforesaid Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whose fresh rising not far into the land, commeth to Feston, and soone after receiuing another on the right hand, that passeth into it by Aughton, it is increased no more before it come at the sea. Neither find I anie other falles till I méet with the mouth of the Yarrow and Duglesse, which haue their recourse to the sea in one chanell as I take it. The Duglesse commeth from by west of Rauenspike hill, and yer long runneth by Anderton ford to Worthington, and so (taking in two or three rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where it Tarbocke. Alt or Ait. Duglesse or Dulesse.

it receiueth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in south from Brin parke, the other from northeast. Being past this, it receiueth one on the north side from Standish, and another by south from Hollond, and then goeth on toward Rufford chappell taking the Taud withall, that descendeth from aboue Skelmersdale towne, and goeth through Lathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derbie. It méeteth also on the same side, with Merton meere water, in which meere is one Iland called Netholme beside other, and when it is past the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Yarrow.

Taud or Skelmere.

Merton.

Yarrow.

Bagen.

The Yarrow riseth of two heads, whereof the second is called Bagen brooke, and making a confluence beneath Helbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Eglestan, Crofton, and then ioineth next of all with the Dugglesse, after which confluence, the maine streame goeth foorth to Bankehall, Charleton, How, Hesket, and so into the sea. Leland writing of the Yarrow, saith thus of the same, so farre as I now remember. Into the Dugglesse also runneth the Yarrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandshire from Derbieshire. Vnder the foot of Chorle also I find a rill named Ceorle, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarreie of stones, whereof the inhabitants doo make a great boast and price. And hitherto to Leland.

Ribble.

Odder.

Calder.

Pidle.

Henburne.

The Ribble, a riuer verie rich of salmon, and lampreie, dooth in manner inuiron Preston in Andernesse, and it riseth neere to Kibbesdale aboue Gisborne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salleie, Chathburne, Woodington, Clithero castell, and beneath Mitton méeteth the Odder at north west, which riseth not farre from the crosse of Gréet in Yorkeshire, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirst, it falleth yer long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it méeteth with the Calder from southeast. This brooke riseth aboue Holme church in Yorkeshire, which lieth by east of Lancastershire, and going by Towleie and Burneleie, where it receiueth a trifling rill, thence to Higham, and yer long crossing one water that commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle brooke, that runneth by New church in the Pidle, it méeteth with the Calder, which passeth foorth to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the other side, it runneth on to Altham, and so to Martholme, where the Henburne brooke dooth ioine withall, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Rishton, and so into the Calder, as I haue said before. The Calder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth foorth to Reade, where maister Nowell dwelleth, to Whallie, and soone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Salisburie hall, Ribchester, Osbastin, Samburie, Keuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine sea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandshire from Andernesse, and it riseth by east aboue Darwent chappell; and soone after vniting it selfe with the Blackeburne, and Rodlesworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and so into the Ribble. As for the Sannocke brooke, it riseth somewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lée hall, and so into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to saie of this riuer.

Darwent.

Blackeburne.

Rodlesworth.

Sannocke.

Wire.

Calder. 2.

Plimpton.

Barton.

Brooke.

Skipton.

The Wire riseth eight or ten miles from Garstan, out of an hill in Wiresdale forrest, from whence it runneth by Shireshed chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler, Grenelaw castell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garstan, and Kirkland hall, it first receiueth the second Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerseie chappell, then another chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe before I procéed anie further with the Wire. I suppose that the first water is called Plimpton brooke, it riseth south of Gosner, and commeth by Cawford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke, it procéedeth forward till it ioineth with the Brooke rill that commeth from Bowland forrest, by Claughton hall, where master Brookehales dooth lie, & so through Mersco forrest. After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water méeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which passeth foorth to Michaell church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton crosseth the Skipton that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie

through the sands into the sea, according to his nature. When we were past the fall of the Wire, we coasted vp by the salt cotes, to Coker mouth, whose head, though it be in Weresdale forrest, not far from that of the Wire, yet the shortnesse of course deserueth no description. The next is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not increased with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof so much the sooner. Coker. Cowdar.

Being past these two, I came to a notable riuer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of statutes hath) Lonwire Anno 13 Ric. 2. cap. 19, and giueth name to Lancaster, Lonecaster, or Lunecaster, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerse stamps, whose course dooth rest to be described as followeth; and whereof I haue two descriptions. The first being set downe by Leland, as master Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deliuered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he saith) to search out and view the same, but verie latelie to speake of. The Lune (saith master Moore) of some commonlie called the Loine, riseth at Crosseho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondshire out of three heads. North also from Dent dale is Garsdale, an vplandish towne, wherein are séene manie times great store of red déere that come downe to feed from the mounteins into the vallies, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewise is a brooke méeting with Garsdale water, so that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beside these waters also before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great brooke, which commeth out of the Worth, betwéene Westmerland and Richmondshire, which taking with him the aforesaid chanels, dooth run seauen miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entreth into Lansdale, corruptlie so called, peraduenture for Lunesdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles southward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto master Moore, as Leland hath exemplified that parcell of his letters. But mine other note writeth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riseth at Wustall head, by west, and going by Wustall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that descendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foot, & so to Tibarie, where it méeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from besides Orton, another from betwéene Rasebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each side of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Roundswath, aboue which it vniteth it selfe with the Barrow. Thence it runneth to Howgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Moruill hilles, and afterward crossing the Dent brooke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their course as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by east, then to Kirbie, Lansbele, and aboue Whittenton crosseth a brooke comming from the countie stone by Burros, and soone after beneath Tunstall and Greteie, which descending from about Ingelborow hill, passeth by Twiselton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wratton, and néere Thurland castell, toucheth finallie with the Lune, which brancheth, and soone after vniteth it selfe againe. After this also it goeth on toward New parke, and receiueth the Wennie, and the Hinburne both in one chanell, of which this riseth north of the crosse of Greteie, and going by Benthams and Roberts hill, aboue Wraie taketh in the Rheburne that riseth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence also aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaster, Excliffe, Awcliffe, Soddaie, Orton, and so into the sea. Thus haue you both the descriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleasure, for I am sworne to neither of them both. Lune. Burbecke. Breder. Barrow. Dent. Greteie. Wennie. Hinburne. Rheburne.

The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the same that Leland dooth call the Kerie, which is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitson was borne, it riseth north of Docker towne, and going by Barwijc hall, it is not increased before it come at the sea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Lunesands. Next of all we come to Bitham beck, Docker. Kerie.

beck, which riseth not far from Bitham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihood resorteth in the end to Linsands.

Being past this, we find a forked arme of the sea called Kensands: into the first of which diuerse waters doo run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Grarrig hall, another frō by west of Whinfield, & ioining with the
Sprota. first on the east side of Skelmere parke. The third called Sprot or Sprota riseth at Sloddale, & commeth downe by west of Skelmer parke, so that these two brookes haue the aforesaid parke betwéene them, & fall into the fourth east of Barneside, not verie farre in sunder.
Ken. The fourth or last called Ken, commeth from Kentmers side, out of Ken moore, in a poole of a mile compasse, verie well stored with fish, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Westmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehead parke by east, it passeth by Barneside, to Kendall, Helston, Sigath, Siggeswijc, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and so into the sea. Certes this Ken is a pretie déepe riuer, and yet not safelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers, by reason of rolling stones, & other huge substances that oft annoie & trouble the middest of the
Winstar. chanell there. The other péece of the forked arme, is called Winstar, the hed wherof is aboue Winstar chappell, & going downe almost by Carpmaunsell, & Natherslake, it is not long yer it fall into the sea, or sands, for all this coast, & a gulfe from the Ramside point to the Mealenasse, is so pestered with sands, that it is almost incredible to sée how they increase. Those also which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kensands: but such as receiue the descent from the Fosse, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leuesands, as I find by sufficient testimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon also is not farre from this impechment: wherefore it is to be thought, that these issues will yer long become verie noisome,
Winander. if not choked vp altogither. The Winander water riseth about Cunbalrasestones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a méere: thence to Ambleside, and taking in yer it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greatest méere, or fresh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one small chanell aboue Newbridge, it reacheth not aboue six miles yer it fall into the sea. There is in like sort a water, called the
Fosse. Fosse that riseth néere vnto Arneside, and Tillerthwates, and goeth foorth by Grisdale, Satrethwate, Rusland, Powbridge, Bowth, and so falleth with the Winander water into the maine sea. On the west side of the Fossè also commeth another through Furnesse felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurstan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow chanell, passeth foorth by Nib-
Sparke. thwaits, Blareth, Cowlton, & Sparke bridge, and so into the sea. Hauing passed the Leuen or Conisands, or Conistonesands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I come to the
Lew. Lew, which riseth at Cewike chappell, and falleth into the sea beside Plumpton. The
Rawther. Rawther descending out of low Furnesse, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Vlmerstone abbeie, and ioining both in one chanell, they hasten into the sea, whither all waters direct their voiage. Then come we to another rill southwest of Aldingham, descending by Glaiston castell; and likewise the fourth that riseth néere Lindell, and running by Dawlton castell and Furnesse abbéie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the sea ouer against Waueie and Waueie chappell, except mine aduertisements misleade me.

Dodon. The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Westmerland, commeth from the Shire stone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Iohns, Vffaie parke, & Broughton, it falleth into the orlwater, betwéene Kirbie, and Mallum castell. And thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglasse point, and well entred into the Cumberland countie.

Comming to Rauenglasse, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads,
Denocke. and both of them in lakes or pooles, whereof one issueth out of Denocke or Deuenocke méere,

méere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eske from Eske poole which runneth Eske.
by Eskedale, Dalegarth, and soone after meeting with the Denocke, betwéene Mawburthwate
and Rauenglasse, falleth into the sea. On the other side of Rauenglasse also commeth the
Mite brooke, from Miterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the Mite.
hils, and at the first is forked, but soone after making a lake, they gather againe into a
smaller chanell: finallie meeting with the Brenge, they fall into the sea at Carleton south- Brenge.
east, as I wéene of Drig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out Cander.
of Copeland forrest, by Cander, Sellefield, and so into the sea. Then come we to Euer
water, descending out of a poole aboue Coswaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it
crosseth a water from Arladon, and after, procéedeth to Egremond, S. Iohns, and taking
in another rill from Hide, it is not long yer it méeteth with the sea.

The next fall is at Moresbie, whereof I haue no skill. From thence therefore we cast
about by saint Rees to Derwentset hauen, whose water is truelie written Dargwent or Dargwent.
Deruent. It riseth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange,
thence into a lake, in which are certeine Ilands, and so vnto Keswijc, where it falleth into the
Bure, whereof the said lake is called Bursemere, or the Burthmere poole. In like sort the Burthméere.
Bure or Burthmere water, rising among the hils goeth to Tegburthesworth, Forneside,
S. Iohns, and Threlcote: and there méeting with a water from Grisdale, by Wakethwate,
called Grise, it runneth to Burnesse, Keswijc, and there receiueth the Darwent. From Grise.
Keswijc in like sort it goeth to Thorneswate (and there making a plash) to Armanswate,
Isell, Huthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiueth the Cokar, which rising among the Cokar.
hils commeth by Lowsewater, Brakenthwate, Lorton, and so to Cokarmouth towne, from
whence it hasteth to Bridgeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the south side
that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Samburne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into
the sea.

Leland saith that the Wire is a créeke where ships lie off at rode, and that Wirketon or Wire.
Wirkington towne dooth take his name thereof. He addeth also that there is iron and coles,
beside lead ore in Wiredale. Neuerthelesse the water of this riuer is for the most part
sore troubled, as comming thorough a suddie or soddie more, so that little good fish is
said to liue therein. But to proceed. The Elme riseth in the mines aboue Amautrée, and Elmus.
from Amautre goeth to Yeresbie, Harbie, Brow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand
comming by Torpennie, it goeth to Hatton castell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dereham, and so
into the sea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie serued
with two fresh waters, whereof one rising westward goeth by Warton, Rabbie, Cotes, and
so into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by south, called Croco, that commeth from Croco.
Crockdale, by Bromefield. The second is named Wampoole brooke, & this riseth of two Vamus.
heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like sort it goeth to Thuresbie, Croston,
Owton, Gamlesbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betwéene Whiteridge and Kirbie into the
saltwater. From hence we double the Bowlnesse, and come to an estuarie, whither thrée
notable riuers doo resort, and this is named the Solueie mouth. But of all, the first
excéedeth, which is called Eden, and whose description dooth follow here at hand.

The Eden well fraught with samon, descendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelstane Eden.
moore at the foot of Hussiat Moruell hil, where Swale also riseth, and southeast of Maller-
stang forrest. From thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerstang towne, Pendragon castell,
Wharton hall, Netbie, Hartleie castell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yer it come at great Musgrane,
it receiueth thrée waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, bicause it commeth from the Helbecke.
Derne and Elinge mounteins by a towne of the same denomination. The other is named
Bellow, and descendeth from the east mounteins by Sowarsbie, & these two on the north- Bellow.
east: the third falleth from Rauenstandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Blaterne,
and so into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop; and taking in the Orne about Orne.
Burelles on the one side, and the Morton becke on the other, it hasteth to Applebie, thence Moreton.
to Cowlbie, where it crosseth the Dribecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and there méeting Dribecke.

Trowt becke. Liuenet. with the Trowt becke, and beneath the same with the Liuenet (whereinto falleth an other water from Thurenlie méeting withall beneath Clebron) it runneth finallie into Eden. After

Milburne. Blincorne. the confluences also the Eden passeth to Temple, and soone after meeting with the Milburne and Blincorne waters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Hornebie, where we will staie till I haue described the water that meeteth withall néere the aforesaid place called

Vlse. the Vlse.

This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with six rils, whereof one is called the

Marke. Harteshop. Paterdale. Roden. Glenkguin. Marke, and néere the fall thereof into the plash is a towne of the same name; the second hight Harteshop, & runneth from Harteshop hall by Depedale; the third is Paterdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fift Glenkguin, but the sixt runneth into the said lake, south of Towthwate. Afterward when this lake commeth toward Pole towne, it runneth into a small chanell, & going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Daker castell. Thence it goeth to Stockebridge, Yoneworth, and soone after méeteth with a

Loder. pretie brooke called Loder, comming from Thornethwate by Bauton, and héere a rill; then by Helton, and there another; thence to Askham, Clifton, and so ioining with the other called Vlse, they go to Brougham castell, Nine churches, Hornebie, and so into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that commeth downe from Pencath. Being past Hornebie, our Eden runneth to Langunbie, and soone after receiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and ioining beneath Wingsell, it hasteth to Lasenbie, then to Kirke Oswald (on ech side whereof commeth in a rill from by east) thence to Nonneie, and there a rill, Anstable, Cotehill, Corbie castell, Wetherall, Newbie: where I will staie, till I haue described the Irding, and such waters as fall into the same before I go to Carleill.

Irding. Terne. The Irding ariseth in a moore in the borders of Tindale, néere vnto Horsse head crag, where it is called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Northumberland and Gillesland in sunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being therfore come to

Pultrose. Cambocke. Ouerhall, it receiueth the Pultrose becke, by east, and thence goeth on to Ouerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercost, and Castelstead, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Askerton castell, Walton, and so into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newbie, & so into Eden. But a little before it come there, it crosseth with

Gillie. the Gillie that commeth by Tankin, and soone after falleth into it. After these confluences, our Eden goeth to Linstocke castell, (and here it interteineth a brooke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Carleill, which is now almost inuironed with foure waters.

Pedar aliàs Logus. For beside the Eden it receiueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from southeast. This Peder riseth in the hils southwest of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Grastocke castell, Cateleie, and Kenderside hall, and then taking in a water from Vnthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrelwaie, Newbiggin, Carleton, and so into Eden,

Bruferth. northeast of Carleill. But on the north side the Bruferth brooke dooth swiftlie make his entrance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie castell, and Housedon; as I am informed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which rising about the Skidlow hils, runneth to Mosedale, Caldbecke, Warnell, Saberham, Rose castell, Dawston, Brounston, Harrington, and west of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimsdale, Kirke Andros, Beaumont, falleth into the sea beneath the Rowcliffe castell. And thus much of the Eden, which Leland neuerthelesse describeth after another sort, whose words I will not let to set downe here in this place, as I find them in his commentaries.

Vlse after Leland. Loder. The Eden, after it hath run a pretie space from his head, méeteth in time with the Vlse water, which is a great brooke in Westmerland, and rising aboue Maredale, a mile west of Loder, it commeth by the late dissolued house of Shappe priorie, three miles from Shappe, and by Brampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes this streame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles course, and afterward waxing narrow againe, it runneth foorth in a meane and indifferent bottome. The said Eden in like sort receiueth

Aimote. the Aimote about three miles beneath Brougham castell, and into the same Aimote falleth

the

Dacor becke (alreadie touched) which riseth by northwest in Materdale hils, foure miles aboue Dacor castell, and then going through Dacor parke, it runneth by east a good mile lower into Eimote, a little beneath Delamaine, which standeth on the left side of Dacor. In one of his bookes also he saith, how Carleill standeth betweene two streames, that is to saie the Deua, which commeth thither from by southwest, and also the Logus that descendeth from the southeast. He addeth moreouer how the Deua in times past was named Vala or Bala, and that of the names of these two, Lugibala for Caerleill hath beene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cause of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certeine, that I vse the names of most riuers here and else-where described, accordinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to speake here and there of such as are more ancient, where iust occasion mooueth me to remember them, for the better vnderstanding of our histories, as they doo come to hand. Dacor. Deua. Vala.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the sea in one chanell, and with them the Lamford and the Eske, the last confluence being not a full mile from the maine sea. The white and blacke Leuen ioining therfore aboue Bucknesse, the confluence goeth to Bracken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Tomunt water meeteth with the Eske. In like sort the Kirsop ioining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirsop foot, running by Stangerdike side, Harlow, Hathwater, and taking in the Eske aboue the Mote, it looseth the former name, and is called Eske, vntill it come to the sea. Leuen. Lamford. Eske. Tomunt. Kirsop. Lidde.

Hauing thus gone thorough the riuers of England, now it resteth that we procéed with those which are to be found vpon the Scotish shore, in such order as we best may, vntill we haue fetched a compasse about the same, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it shall be easie for vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did set forward in the beginning of our voiage. The first riuer that I met withall on the Scotish coast, is the Eske, after I came past the Solueie, which hath his head in the Cheuiot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the sea at Borow on the sands. This Eske hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Solueie first at Atterith. After this I passed ouer a little créeke from Kirthell, and so to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale dooth séeme to take the name. There is also the Nide, whereof commeth Nidsdale, the Ken, the Dée, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all these (besides diuerse other small rilles of lesse name) doo lie vpon the south of Gallowaie. Eske.

On the north side also we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Cassile Dune, the Burwin, the Cluide (wherevpon sometime stood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourglesse, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leuind mouth, wherevnto the Blake on the southwest and the Lomund Lake, with his fléeting Iles and fish without finnes (yet verie holesome) dooth séeme to make his issue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariseth sometimes so high, and swelleth with such terrible billowes, that it causeth the best marriners of Scotland to abide the leisure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoise vp sailes on hie. The like is seene in windie weather, but much more perillous. There are certeine Iles also in the same, which mooue and remooue, oftentimes by force of the water, but one of them especiallie, which otherwise is verie fruitfull for pasturage of cattell.

Next vnto this is the Leue, the Rage, the Long, the Goile, & the Heke, which for the excéeding greatnesse of their heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinseie, the Foreland, the Farbat, the Lean, and the Abir, wherevnto the Spanseie, the Loine, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zefe doo fall, there is also the Sell, the Zord, the Owin, the Newisse, the Orne, the Lang, the Drun, the Hew, the Brun, the Kell, the Dowr, the Faro, the Nesse, the Herre, the Con, the Glasse, the Maur, the Vrdall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairsoke, which two latter lie a little by west of the Orchades, and are properlie called riuers, bicause they issue onelie from springs; but most of the other lakes, bicause they come from linnes and huge pooles, or such low bottomes, fed

Leue. Long. Goile. Heke. Robinseie. Forlan. Farbat. Lean. Abir. Arke. Zefe. Sell. Zord. Owin. Newisse. Orne. Lang. Drun. Hew. Brun. Kile. Dowr. Faro. Nesse.

Herre. Con. Glasse. Maur. Vrdall. Fesse. Caldier. Wifle. Browre. Clin. Twin. Shin. Sillan. Carew Nesse. Narding. Spaie. Downe. Dée. Eske.

fed with springs, as séeme to haue no accesse, but onelie recesse of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

But to proceed. Hauing once past Dungisbie head in Cathnesse, we shall yer long come to the mouth of the Wifle, a prettie streame, comming by south of the mounteins called the Maidens pappes. Then to the Browre, the Clin, the Twin (whereinto runneth three riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Nesse, which beside the plentie of samon found therein is neuer frosen, nor suffereth yce to remaine there, that is cast into the poole. From thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaie (which receiues the Vine) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we saile vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and so to the Downe, and Dee: which two streames bring forth the greatest samons that are to be had in Scotland, and most plentie of the same. Then to the north Eske, whereinto the Esmond runneth aboue Brechin, the south Eske, then the Louen and the Taw, which is the finest riuer for water that is in all Scotland, and whereunto most riuers and lakes doo run. As Farlake, Yrth, Goure, Loich, Cannach, Linell, Loion, Irewer, Erne, and diuerse other besides small rillets which I did neuer looke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londors, vpon whose mouth saint Andrewes dooth stand, the lake Lewin, vnto whose streame two other lakes haue recourse in Fifland, and then the Firth or Fortha, which some doo call the Pictish and Scotish sea, whither the kingdome of the Northumbers was sometime extended, and with the riuer last mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londors) includeth all Fife, the said Fortha being full of oisters and all kinds of huge fish that vse to lie in the déepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iustlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the same, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Man, Torkeson, Rosham, Mushell, Blene, and diuerse other which I call by these names, partlie after information, and partlie of such townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are past the Haie, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwike on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Halidon hill standeth, and conteineth a triangle of so much ground beyond the said riuer, as is well néere foure miles in length, and thrée miles in bredth in the broad end: except mine information doo faile me.

Clacke. Alon. Dune. Kerie. Cambell. Cumer. Tere. Man. Torkesan. Rosham. Mussell. Blene. Twede.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualsis or Toesis, & betwéene which and the Tine the countie of Northumberland is in maner inclosed, and watred with sundrie noble riuers) is a noble streame and the limes or bound betwéene England & Scotland, wherby those two kingdomes are now diuided in sunder. It riseth about Drimlar in Eusbale (or rather out of a faire well (as Leland saith) standing in the mosse of an hill called Airstane, or Harestan in Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and so comming by Pibble, Lander, Dribiwgh, Lelse, Warke, Norham and Hagarstone, it falleth into the sea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thus saith Leland. But I not contented with this so short a discourse of so long a riuer & briefe description of so faire a streame, will ad somewhat more of the same concerning his race on the English side, and rehearsall of such riuers as fall into it. Comming therefore to Ridam, it receiueth betwéene that and Carham a becke, which descendeth from the hilles that lie by west of Windram. Going also from Ridam by Longbridgham (on the Scotish side) and to Carham, it hasteth immediatlie to Warke castell on the English, and by Spilaw on the other side, then to Cornewall, Cald streame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth sundrie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whose description insueth here at hand.

Till.

Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the issue of the furthest water that commeth hereinto, riseth not farre from the head of Vswaie in the Cheuiot hilles, where it is called Brennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did sometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartside, Ingram, Branton, Crawleie, Hedgeleie, Beueleie, and Bewije, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by west, and soone after a second descending from the Middletons, and so they go as one with the Bromish, by Chatton to Fowbreie (where they crosse the third water falling downe by north from Howborne

Bromis.

borne by Heselbridge) thence to Woller, there also taking in a rill that riseth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whereleie, and the rest afore remembred, wherby the water of Bromis is not a little increased, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no more called Bromis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede. The Till passing therefore by Weteland and Dedington, méeteth soone after with a faire streame comming from by southwest, which most men call the Bowbent or Bobent. Bowbent.

It riseth on the west side of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence hasteth to Hattons, beneath the which it ioineth from by southeast with the Hellerborne, and then goeth to Pudston, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by north of Newton Kirke, and betwéene it and west Newton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuiot hilles by Heth poole, and from thenseforth runneth on without anie further increase, by Copland Euart, and so in the Till. The Till for his part in like sort after this confluence goeth to Broneridge, Fodcastell, Eatall castell, Heaton, & north of Tilmouth into the Twede, or by west of Wesell, except my memorie dooth faile me. After this also our aforesaid water of Twede descendeth to Grotehugh, the Newbiggins, Norham castell, Foord, Luugridge, & crossing the Whitaker on the other side from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Ordo, to Barwike, and so into the Ocean, leauing (as I said) so much English ground on the northwest ripe, as lieth in manner of a triangle betwéene Cawmils, Barwike, and Lammeton, which (as one noteth) is no more but two miles and an halfe euerie waie, or not much more; except he be deceiued. Whitaker.

Being past this noble streame, we came by a rill that descendeth from Bowsden by Barington. Then by the second which ariseth betwéene Middleton and Detcham or Dereham, and runneth by Eskill and the Rosse, next of all to Warnemouth, of whose backe water I read as followeth. The Warne or Gwerne riseth southwest of Crokelaw, and going by Warneford, Bradford, Spindlestone, and Budill, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and so falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almost nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill beneath Yessington, which commeth downe betweene Newland and Olchester, and hath a bridge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the same. From Warnemouth we sailed by Bamborow castell, and came at last to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that serueth this issue, riseth aboue Carleton from the foot of an hill, which séemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in sunder. It runneth also by Carleton, Tonleie, Doxford, Brunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the sea, as to his course apperteineth. Warne.

From this water we went by Dunstanbugh castell, vnto the Chalne or Alnemouth, which is serued with a pretie riueret called Alne, the head whereof riseth in the hils west of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnius. From thense also it runneth by Rile, Kile, Eslington, and Whittingham, where it crosseth a rill comming from by south, and beneath the same, the second that descendeth from Eirchild at Brone, & likewise the third that riseth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham castell and Lemmaton (all on the southeast side or right hand) and so passeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from aboue Shipleie from by north, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewijc, & then to Dennijc, receiuing there a rillet from by south and a rill from by north, and thence going on to Bilton, betweene Ailmouth towne and Wooddon, it sweepeth into the Ocean. Aile, or Alne, alias Chalne.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head also thereof is in the roots of Kemblespeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteside, and there meeting with the Vswaie (which descendeth from the north) it goeth a little further to Linbridge, and there receiueth the Ridleie by southwest, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Hoc, which commeth from the Woodland, and hillie soile by Allington, & falleth into the same, west of Parke head. It ioineth also yer long with the Ridland, which commeth in north by Bilstone, and then hieth to Sharpton, to Harbotle, where it crosseth the Yardop water by south, then to Woodhouse, and swallowing in a little becke by the waie from southwest, to Bickerton, to Tossons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towre, it taketh a brooke withall that commeth in northwest Cocket. Vswaie. Ridleie. Yardop.

northwest of Alnham, néere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewood, ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Throxton, and soone after vniteth it selfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethburie, or Whitton towre, to Halie, to Brinkehorne, Welden, taking withall soone after the Tod or burne called Tod, which falleth in from by south, then to Elihaw, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Fareslie brooke, that goeth by Wintring by south east, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Hason, to Brainsaugh by north) and from thence to Morricke, Warkworth castell, and so into the sea.

It may be Leland mistaketh Tickington water for one of these.

There is furthermore a little fall, betwéene Hawkeslaw and Drurith, which riseth about Stokes wood, goeth by east Cheuington, and Whittington castell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a pretie brooke rising west of Espleie, from whence it goeth to Tritlington, Vgham, Linton, and yer long in the sea. Wansbecke (in old time Diua) is far greater than the Lune. It issueth vp west and by north of west Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Wallington, Middleton, and Angerton. Heere it méeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the north, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Moseden to Mitforth, and there in like maner crosseth the Font, which issuing out of the ground about Newbiggin, goeth by Nonneie Kirke, Witton castell, Stanton, Nunriding, Newton, and so into the Wansbecke, which runneth in like maner from Mitford to Morpheth castell (within two miles whereof it ebbeth and floweth) the new Chappell, Bottle castell, Shepwash, and so into the sea, thrée miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Lune.

Wansbecke.

Font.

Blithe.

Blithe water riseth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belfe, Ogle, and (receiuing the Port alias the Brocket, that springeth east of S. Oswolds) passeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Madfennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Dissingtons. After it hath taken in the Pont from the east (whose head is not farre from that of Hartleie streame) and is past Barwijc on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie streamelet riseth in Wéeteslade parish, goeth by Haliwell, and at Hartleie towne yeeldeth to the sea.

Hartleie.

The Tine or Tinna, a riuer notablie stored with samon, and other good fish, and in old time called Alan, riseth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hils, & thence goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirsop and the Shele) thence to Cragsheles, Leapelish (receiuing on the south a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, against which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, also two other on the same side, betweene Yarro and Fawston hall, and the third at Thorneburne, and so goeth on to Grenested, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north also made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that passeth by Holinhead, and likewise another on the south comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalacastell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaside, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth méeteth with the Ridde, a verie prettie water, whose description is giuen me after this maner.

North Tine.

Shele.

Ridde.

The Ridde therefore riseth within thrée miles of the Scotish march, as Leland saith, & commeth through Riddesdale, wherevnto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riseth in the roots of the Carter, and Redsquibe hilles, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, beside a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Cheslop on the south, beside sundrie other wild rils nameless and obscure, as one on the north side next vnto the Petop or Spelhop; another by south out of Riddesdale, the third west of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Wullaw to Rochester, then two from southwest, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durth, then the Smalburne from the west. Next to the same is the Otter or Otterburne on the north side also the Ouereie, and finallie the last which descendeth from Eliesdon hilles, by Munkrige and ioineth with our Ridde, northwest of Nudhowgh, after which the said Ridde goeth by Woodburne, Risingham, Leame, and so into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Bilingham, which standeth somewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at

Shelhop.

Cheslop.

the

the least aboue the towne of Hexham. After this confluence it passeth to Léehall, to Carehouse (crossing Shitlington becke by west which also receiueth the Yare on the south side of Shitlington) another also beneath this on the same side, made by the confluence of Workesburne, and Middleburne, at Roseburne, beside the third called Morleis or Morelée aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechase, and likewise the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne castell, next of all the Riall from the northeast, which commeth by Erington, & so holding his course directlie southwards, it goeth by S. Oswolds through the Pictish-wall, to Wall, and so into south Tine, beneath Accam, and northwest (as I doo wéene) of Hexham. 3. Burnes. Shitlington.

The south Tine ariseth in the Cheuiot hils, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, it méeteth with Esgill on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses toward Awsten moore, it ioineth with Schud from by west, and soone after with the Vent from by east aboue Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (crossing the Gilders becke on the one side, and the Alne on the other) to Thornehope, where it is inlarged with a water on each side, to Williamstone, and almost at Knaresdale, taketh in the Knare, and then runneth withall to Fetherstone angle. At Fetherstone angle likewise it méeteth with Hartleie water, by southwest comming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from southeast, and thence when it commeth to Biflester castell, it carieth another withall from by west, Thirlewall called Rippall which riseth in the forrest of Lowes, and goeth by the Waltowne, Blinkinsop, & Widon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north rising west of Swinsheld, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltwestell: thence going by Vnthanke, it crosseth another rill from by south, descending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding vnto Wilmotteswijc, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the south, and another running by Bradleie hall on the north side of Beltingham; after which it méeteth with the Alen a proper water, and described after this maner. Tine. S. Esgill. Vent. Gilders beck. Knare.

The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is called east Alen, the other west Alen. The first of them riseth southeast of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by est; after which confluence it runneth to Newshele, Allington, Caddon, Old towne, & in the course to Stauertpele, méeteth with the west Alen. The west Alen riseth in Killop low hilles aboue Wheteleie sheles, from whence it goeth to Spartwell, Hawcopole, Owston, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it procédeth on to Permandbie, and crossing there another rill in like maner from by west, it goeth by Whitefield, and ioining soone after with the est Alen, they run as one to Stauert poole, Plankford, and so into the Tine betweene Beltingham and Lées, from whence the Tine runneth on by Lees Haddon, Woodhall, Owmers, Whernebie, Costleie, & so by Warden, till it crosse the north Tine, and come to Hexham, from whence it goeth to Dilstan, crossing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by south, and is called the Wolsh, which holdeth his course by Stelehall, and Newbiggin receiueth another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Dill somewhat lower descending from Hedleie, and running by Rising, till it fall into the south side of our streame from Dilstan, it goeth to Bywell castell, ouer against which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindleie, thence it hasteth to Eltingham, Pruddo, Willam, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Reton, Blaidon, and next of all ioineth with the Darwent, from by south. East Alen. West Alen. Darwent.

This riuer riseth aboue Knewdon, and Rudlamhope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the southerlie the Guent: and ioining so well yer long in chanell as in name, they runne on to Humsterworth, new Biggin, Blankeland, Acton, Aspersheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield side, Pansheles, Ebchester, and there taking in a water from Hedleie in Northumberland, néere to Blacke hall in the bishoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinside, Wickham, Swalwell, and so into Tine, which passeth from thence by Elswijc, and méeting with another water comming from Shildraw, by Rauensworth castell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcastell, Fellin, Netherheworth, Walker, Waswon, Hedburne,

and next to Jerro or Girwie, where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a parish church, wherevnto diuerse townes resort, as moonke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southsheles, Harton, Westhow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardleie, Fellin, Follinsbie, the Heworthes) and from thence to the south and Northsheles, and so into the sea, fiue miles by northwest of Weremouth, and (as I gesse) somewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcastell, and hereby dooth the Corue run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off also is a place called Colchester, wherby Leland gesseth that the name of the brooke should rather be Cole than Corue. Corue, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oswijn (otherwise a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies vsed for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this short aduertisement. In this countrie also are the three vales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether theeues or true men doo most abound in them, that is to saie, Riddesdale, Tuidale, and Liddesdale: this last being for the most part Scotish, and without the marches of England. Neuerthelesse, sithens that by the diligence cheefelie of maister Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue been called to some obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue so well profited by the same, that at this present their former sauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wildnesse and fiercenesse so qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue been acquainted withall. But to proceed with the rest.

Were. Ptolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Vedra, a riuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous preest, who was brought vp in a monasterie that stood vpon the bankes thereof. It Burdop. Wallop. Kellop. riseth of three heads in Kelloppeslaw hill, whereof the most southerlie is called Burdop, the middlemost Wallop, and the northerliest Kellop, which vniting themselues about S. Iohns chappell, or a little by west thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by east Yare, and so to Frosterleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another west of Woodcroft hall, and the third at Frosterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath these, I find yet a fourth on the south side, which descendeth from southwest by Bolliop, Bishopsleie, Milhouses, and Landew, as I haue been informed. Being therefore vnited all with the Were, this Wascrop. streame goeth on to Walsingham, there taking in the Wascropburne, beside another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and these on the north side) and the fourth betweene Wit- Bedburne. ton and Witton castell called Bedburne, comming by Hamsterleie, whereby this riuer dooth now wax verie great. Going therefore from hence, it hasteth to Bishops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondlesse, which (as Leland saith) riseth six miles by west of Akeland castell, and running south thereof, passeth by west Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrewes Akeland, and bishops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newfield, and Willington. Neere vnto this place also and somewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, crosseth one brooke from southest by Het, Croxseie, Cronefurth, Tursdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northwest in one botome, whereof the first commeth from aboue Ash by Langleie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kinchleie by Newbiggin, Lanchester, north Langlie, and through Beare parke, & so meeting beneath Kelleie or Hedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betweene south Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our riuer goeth on to Howghwell, Shirkeleie, Pidding brooke. old Duresme (and there taking in the Pidding brooke by northeast) it goeth to Duresme, Pilis. Finkeleie, Harbarhouse, Lumleie castell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whose heads are vnited betweene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Hedleie) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Vfferton, Hilton parke, Bishops Weremouth, and so into the sea, betweene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called moonke Weremouth of the monasterie sometime standing there, wherin Beda read & wrote manie

of

of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Were is eight miles from Durham, and six from Newcastell. Being thus passed the Were, & entered into the Bishoprijc, yer we come at the mouth of the These, almost by two miles, ouer passing a rill that runneth by castell Eden, and Hardwijc, and likewise Hartlepoole towne, which lieth ouer into the sea in maner of a byland or peninsula, we meet with a prettie fall, which groweth by a riuer that is increased with two waters, whereof one riseth by northwest about Moretons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Claxton, the other at Dawlton, going by Breerton, Owtham, and Grettam, finallie ioining within two miles of the sea, they make a prettie portlet: but I know not of what securitie.

The These, a riuer that beareth and féedeth an excellent samon, riseth in the Blacke lowes, aboue two miles flat west of the southerlie head of Were called Burdop, and south of the head of west Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forrest: and taking in the Langdon water from northwest it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to Newbiggin, and so to Middleton, receiuing by west of each of these a rill comming from by north (of which the last is called Hude) and likewise the Lune afterward by southwest that riseth at thrée seuerall places, whereof the first is in the borders of Westmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the second more southerlie, named Lunebecke, and the third by south at Bandor Skarth hill, and méeting all aboue Arnegill house, they run togither in one bottome to Lathekirke bridge, and then into the These. Hauing therefore met with these, it runneth to Mickelton (& there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Rombald kirke (crossing there also one rill and the Bander brooke by south west) and then going to Morewood hag, and Morewood parke, till it come to Bernards castell. Thesis. Hude. Lune. Arnegill. Skirkewith. Bander.

Here also it receiueth the Thuresgill water, comming east of Rere crosse in Yorkeshire, from the spittle in Stanmore by Crag almost southwest, and being vnited with the These, it goeth by Stratford, Egresdon, Rokesbie, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Ouington, Winston, and betweene Barfurth and Gainfurth méeteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie forest, betweene Rabie castell and Standorpe, of whose name I haue no knowledge. But to procéed. The These being past Ramforth, runneth betwéene Persore and Cliffe, and in the waie to Crofts bridge taketh in the Skerne a pretie water, which riseth about Trimdon, and goeth by Fishburne, Bradburie, Preston, Braforton, Skirmingham, the Burdons, Haughton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the These beneath Stapleton, before it come at Crofts bridge, and (as it should séeme) is the same which Leland calleth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunsleie, Middleton row, Newsham, Yarne (crossing a brooke from Leuen bridge) called Leuen or Leuinus in Latine, whose crinkling course is notable, and the streame of some called Thorpe, which I find described in this maner. Rere crosse. Skerne.

The Thorpe riseth of sundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and so to Stokesleie. The second hath two branches, and so placed, that Kildale standeth betweene them both: finallie, méeting beneath Easbie they go by Eaton, and likewise vnto Stokesleie. The last hath also two branches, whereof one commeth from Inglesbie, and méeteth with the second beneath Broughton; & going from thence to Stokesleie, they méet with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fall into it somewhat beneath the same. From hence it goeth to Ridleie, and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne brooke, Leuanton, Milton, Hilton, Inglesbie, and so into the These, betwéene Yarne and Barwijc, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our These hasteth on to Barwijc, Preston, Thorne abbeie, and Arsham, which standeth on the southeast side of the riuer almost betweene the falles of two waters, whereof one descendeth from west Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shillington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackestone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arsham finallie it goeth to Bellasis, Middleburgh, and so into the sea. Leland describing this riuer speaketh of the Wiske, which should come thereinto from by south vnder Wiske Thorpe alias Leuand. Crawthorne.

bridge, by Danbie, and Northalarton, and should ioine with a greater streame: but as yet I find no certeine place where to bestow the same.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which rising aboue Hutton, goeth by Gisborow, and there receiueth another streame comming from by southeast, and then continuing on his course, it is not long yer it fall into the sea. The next is the Scaling water, which descendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Molemouth, not farre from whose head standeth Molgraue castell: then to Sandford creeke, and next of all to Eske mouth, which riseth aboue Danbie wood, and so goeth to Castelton, there méeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Westerdale by Danbie, and so they go on togither by Armar and Thwate castell, till they ioine with another water aboue Glasdule chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another brooke with them, running from Goodland ward, and likewise the Ibur, and so go on without anie further increase by Busworth, yer long into the sea.

Eske.

Ibur.

There is also a créeke on each side of Robin Whoodes baie, of whose names and courses I haue no skill, sauing that Fillingale the towne dooth stand betwéene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north side called the Harwood brooke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Cloughton, Buniston, and soone after méeting with another rill on the southwest, they run as one into the ocean sea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we saw at Bridlington, riseth at Dugglebie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwijc, Boithorpe, Foxhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riseth vp againe at Rudston) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and so into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yer long with a riuer that riseth short of Withersie, and goeth by Fodringham and Wisted, from thence to another that commeth by Rosse, Halsham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riseth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Esterwijc, Heddon, and so into the Humber. The fourth springeth short of Sprotleie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merflete, as I heare.

Hull.

The next of all is the Hull water, which I will describe also here, and then crosse ouer vnto the southerlie shore. The furthest head of Hull water riseth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe créeke, and so to Fodringham, a little beneath which it meeteth with sundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northest side, comming from about Lisset; the second on the northwest banke from Nafferton; the third from Emmeswell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which ioined beneth little Drifield, and the fourth which falleth into the same: so that these two latter run vnto the maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to Ratseie, to Goodalehouse, and then taking in a water from Hornesie mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from south Netherwijc, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I saie no more, sith it is enough to name them in their order.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HUMBER OR ISIS, AND SUCH WATER-COURSES AS DOO INCREASE HIR CHANELL.

CHAP. XV.

Humber.

THERE is no riuer called Humber from the hed. Wherfore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he gesseth, hath the same denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beside Leland sundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the sea, and although it be properlie to be called Ouze or Ocellus euen to the Nuke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it

it Humber of Humbrus or Vmar, a king of the Scithians, who inuaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himselfe monarch of the same. But as God hath from time to time singularlie prouided for the benefit of Britaine, so in this businesse it came to passe, that Humber was put to flight, his men slaine: and furthermore, whilest he attempted to saue himselfe by hasting to his ships (such was the prease of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne vessell, and the rage of weather which hastened on his fatall daie), that both he and they were drowned togither in that arme. And this is the onelie cause wherefore it hath béene called Humber, as our writers saie; and wherof I find these verses:

Dum fugit obstat ei flumen submergitur illic,
Déque suo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

This riuer in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongest sonne of Brute. But since that time the limits of Lhoegres haue béene so inlarged, first by the prowesse of the Romans, then by the conquests of the English, that at this present daie, the Twede on the one side, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betweene vs and those of Scotland. In describing therefore the Humber, I must néeds begin with the Ouze, whose water bringeth foorth a verie sweet, fat and delicat samon, as I haue beene informed, beside sundrie other kinds of fish, which we want here on the south and southwest coasts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occasion to speake more at large heerafter.

The Vre therfore riseth in the furthest parts of all Richmondshire, among the Coterine hilles, in a mosse, toward the west fourtéene miles beyond Midleham. Being therefore issued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Hardraw, Hawshouse, Butterside, Askebridge (which Leland calleth the Askaran, and saith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obscure bridges) then to Askarth, through Wanlesse parke, Wenseleie bridge (made two hundred yeares since, by Alwin, parson of Winslaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Geruise abbeie, Clifton and Masham. When it is come to Masham, it receiueth the Burne, by south west (as it did the Wile, from verie déepe scarrie rockes, before at Askaran) and diuerse other wild rilles not worthie to be remembred. From Masham, it hasteth vnto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by southwest) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Northbridge, at the hither end of Rippon, and so to Huickes bridge. But yer it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the same, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow, and soone after receiue the Swale. Vre alias Ouze, or Isis. Burne. Wile. Skell.

Here (saith Leland) I am brought into no little streict, what to coniecture of the méeting of Isis and Vre, for some saie that the Isis and the Vre doo méet at Borowbridge, which to me dooth séeme to be verie vnlikelie, sith Isurium taketh his denomination of Isis and Vre, for it is often séene that the lesse riuers doo mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thamesis and other is easie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Vre after his passage vnder Borowbridge, but onelie of Isis or the Ouze in these daies, although in old time it held vnto Yorke it selfe, which of the Vre is truelie called Vrewijc (or Yorke short) or else my persuasion dooth faile me. I haue red also Ewerwijc and Yorwijc. But to procéed, and leaue this superfluous discourse. Swale.

From Borowbridge, the Ouze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldworke, taking in Vsburne water, from the southwest, then to Linton vpon Ouze, to Newton vpon Ouze, and to Munketun, méeting with the Nid yer long, and so going withall to the Redhouses, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke (where it crosseth the Fosse) to Foulfoorth, Middlethorpe, Acaster, & Acaster, Kelfléet, Welehall, Barelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Hokelath, Hoke, Sandhall, Rednesse, Whitegift, Vslet, Blacketoft, Foxfléet, Brownfléet, and so into Humber. Fosse.

The course of the Ouze being thus described, and as it were simplie without his influences, now will I touch such riuers as fall into the same also by themselues, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Rauenspurne, vntill I come néere to the head of Ouze.

These,

These, & so southwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie soile vntill I get to Buxston, Sheffeld, Scrobie, & the verie south point of Humber mouth, whereby I shall crosse them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) some especiall notice of their seuerall heads and courses. The course of the Hull, a streame abounding with sturgeon and lampreie, as also the riuers which haue their issue into the same, being (as I say) alreadie described, I thinke it not amisse, as by the waie to set downe what Leland saith thereof, to the end that his trauell shall not altogither be lost in this behalfe; and for that it is short, and hath one or two things worthie to be remembred conteined in the same.

Hull or Hulne.

The Hulne (saith he) riseth of three seuerall heads, whereof the greatest is not far from Driefield, now a small village sixteene miles from Hull. Certes it hath beene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of sepulture of Alfred the noble king sometime of that nation, who died there 727, the nineteene Cal. of Julie, the twentith of his reigne, and whose toombe or monument dooth yet remaine (for ought that I doo know to the contrarie) with an inscription vpon the same written in Latine letters. Neere vnto this towne also is the Danefield, wherein great numbers of Danes were slaine, and buried in those hils, which yet remaine there to be seene ouer their bones and carcasses. The second head (saith he) is at Estburne, and the third at Emmeswell, and meeting all togither not farre from Drifield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue said alreadie.

From hence also it goeth through Beuerleie medowes, and comming at the last not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great vessels) almost to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or stood in Deirwald, vntill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old author to be the first doctor or teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Oxford, and (as it should seeme also by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hostell where the vniuersitie college now standeth; & therfore they write him, Somtime fellow of that house) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as some affirme) to this daie. Indeed all the countrie betweene the Deirwent & the Humber was sometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in respect of the higher soile, but now it is named the east Riding. But what is this to my purpose? The Hulne therefore being come almost to Beuerleie towne, & meeting thereabout also with the Cottingham becke comming from Westwood by the waie, it hasteth to Kingston vpon Hulne or Hull, and so into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

Cottingham.

The Fowlneie riseth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareswell, Seton, Williams bridge, and soone after spreading it selfe, one arme called Skelfleet goeth by Cane Cawseie to Brownefleet and so into the Ouze. The other passeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chappell, Blacketoft, and so into the aforesaid Ouze, leauing a verie pretie Iland, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwise obscure to vs that dwell here in the south.

Fowlneie.
Skelfleet.

The Darwent riseth in the hilles that lie west of Robin Whoodes baie, or two miles aboue Aiton bridge, west from Scarborow as Leland saith: and yer it hath run farre from the head, it receiueth two rilles in one bottome from by west, which ioine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go togither to Broxeie, and at Hacknesse take in another water comming from about Silseie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton, then to Haibridge, and there crosseth the Kenford that descendeth from Roberteston. After this also it goeth on to Potersbrumton where it taketh in one rill, as it dooth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that descendeth from Brumton. From these confluences it runneth to Fowlbridge, Axbridge, Yeldingham bridge, & so to Cotehouse, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yeelding great plentie of delicate samons to such as fish vpon the same. Leland reckoning vp the names of the seuerall brookes, numbreth them confusedlie after his accustomed order. The Darwent (saith he) receiueth diuerse streames, as the Shirihutton. The second is the Crambecke, descending from Hunderskell castell (so called Tanquam à centum fontibus, or multitude of springs that rise about the same) and goeth to Rie, which

Darwent.
Kenford.
Shirihutton.
Crambecke.
Rie.

comming

comming out of the Blackemore, passeth by Riuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Costeie, and Pickering brooke. Ricoll. Seuen. Costeie. Pickering.

The Seuin also (saith he) riseth in the side of Blackemoore, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile aboue a certeine bridge ouer Rie goeth into the streame. The Costeie in like sort springeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie minster. Finallie, Pickering water ariseth in Blackemoore, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Costeie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other small rill or two, of whose names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had béene far better to haue described them thus. Of those waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouse, the first commeth from Swenton, the second from Ebberston, the third from Ollerston, the fourth from Thorneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other side that commeth thither from Wintringham. For so should he haue dealt in better order, and rid his hands of them with more expedition, referring the rest also vnto their proper places. Pocklington

But to procéed after mine owne maner. Being past Cotehouse, & yer the Darwent come at Wickham, it crosseth the Rie, which riseth of two heads, and ioining west of Locton they run through Glansbie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Costeie, it méeteth at the last with an other streame increased by the fals of six waters and more yer it come into the Darwent. The most easterlie of these is called Seuen, and riseth (as is aforesaid) in Blackemoore, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Murton, Normanbie, Newsound, How, and so into the Rie. The second named Don hath his originall likewise in Blackemoore, and descending by Rasmore, Keldon and Edston (where it receiueth the Hodgebecke, that commeth by Bernesdale, Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in first the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Ridall (as some think, but falslie) doth séeme to take the name. Then Fesse, which riseth aboue Bilisdale chappell, and méeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bridge, from whence they go togither vnder the Rie bridge, to Riuis abbeie, and thence (after it hath crossed a becke from the west) through a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Newton, Muniton, and so to Sawton or Sawlton, as I doo find it written. Here also it taketh in the Holbecke brooke, that commeth thither from by west by Gilling castell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Brabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and so into the Darwent, which from thence dooth run to Wickham. Rie. Costeie. Seuen. Don or Done. Hodgebecke. Ricoll. Fesse. Holbecke.

Being past Wickham, it méeteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinston to Setterington at southeast, and thence it goeth on to Malton and Malton (where the prouerbe saith that a bushell of rie and an other of malt is woorth but sixpence, carie awaie whilest you may, so as you can kéepe them from running through the sackes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one side and an other on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdfall, that other from Conisthorpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Owsham bridge (crossing by the waie an other brooke comming from saint Edwards gore, by Faston) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (alias Butterham) bridge, Stamford bridge, Kerbie bridge, Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wresill, Babthorpe, and so into the Ouze, wherewith I finish the description of Darwent: sauing that I haue to let you vnderstand how Leland heard that an arme ran some time from the head of Darwent also to Scarborow, till such time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did shalder and so choke vp his course.

The Fosse (a slow streame yet able to beare a good vessell) riseth in Nemore Calaterio, that is, Galters wood or Cawood, among the wooddie hilles, and in his descent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake castell, on his west side: thence he goeth by Marton abbeie, Marton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthorpe, Erswijc, Huntington, & at Yorke into the Ouze. The Kile riseth flat north at Newborow, from whence it goeth by Thorneton on the hill, Ruskell parke, Awne, Tollerton, and so into the Ouze about Newton vpon Ouze. The Swale is a right noble riuer, & march in some places betwéene Richmondshire and Westmerland, Fosse. Kile. Swale.

land, it riseth not far from Pendragon castell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret house, Crackepot, Whiteside, and neere vnto Barneie. Yalen taketh in the Barneie water, which commeth from the north east. Thence it goeth Arcleie. by Harcaside to Reth (where it méeteth with the Arcleie) and so to Flemington, Grinton, Holgate. Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by south: and in the waie to Thorpe, Mariske becke. the Mariske becke, or peraduenture Applegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that descendeth from the north) then to Thorpe, Applegarth, Richmond, Easbie and Brunton.

Here by north it interteineth two or three waters in one chanell, called Rauenswath water, Rauenswath. whereof the two furthest doo ioine not farre from the Dawltons, and so go by Rauenswath, Hartfoorth, Gilling, and at Skebie méet with the third, comming from Richmond beaconward. Rhe. By west also of Brunton, the Swale méeteth with the Rhe, running from Resdale, and being past Brunton, it goeth to Caterijc bridge beneath Brunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie stéeple: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it Bedall aliàs Leming. meeteth with the Bedall brooke, aliàs Lemings becke, that commeth west of Kellirbie, by Cunstable, Burton, Langthorpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenbie likewise Wiske. it goeth to Mawbie, & at Brakenbirie receiueth the Wiske, which is a great water, rising betwéene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and southeast of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Siddlebridge, goeth on betwéene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birtbie, Hutton Coniers, Danbie, Wijc, Yafford, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Brunton Aluerton, it procéedeth to Otterington, Newlie, Kirbie Wiske, Newson, and Blackenburie, there méeting (as I said) with the Swale, that runneth frō thence by Skipton bridge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Raniton, and aboue Eldmire méeteth with sundrie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the northwesterlie Cawdebec. is called Cawdebec: the south easterlie Kebecke, which ioine est of Thorneton moore, and Kebecke. so go to Thorneton in the stréet, Kiluington, Thruske, Sowerbie, Grastwijc, and soone after Cuckwolds becke. crossing another growing of the mixture of the Willow, and likewise of the Cuckewold beckes, which ioine aboue Bridforth, and running on till it come almost at Dawlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their samons by Thorneton bridge, Mitton vpon Swale, and so into the Ouze.

Skell. The Skell riseth out of the west two miles from Founteines abbeie, and commeth (as Leland saith) with a faire course by the one side of Rippon, as the Vre dooth on the other. And on the bankes hereof stood the famous abbeie called Founteines or Adfontes, so much renowmed for the lustie monks that sometimes dwelled in the same. It receiueth also the Lauer. Lauer water (which riseth three miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall néere vnto Rippon) and finallie falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Rippon towne, & almost midwaie betwéene the North and Huicke bridges.

Nidde. The Nidde, which the booke of statutes called Nidor (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be inriched with store of samon, as are also the Wheof and Aire, riseth among those hilles that lie by west northwest of Gnarresborow, fiue miles aboue Pakeleie bridge, and going in short processe of time by Westhouses, Lodgehouses, Woodhall, Newhouses, Killingale. Midlesmore, Raunsgill, Cowthouse, Gowthwall, Bureleie, Brimham, Hampeswale, and soone after méeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Bilton parke, Gnaresbridge, Washford, Cathall, Willesthorpe, Munketon, or Nonmocke, and so into the Ouze, fouretéene miles beneath Gnaresborow, being increased by the waie with verie few or no waters of anie countenance. Leland hauing said thus much of the Nidde, addeth Couer. herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to saie, the Couer and the Burne, which doo Burne. fall likewise into the Vre or Ouze. But as he saith little of the same, so among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the first riseth six miles aboue Couerham by west, and falleth into the Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riseth at More hilles, and falleth into the said riuer a little beneath Massham bridge. And so much of these two.

Wharfe aliàs Gwerfe. The Wharffe or Gwerfe ariseth aboue Vghtershaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Rosemill,

Rosemill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunniston in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappell, by Arnecliffe, and ioining withall northeast of Kilneseie crag, it passeth ouer by the lower grounds to Girsington, and receiuing a rill there also from Tresfeld parke, it proceedeth on to Brunsall bridge. Furthermore at Appletréewijc, it méeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Barden towrè, Bolton, Beth and Misleie hall, where it crosseth a rill comming from by west, thence to Addingham, taking in there also another from by west, and so to Ikeleie, and receiuing yer long another by north from Denton hall, it hasteth to Weston Vauasour, Oteleie, and Letheleie, where it taketh in the Padside, & the Washburne (both in one streame from Lindleie ward) and thence to Casleie chappell, and there it crosseth one from by north, and another yer long from by south, and so to Yardwood castell, Kerebie, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpatch, Newton, Tadcaster, and when it hath receiued the Cockebecke from southwest, that goeth by Barwie, Aberfoorth, Leadhall, and Grimston, it runneth to Exton, Kirbie Wharfe, Vskell, Rither, Nunapleton, & so into the Ouze beneath Cawood, a castell belonging to the archbishop of Yorke, where he vseth oft to lie when he refresheth himselfe with change of aire and shift of habitation, for the auoiding of such infection as may otherwise ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his house.

Padside. Washburne. Cockebecke.

The Air or Arre riseth out of a lake or tarne south of Darnbrooke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fish but red trowt, and perch. Leland saith it riseth néere vnto Orton in Crauen, wherfore the ods is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Mawlam, Hamlith, Kirbie, Moldale, Calton hall, Areton, and so foorth till it come almost to Gargraue, there crossing the Otterburne water on the west, and the Winterburne on the north, which at Flasbie receiueth a rill from Helton, as I heare. Being past Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Eshton, Elswood, and so foorth on, first receiuing a brooke from southwest (whereof one branch commeth by Marton, the other by Thorneton, which meete about Broughton) then another from northeast, that runneth by Skipton castell. After this confluence it hasteth by manifold windlesses, which caused thirteene bridges at the last to be ouer the same within a little space, to Newbiggin, Bradleie, and Kildwijc, by south east whereof it méeteth with one water from Mawsis, and Glusburne or Glukesburne, called Glike; another likewise a little beneath from Seton, beside two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Reddlesden, and ouer against this towne the Lacocke and the Woorth doo meet withall in one chanell, as the Moreton water dooth on the north, although it be somewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Rishfoorth hall, and so to Bungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shipeleie, and there crossing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradleie, it goeth to Caluerleie, to Christall, and so to Léedes, where one water runneth thereinto by north from Wettlewood, & two other from by south in one chanell, wherof the first hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudseie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farnesleie hall. The other likewise hath two heads, whereof one is aboue Morleie, the other commeth from Domingleie, and méeting with the first not far southwest of Leedes, they fall both into the Air, and so run with the same to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke south of the bridge, it proceedeth to Ollerton, Castleford, Brotherton & Ferribridge, there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riseth of diuerse heads, wherof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Berkin, Kellington, middle Hodleseie, Templehirst, Gowldall, Snath, Rawcliffe, Newland, Armie, and so into the Ouze with an indifferent course. Of all the riuers in the north, Leland (in so manie of his bookes as I haue séene) saith least of this. Mine annotations also are verie slender in the particular waters wherbie it is increased: wherfore I was compelled of necessitie to conclude euen thus with the description of the same, and had so left it in déed, if I had not receiued one other note more to ad vnto it (euen when the leafe was at the presse) which saith as followeth in maner word for word.

Air. Otterburne. Winterburne. Glike. Lacocke. Woorth. Moreton. Redwell. Went.

There is a noble water that falleth into Air, whose head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Creston chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiuing one rill
Hebden. néere Elfrabright bridge, and also the Hebden by northwest, it goeth to Brearleie hall, and so taking in the third by north, it procéedeth on eastward by Sorsbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from southwest) and so to Coppeleie hall. Beneath this place I find also that it receiueth one rill from Hallifax, which riseth from two heads, and two other from southwest, of which one commeth by Baresland, and Staneland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforesaid water goeth on toward Cowford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the same on the north side, so beneath that bridge there falleth into it a pretie arme increased by sundrie waters cõming from by south, as from Marsheden chappell, from Holmesworth chappell, and Kirke Heton, each one growing of sundrie heads; whereof I would saie more, if I had more intelligence of their seuerall gates and passages.

But to proceed. From Cowford bridge it runneth to Munfeld, and receiuing yer long one rill from Leuersage hall, and another from Burshall by Dewesburie, it goeth on northeast of Thornehull, south of Horbirie thornes, and thereabout crossing one rill from by south from Woller by new Milner Dam, and soone after another from northwest, called
Chald. Chald, rising in the Peke hils, whereon Wakefield standeth, and likewise the third from southeast, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Altoftes, and finallie into the Aire, west of Castelworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuer should be as yet I heare not, and therefore no maruell that I doo not set it downe, yet is it certeine that it is called Chald, after his cõfluence with the Chald, and finallie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath ioined with the Air or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head? It shall suffice therefore thus farre to haue shewed the course thereof: and as for the name I passe it ouer vntill another time.

Trent. The Trent is one of the most excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for store of samon, sturgeon, and sundrie other kinds of delicate fish wherewith it dooth abound, but also for that it is increased with so manie waters, as for that onelie cause it may be compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the second Ouze, whose course I haue latelie described. It riseth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the moore, and from thence goeth to
Foulebrooke. Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and aboue Stoke receiueth in the Foulebrooke water, which commeth thither from Tunstall, by Shelton, and finallie making a confluence they go to Hanfleet, where they méet with another on the same side, that descendeth from Newcastell vnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it selfe, saieng: that it riseth in the hils aboue Newcastell, as may be séene by his commentaries.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it crosseth a riueret from northeast, whose name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aston, Stoke Burston, the Sandons and Weston, a little aboue Shubburne & Hawood, it receiueth the Sow, a great chanell increased with sundrie waters, which I will here describe, leauing the Trent at Shubburne,
Sow. till I come backe againe. The Sow descendeth from the hilles, aboue Whitemoore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by northeast that commeth from bishops Offeleie, Egleshall, Chesbie, Raunton. After this confluence also it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne
Penke. it crosseth the Penke becke, that riseth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & aboue Penke bridge vniteth it selfe with another comming from Knightleie ward, by Gnashall church, Eaton: and so going foorth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they haue passed Draiton, Dunstan, Acton, and Banswich, where loosing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them doo ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the southerlie banke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Ousleie bridge, and another south of Riddlesleie) thence by Hawksberie, Mauestane, Ridware, and so toward Yoxhall; where I must staie a while to consider of other waters, wherewith

I meet

I meet in this voiage. Of these therefore the lesser commeth in by south from Farwall, the other from by west, a faire streame, and increased with two brooks, whereof the first riseth in Nedewood forrest, northeast of Haggersleie parke, whereinto falleth another west of Hamsteed Ridware, called Blith, which riseth among the hilles in Whateleie moore, aboue Weston Conie, and thence going to the same towne, it commeth to Druicote, alias Dracote, Painsleie, Gratwitch, Grimleie, Aldmaston, Hamstéed, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie west of Yoxhall, which runneth also from thence, & leauing kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth streightwaie to Catton, where it méeteth with the Tame, whose course I describe as followeth. Blith. Tame.

It riseth in Staffordshire (as I remember) not farre from Petteshall, and goeth foorth by Hamsted, toward Pirihall and Brimichams Aston, taking in by the waie a rill on each side, whereof the first groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and so running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the same. The latter commeth from Woolfhall, and ioineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is past the aforesaid places, it crosseth in like sort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Yarneton hall, beneath which it méeteth with the Rhée, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, crossing finallie the Cole, whose head is in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and hath this course, whereof I now giue notice. It riseth (as I said) in the forrest by Kingesnorton wood, and going by Yareleie and Kingeshirst, it méeteth betweene that and the parke, with a water running betwéene Helmedon and Sheldon. Rhée. Cole.

Thence it passeth on to Coleshull, by east whereof it ioineth with a brooke, mounting southwest of Golihull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barston, crosseth on ech side of Temple Balshall, a rill, whereof one commeth through the Quéenes parke or chase that lieth by west of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth castell it selfe, from about Haselie parke. After which confluences it procéedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and so to Coleshull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vniteth it selfe with the Burne on the one side (whereinto runneth a water comming from Ansleie on the east) and soone after on the other dooth fall into the Tame, that which some call the Rhee, a common name to all waters that mooue and run from their head. For ῥέω in Gréeke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the sea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whose head (as I heare) is aboue Norffield, so that his course shuld be by Kingesnorton, Bremicham, Budston hall, till it fall beneath Yarneton into the Tame it selfe, that runneth after these confluences on by Lée, Kingesbirie parke, and going by east of Draiton, Basset parke, to Falkesleie bridge, it méeteth with another water called Burne, also comming from Hammerwich church, by Chesterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north side of Draiton, Basset parke, wherof I spake before. From hence our Tame runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by east, whose description I had in this maner deliuered vnto me. Blith. Burne. Rhée.

It riseth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Nonneaton, Witherleie and Atherstone. Yer long also it taketh in a water from northeast, which commeth by Huglescote, Shapton, Cunston, Twicrosse (vniting it selfe with a water from Bosworth) Ratcliffe, & so to the Anchor, which after this confluence passeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Pollesworth, Armington, Tamworth, & so into Tame, that hasteth to Hopwash, Comberford hall, Telford, and soone after crossing a rill that riseth short of Swinfield hall, and commeth by Festirike, it runneth not farre from Croxhall, and so to Catton, thereabout receiuing his last increase not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Mese, and it riseth in the great parke that lieth betwéene Worthington, and Smethike, from whence also it goeth by Ashbie de la Souche, Packington, Mesham, and Stretton, and therabout crossing a rill about Nethersale grange, from Ouersale by east, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Clifton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Repton. Leland Anchor. Mese.

writing of this riuer (as I earst noted) saith thereof in this wise. Into the Thame also runneth the Bremicham brooke, which riseth foure or fiue miles about Bremicham in the Blacke hils in Worcestershire, and goeth into the aforesaid water a mile aboue Crudworth bridge. Certes (saith he) this Bremicham is a towne maintained chieflie by smiths, nailers, cutlers, edgetoole forgers, lorimers or bitmakers, which haue their iron out of Stafford and Warwijc shires, and coles also out of the first countie. Hitherto Leland. Now to resume the Trent, which being growen to some greatnesse, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there crossing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winshull, Wightmere, and Newton Souch, where it receiueth two chanels within a short space, to be described apart.

Dou. The first of these is called the Dou or Doue, it riseth about the three shires méere, and is as it were limes betweene Stafford and Darbishires, vntill it come at the Trent. Descending therefore from the head, it goeth by Earlesbooth, Pilsburie grange, Hartington, Wolscot, Manifold. Eaton, Hunsington grange, and aboue Thorpe receiueth the Manifold water, so called, bicause of the sundrie crinckling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it selfe sheweth before it come at the Dou. Rising therefore not farre from Axe edge crosse (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Shéene, Warslow chappell, and Welton. Hansleie. Beneath Welton also it taketh in the Hansleie water, that commeth out of Blackemoore hilles to Watersall, where it falleth into the ground: and afterward mounting againe is receiued into the Manifold, north of Throwleie (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ilam, and aboue Thorpe dooth cast it selfe into Dou. Hauing therefore met togither after this maner, the Dou procéedeth on to Maplington, beneath which it crosseth one water descending from Brassington by Fennie Bentleie, and another somewhat lower that commeth from Hocston hall by Hognaston and Ashburne, and then going to Matterfield, Narburie, Churne. Ellaston, Rawston Rowcester, it meeteth with the Churne, euen here to be described before I go anie further. It riseth a good waie aboue Delacrasse abbie, and comming thither by Dunsmere. Hellesbie wood, it taketh in the Dunsmere, betwéene Harracrasse and Leike.

Yendor. Thence it goeth to the Walgrange, and a little beneath receiueth the Yendor that commeth from aboue Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing crossed the Ashenhirst Aula Canuti. Ashenhirst. brooke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypston, Froghall, Below hill, Alton castell, Préestwood, and at Rowcester falleth into the Dou, which yer long also receiueth a rill from Teine. Crowsden, and then going to Eton méeteth first with the Teine that commeth thither from each side of Chedleie by Teinetowne, Bramhirst and Stranehill. Secondlie with the Vttoxeter or Vncester. Vncester or Vttoxeter water, and then going on to Merchington, Sidberie, Cawlton, it crosseth a brooke from Sidmister college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like sort it passeth foorth to Tilberie castell, Marston, and at Edgerton méeteth with the water that commeth from Yeldersleie by Longford (whereinto runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and so to Hilton. These waters being thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one, the Dou it selfe falleth yer long likewise into the Trent, aboue Newton Souch. So that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwards with his course, and betwéene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on sundrie sides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riseth néere Dawberie Lies, and runneth by Trusselie and Ashe: the other that entereth aboue Repton, descendeth from Hartesburne, so that the Trent being past these, hasteth to Twiford, Ingleble, Staunton, Weston, Newton, and Aston, yer long Darwent. also méeting with the Darwent; next of all to be dispatched. The Darwent, or (to vse the verie British word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine Fluuius Dereuantanus) riseth plaine west, néere vnto the edge of Darbishire, aboue Blackwell a market towne, and from the head runneth to the New chappell, within a few miles after it be risen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Howden house, Darwent chappell, Yorkeshire bridge, and at Witham bridge Neue. dooth crosse the Neue or Nouius that commeth from Newstole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope (crossing there one rill from Castelton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hathersage, from Stonie ridge hill) and so goeth on to Padleie, Stockehall, receiuing a rill by the waie

from

from by west, to Stonie Middleton, and Baslow, and hauing here taken in the Burbrooke on the one side, and another from Halsop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowseleie, where it is increased with the Wie comming from by west, and also a rill on the east, a little higher. But I will describe the Wie before I go anie further. Burbroke.

The Wie riseth aboue Buxston well, and there is increased with the Hawkeshow, and the Wile brooke, whose heads are also further distant from the edge of Darbishire than that of Wie, and races somwhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbeie stood, the other is further off by west, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie ioining in one they runne to Cuckneie village, where receiuing a becke that commeth downe from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford, or the Manbecke. Vnto this also doo other two rills repaire, wherof the one goeth through and the other hard by Maunsfield, of which two also this latter riseth west about foure miles, and runneth foorth to Clipston (three miles lower) and so likewise to Rufford, whereof I will speake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wie. From Buxston well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New medow, Milhouses, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiueth the Lath kell, that runneth by Ouerhaddon, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the first great water that our Darwent dooth méet withall. Being therefore past the Rowsleies, the said Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wensleie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeast, as it dooth another at Crumford that goeth by Boteshall. Wie. Hawkeshow. Wile. Rufford alias Manbecke. Lathkell. Bradford.

From Mattocke, it procéedeth to Watston, or Watsond, Well bridge, Alderwash, and ioineth with another streame called Amber, comming in from by north by Amber bridge, whose description shall insue in this wise, as I find it. The head of Amber is aboue Edleston hall, or (as Leland saith) est of Chesterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Ogston hall, it taketh withall another brooke, descending from Hardwijc wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and aboue Dale bridge meeteth with a brooke running from Hucknalward to Shirelard parke side, there crossing the Moreton becke, and so to Alferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfeld, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and so into Darwent, taking the water withall that descendeth from Swansvijc by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewise it runneth to Belper, where it méeteth with a rill comming from Morleie parke: thence to Makenie, and at Duffeld, receiueth the Eglesburne, which ariseth about Wirkesworth or Oresworth, but in the same parish out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it passeth to Bradsall, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Mirkaston by Weston vnderwood, Kidleston and Merton. If a man should say that Darwent riuer giueth name to Darbie towne, he should not well know how euerie one would take it, and peraduenture therby he might happen to offend some. In the meane time I beleeue it, let other iudge as pleaseth them, sith my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaston, Ambaston, the Welles, and so into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thrumpton taketh in the Sore, a faire streame, and not worthie to be ouerpassed. Amber. Moreton. Eglesburne. Sora, or Surus.

It riseth in Leicestershire aboue Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Broughton Astleie. Thence to Marleborow, and before it come to Eston, crosseth another on the same side (descending by Burton, Glen, Winstow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leircester towne, Belgraue, Burstall, Wanlip; and yer it come at Cussington or Cositon, crosseth the Eie, which riseth néere Occam aboue Bramston, going by Knawstow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whitesonden; and beneath (a litle) receiueth a rill on the right hand from Coldnorton. Thence to Stapleford, & soone after crossing a brooke from aboue Sproxton, Coson, Garthorpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wiuerbie, Brentingbie; and yer it come at Milton, meeteth with two other small Eie. *Leland* calléth one of these rilles Croco.

small rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Melton goeth by Sisonbie, there méeting with another from northeast ouer against Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into Warke or Vrke, and so continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence also it goeth to Asterbie, Radgale, Habie, Trussington, Ratcliffe; and soone after crosseth sundrie waters not verie farre in sunder, whereof one commeth from Oueston, by Twiford, Ashbie, and Gadesbie; another from Losebie, by Baggraue, and Crawston, and ioining with the first at Ouennihow, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The second runneth from Engarsbie, by Barkeleie, and Sison. But the third and greatest of the thrée, is a chanell increased with thrée waters, whereof one commeth from Norton by Burton, Kilbie, Foston and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Astleie, and méeting with the third from Sapcoth, and stonie Staunton, they run togither by Narborow, and soone after ioining aboue Elston, with the first of the thrée, they go as one by Elston to Leircester, Belgraue, Wanlip, and aboue Cussington doo fall into the Warke, and soone after into the Soure. The Soure in like sort going from thence to mount Sorrell, & taking in another brooke southwest from Leircester forrest, by Glenfield, Austie, Thurcaston and Rodelie, ioineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewood forrest, and goeth by Bradegate and Swithland) and then procéedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there also taking in one rill out of Nottinghamshire by northeast; and soone after another from southwest, comming from Braceden to Shepesheued, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewise the third from Worthington, by Disworth, long Whitton, and Wathorne. Finallie, after these confluences, it hasteth to Sutton, Kingston, and Ratcliffe, and so into the Trent.

Warke, Vrke, or Vreke.

These things being thus brought togither, and we now resuming the discourse of the same riuer, it dooth after his méeting with the Soure, procéed withall to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwash, which riseth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Selston, Wansbie, Codnor castell, Estwood, and crossing a water from Beuall, runneth to Coshall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Henor by Shipleie) it proceedeth on to Stapleford, long Eaton, and so into the Trent. This being doone it goeth to Clifton, and yer it come at Wilford, it méeteth with a brooke that passeth from Staunton by Bonnie and Rodington, and thence to Notingham, where it crosseth the Line, which riseth aboue Newsted; and passing by Papplewijc, Hucknall, Bafford, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farmdon, where it brancheth and maketh an Iland, and into the smaller of them goeth a brooke from Beuer castell, which rising betweene east Well and Eaton in Leircester is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Bramston to Knipton, & beneath Knipton méeteth with a brooke that commeth by west of Croxston, and thence holdeth on with his course, betwéene Willesthorpe and Beuer castell aforesaid, and so to Bottesworth, Normanton, Killington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snite from by south (whose head is néere Clauston, & course from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Orston, and Flareborow) and yer long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coxam, Hawton, Newarke castell, and so to Winthorpe, where the branches are reunited, and thence going on by Holme to Cromwell (and soone after taking in a brooke comming from Bilsthorpe, by Kersall, Cawnton, Norwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a streame on ech side, whereof one commeth from Morehouse by Weston & Gresthorpe, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Bosthorpe. From hence likewise it passeth to Clifton, Newton, Kettlethorpe, Torkeseie, Knash, Gainsborow, Waltrith, Stockwith; and leauing Axholme on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogdike water out of the Ile, and so goeth foorth to Wildsworth, Eastferrie, Frusworth, Burringham, Gummeis, Hixburgh, Burton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the swift Doue by the waie, which for his noblenesse is not to be ouerpassed, especiallie for that Anno 1536 Hen. 8, 28,

Erwash.

Dene.

Snite.

it

it was (by Gods prouidence) a staie of great bloudshed like to haue fallen out betweene the kings side and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battle should haue beene stricken, and without anie apparent cause (a little showre of raine excepted farre vnpossible vpon such a sudden to haue made so great a water) the said riuer arose so high, & ran with such vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not ioine to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification insued, and those countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the description hereof is not to be ouerpassed, bicause of the fine grasse which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is so fine and batable, that there goeth a prouerbe vpon the same; so oft as a man will commend his pasture, to say that there is no better feed on Doue banke: that maketh it also the more famous. A miracle.

The Doue therefore riseth in Yorkeshire among the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Ingbirchworth (where the colour thereof is verie blacke) it goeth to Pennistone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Oxspring to Thurgoland, and soone after (ioining by the waie with the Midhop water, that runneth by Midhop chappell, and Hondshelfe) it méeteth with another comming from Bowsterston chappell. Then goeth it by Waddesleie wood to Waddesleie bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then passeth it to Crokes, and so to Sheffeld castell (by east whereof it receiueth a brooke from by south that commeth through Sheffeld parke.) Thence it procéedeth to Westford bridge, Briksie bridge; and southwest of Timsleie receiueth the Cowleie streame that runneth by Ecclefield. Next of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Rother, a goodlie water, whose head is in Darbieshire about Pilsleie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfield church, Wingerworth, and Foreland hall, twelue miles from Rotheram, to Chesterford, where it méeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanell. Thence it runneth to Topton castell, and yer long crossing one water comming from Dronefeld by Whittington on the one side, and the second from aboue Birmington on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and soone after méeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note. Doue. Midhop. Cowleie. Rother. Iber. Brampton.

The Crawleie riseth not farre from Hardwijc, and going by Stanesbie and Woodhouse, it receiueth aboue Netherthorpe, one water on the one side comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewise they run as one into the Rother, which hasteth from thence to Eckington (there crossing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and so to Kilmarsh, in the confines of Darbieshire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by east. Thence to Boughton, vniting it selfe therabout with another by west from Gledles, called Mesebrooke, which diuideth Yorkeshire from Darbieshire, and so runneth to Treton, Whiston, there taking in a rill from Aston, and so to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yéelding plentie of samon all the waie as it passeth) hasteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Mexburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will next describe, and staie with the Doue, vntill I haue finished the same. It riseth at Combworth, and so commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton ward, where it crosseth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Drax, where it toucheth with a water from southwest, & then goeth to Derfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it vniteth it selfe with a faire riuer, increased by diuerse waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeast of Mexburgh. After this confluence likewise the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warnesworth, Doncaster, Wheatleie, (there méeting with the Hampall créeke on the northeast side, which riseth east of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwith ferrie, Stanford, Fishlake, and so to Thuorne or Thurne, where it crosseth the Idle (whose description followeth) and finallie into Trent, and so into the Humber. Crawleie. Gunno. Mesebrooke. Hampall.

But before I deale with the description of the Idle, I will adde somewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the description thereof be not so exactlie deliuered me as I looked

looked for; yet such as it is I will set downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect so much as to me is possible. It riseth by south of Maunsfield, fiue miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the streame commeth neere the abbeie, it casteth it selfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrow chanell, and so goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Budbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a meetlie long course, it goeth to Bawtrie or Vautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamshire, fiue miles from Doncaster, and so into the Trent. Beneath Rumford also commeth in the Girt, which goeth vnto Southwell milles, and so into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

Budbie. Gerberton. Girt.

Idle. The Idle, which some call Brier streame, riseth at Sutton in Ashfield, from whence it runneth to Maunsfield, Clipston & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riseth in the forrest, one mile north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forresters call this Manbecke, whereof Leland also speaketh, who describeth it in this maner. Manbrooke riseth somewhere about Linthirst wood, from whence it goeth to Blisthorpe, and so to Allerton. But to proceed. The Idle hauing taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothomsall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it meeteth the Meding Maiden, or Midding brooke, which rising about Teuersall, goeth to Pleasleie, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Warsop, Budleie, Thursbie, Bothomsall, and so into the Idle. After this it proceedeth to Houghton, west Draiton, but yer it touch at Graunston or Gaunston, it taketh in the Wilie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creswell, Holbecke, Woodhouse, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elsleie, Graunston, and so into the Idle. Being thus increased, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Ordsall, Retford, Bollam, Tilneie, Matterseie abbeie, and so to Bawtrie, where it meeteth another from the shire Okes, that riseth aboue Geitford, passeth on to Worksop (or Radfurth), Osberton, Bilbie, and Blith, there vniting it selfe with three rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwell to Careleton, and so thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by west Furbecke three miles, and so to Blith: but the third out of the White water neere to Blith, and there being vnited they passe on to Scrobie, and so into the Idle.

Manbecke. Meding becke. Wilie. Blith.

From hence it runneth on to Missen, to Sadlers bridge, and next of all to Santoft, where it meeteth with the Sandbecke, which rising not farre from Sandbecke towne, passeth by Tickhill, Rosington bridge, Brampton, Rilholme, Lindholme, and one mile south of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it meeteth with the Doue, and so with it to Crowleie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Axeholme, it goeth vnto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & so into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wilie, Wile, or Gwilie (as some write it) saith thus therof. The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie stood; the other riseth further off by west aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie ioining in one, they runne to Cuckeneie village, where crossing a becke that commeth in from by west, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the second rill, and so resort to Rufford. To this riuer likewise (saith he) doo two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Maunsfield (rising foure miles from thence by west) and then commeth three miles lower to Rufford; the other (so far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

Sandbecke.

OF SUCH FALLES OF WATERS AS IOINE WITH THE SEA, BETWEENE HUMBER AND THE THAMES.

CHAP. XVI.

HAUING in this maner described the Ouze, and such riuers as fall into the same: now it resteth that I proceed in my voiage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine sea, I find no water of anie countenance or course (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which risetheast

Ancolme.

of Mercate Rasing, and from thence goeth by middle Rasing. Then receiuing a short rill from by south, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, north-east; where also it méeteth with another brooke, from Vsselbie that commeth thither by Vresbie, goeth by Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottome, that descend from Howsham, and north Leiseie) and thence to Newsted, Glanford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Applebie, Horslow, north Ferribie, and so into the sea.

Being past Ancolme, we go about the Nesse, and so to the fall of the water which commeth from Kelebie, by Cotham abbeie, Nersham abbeie, Thorneton, and leauing Coxhill by west, it falleth into the Ocean. The next is the fall of another brooke comming from Fleting, all alongst by Stallingburne. Then crossed we Grimsbie gullet, which issuing aboue Erebie commeth to Lasebie, the two Cotes, and then into the sea. After this we passed by another portlet, whose backwater descendeth from Balesbie by Ashbie, Briggesleie, Wath, and Towneie, and finallie to the next issue, before we come at Saltflete, which branching at the last, leaueth a prettie Iland wherein Comsholme village standeth. This water riseth short (as I heare) of Tathewell, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Essington, Lowth, Kidirington, Auingham, and then branching aboue north Somerton, one arme méeteth with the sea, by Grauethorpe, the other by north of Somercote. Kilis.

Saltflete water hath but a short course: for rising among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the sea, at Saltflete hauen: howbeit the next vnto it is of a longer race, for it riseth (as I take it) at Cawthorpe paroch, and descendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the west middle and east Saltfletes, and so into the Ocean. The water that riseth aboue Ormesbie and Dribie, goeth to Cawsbie, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Tattle, Witherne, Stane, and northeast of Thetilthorpe into the maine sea. Saltflete.

Maplethorpe water riseth at Tharesthorpe, and going by Markeleie, Folethorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long yer it méet with the Germane Ocean. Then come we to the issue that commeth from aboue the Hotoft, and thence to Mumbie chappell, whither the water comming from Claxbie, Willowbie, and Slouthbie (and whereinto another rill falleth) dooth runne, as there to doo homage vnto their lord and souereigne. As for Ingold mill créeke, I passe it ouer, and come streight to another water, descending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the issue of a faire brooke, which (as I heare) dooth rise at Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagenderbie, Ashwardbie, Sawsthorpe, Partneie, Ashbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croft, and so into the sea. As for Wainflete water, it commeth from the east sea, and goeth betwéene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Wainflete towne, and treading the path of his predecessors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the sea. Maplethorpe.

Now come I to the course of the Witham, a famous riuer, whereof goeth the biword, frequented of old, and also of Ancolme, which I before described:

Ancolme ele, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like.

Leland calleth it Lindis, diuerse the Rhe, and I haue read all these names my selfe: and thereto that the Lincolneshire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region also Ptolomie placeth Rage, which some take to be Notingham, except my memorie doo faile me. It riseth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolnshire, and (as I take it) in south-Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colsterworth, Easton, Kirkestoke Paunton, and Paunton Houghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by southwest, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Man, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneston, where crossing a becke from northeast, it procéedeth further southwest ward by Mereston, toward Faston (there also taking in a brooke that riseth about Denton, and goeth by Sidbrooke) it hasteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Bassingham, Thursbie, and beneath Amburgh crosseth a water that commeth from Stogilthorpe by Somerton castell. Lindis, Witham, Rhe.

After this confluence also, our Witham goeth still foorth on his waie to the Hickhams,

Boltham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it selfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by transposition of the letters, or (as I may better saie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine pooles (whereof one is called Swan poole) and soone after diuiding it selfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, each of them hauing a bridge of stone ouer it, thereby to passe through the principall stréet: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their fisher botes, so the lesser is not without his seuerall commodities.

Fosse dike. At Lincolne also this noble riuer méeteth with the Fosse dike, whereby in great floods vessels may come from the Trents side to Lincolne. For betweene Torkseie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue seuen miles, as Leland hath remembred. Bishop Atwater began to clense this ditch, thinking to bring great vessels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but sith he died before it was performed, there hath no man beene since so well minded as to prosecute his purpose. The course moreouer of this our streame following, from Lincolne to Boston is fiftie miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you shall haue but 24. For there are foure common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, fiue miles from Lincolne, Tatersall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie fiue miles, and so manie finallie to Boston.

But to go forward with the course of Lindis (whereof the whole prouince hath béene called Lindeseie) when it is past Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewash, Wassingburg, Fiskerton, and soone after taketh in sundrie riuers in one chanell, whereby his greatnesse is verie much increased. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a rill (descending from betweene Sotbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it slideth foorth by Tupham to Tatersall castell, taking vp there in like sort thrée small rills by the waie, whereof I haue small notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further consideration to be had of them hereafter, if it shall please God that I may liue to haue the filing of these rude pamphlets yet once againe, & somewhat more leasure to peruse them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being past Tatersall, and Dogdike ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boston, & thence into the sea. Thus haue I brieflie dispatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a frend, I will yéeld so farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and set downe also what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be sufficientlie described alredie.

Witham. Into Witham therefore from by north, and seuen miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a
Hake. faire water, the head whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Resbie, Stainton, and at Bullington méeteth with a water on ech side, whereof one commeth from Haiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewise beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stansted, and ioining all in one, soone after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and so are neuer more heard of. There is also a brooke by southwest, that commeth from Kirbie to Cateleie, Billingams, and
Bane. the Ferrie. At Tatersall it méeteth with the Bane, which riseth aboue Burgh, and néere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemmingsbie, Bamburgh, Fillington, Horne castell (where it crosseth a rill from Belchworth) Thornton, Marton, Halton, Kirkebie, Comsbie, Tatersall, and so to Dogdike ferrie.

Aboue Boston likewise it taketh in a water comming from Lusebie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickneie, Sibbeseie and Hildrike. And to Boston towne it selfe doo finallie come sundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which rising at Donesbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it casteth one arme into Holiwell water. Thence it hasteth toward Dunnington, receiuing four brookes by the waie, whereof the first commeth from
Bollingborow. Milthorpe, the second from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after some, I wote not
Sempringham. vpon what occasion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine streame is found to run by Kirton holme, and so into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewise falleth the Holiwell, which riseth of a spring that runneth toward the east from Haliwell to Onebie, Esonden, Gretford, and so to Catbridge, where it receiueth another rising at Witham and west of Manthorpe, and the second comming

ming from Laund, and so run from thence togither to Willesthorpe and Catbridge, and then into the Haliwell, which after these confluences goeth to Tetford and Eastcote, where it meeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and so through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surfleet, and Fosdike, where it méeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Wash, as I haue noted vnto you.

Hauing thus set foorth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Wiland or Welland, wherevnto we repaire after we be past Boston, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girwies, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon speach dooth signifie déepe fennes and marishes) and these beginning at Peterborow eastward, extend themselues by the space of thrée score miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This streame riseth about Sibbertoft, and running betwéene Bosworth and Howthorpe, it goeth to Féedingworth, Merson, Bubberham, Trussell, Herborow (receiuing there the Braie, which commeth from Braiebrooke castell) to Bowton, Weston, Wiland, Ashleie, Medburne, Rokingham, and Cawcot, where a riueret called little Eie méeteth withall, comming from east Norton by Alexstone, Stocke, Faston, and Drie stocke. From Cawcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Collie Weston, Eston, and there ioineth with the third called Warke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lie by Preston, Wing, Lindon, Luffenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanford (crossing the Brooke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Mareie, to Mercate Deeping, Crowland (where it almost meeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whapland, and so into the sea. Wiland. Braie. Warke. Brooke water. Whitnell.

Leland writing of this Wiland, addeth these words which I will not omit, sith in mine opinion they are worthie to be noted, for better consideration to be had in the said water and his course. The Wiland (saith he) going by Crowland, at Newdrene diuideth it selfe into two branches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and so into the sea at Fossedike Stow: the other named the South into Wisbech. This latter also parteth it selfe two miles from Crowland, & sendeth a rill called Writhlake by Thorneie, where it méeteth with an arme of the Nene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth course with the broad streame, till it be come to Murho, six miles from Wisbech, where it falleth into the South. Newdrene. South. Writhlake.

Out of the South in like sort falleth another arme called Sheepes eie and at Hopelode (which is fouretéene miles from Lin) did fall into the sea. But now the course of that streame is ceased, wherevpon the inhabitants susteine manie grieuous flouds, bicause the mouth is stanched, by which it had accesse before into the sea. Hitherto Leland. Of the course of this riuer also from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being past Stanton (saith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Vffington, Tallington, Mareie, Déeping, east Deeping, and comming to Waldram hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singlesole, receiueth the Nene out of Cambridgeshire, and then going by Dowesdale, Trekenhole, and winding at last to Wisbech, it goeth by Liuerington, saint Maries, and so into the sea. The other arme hasteth to Crowland, Clowthouse, Brotherhouse, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here also it receiueth the Baston dreane, Longtoft dreane, Déeping dreane, and thence goeth by Wickham into the sea, taking withall on the right hand sundrie other dreanes. And thus farre he. Sheepees eie.

Next of all, when we are past these, we come to another fall of water into the Wash, which descendeth directlie from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Holland: but bicause it is a water of small importance, I passe from thence, as hasting to the Nene, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middest thereof in place is a certeine swallow, so déepe and so cold in the middest of summer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldnesse, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue béene touched with frost, much lesse to be couered with ise. The next therefore to be described is the Auon, otherwise called Nene, which the said author describeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles aboue Northampton in Nene méere, where it riseth out of two heads, which Auon. Nene.

ioine about Northampton. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which errour is committed also in south Auondune, as we may easilie see. In another place Leland describeth the said riuer after this maner. The Auon riseth in Nene méere field, and going by Oundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it selfe into thrée armes, whereof one goeth to Horneie, another to Wisbech, the third to Ramseie: and afterward being vnited againe, they fall into the sea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the descent of these waters leaue here a great sort of Ilands, wherof Elie, Crowland, and Mersland, are the chiefe. Hitherto Leland.

Howbeit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuer at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoeuer the other doo want. The Auon therefore arising in Nenemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northhampton, & one aboue Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northhampton, where it receiueth the Wedon. And here I will staie, till I haue described this riuer. The Vedunus. Wedon therefore riseth at Faulesse in master Knightlies pooles, and in Badbie plashes also are certeine springs that resort vnto this streame. Faulesse pooles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuer is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betwéene the heads of these two riuers.

From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Euer- Florus. ton, Wedon, betwixt which and Floretowne, it receiueth the Florus (a pretie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bucke, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then passeth on to Heiford, Kislingberie, Vpton, and so to Bugius. Northhampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finallie by the waie the Bugbrooke water at Heiford, Patshall water néere Kislingberie, and finallie Preston water beneath Vpton, which running from Preston by Wootton, méeteth at the last with Milton rill, and so fall into Auon. Now to resume the tractation of our Auon. From Northhampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitstone, Dodington, and Willingborow, where we must staie a while: for betweene Willingborow and Higham ferries, it receiueth a pretie Kilis. water comming from about Kilmarsh, which going by Ardingworth, Daisborow, Rusheton, Newton, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Kettering, Berton, and Burton, méeteth there Rother. with Rothwell water, which runneth west of Kettering to Hisham, the greater Haridon, and then into the Auon.

Being therfore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Higham Ferries, Artleborow, Ringsted, Woodford, and (méeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Thraxton, north whereof Ocleie. it ioineth also with the Ocleie water, that commeth from Sudborow and Lowicke, to old Vmkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Toke (where it taketh in the Liueden becke) and so to Oundell, Cotterstocke, Tansoner, and betweene Tothering and Warnington receiueth the Corbie Corbie. water, which rising at Corbie, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwijc, Fineshed, Axthorpe, Newton, Tothering, and so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Massington, Yerwell, Sutton, Castor, Allerton, and so to Peterborow, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armes, and those into seuerall branches and draines, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it méet with the sea on the one side of the countrie, and fall into the Ouze on the other.

Isis 3. The Ouze, which Leland calleth the third Isis, falleth into the sea betwéene Mersland & Downeham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariseth néere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Brackleie (sometime a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarselie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betwéene Sisa. Sisam and Astwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinweston) and another on the right Imelus. from Imleie, it goeth on by Westbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Berton, beneath which towne the Erin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be in- Erin. serted here. The Erin riseth not farre from Hardwijc in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Heth, Erinford, Godderington, Twiford, Steeple Cladon, & yer it come at Pad- Garan. birie, méeteth with the Garan brooke descending from Garanburge, and so they go togither

by Padbirie, till they fall into the Ouze, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forrest by Luffeld, Lecamsted and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Culuerton, Stonie Stratford, and Woluerton.

Here the Ouze méeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Vere or Were) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betwéene Wedon and Wexenham in Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluerton and Hauersham into the foresaid Ouze, which goeth also from hence to Newportpaganell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I haue described another water, named the Clée, by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the verie confines betwéene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whippesnade, and going on toward the northwest, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entreth whollie into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Brickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, and so goeth on till it meet with the Ouze néere vnto Newport, as I haue said. Being vnited therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgrane, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one side, and Turueie on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windlesses, and then méeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was inforced to make an imagined staie here also, and view their seuerall courses, supposing my selfe to looke downe from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to view anie countrie wheresoeuer) I note the same as followeth.

Verus. Cle alias Claius. Saw.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Potton, and met withall néere Becliswade: another that grew of two waters, wherof one descended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneth Arlesefe, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, wherof one is not farre from Wood end, the other from Wooburne (or Howburne) and ioining about Flitwijc, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill brooke) and so by Chiphill, and Chicksand, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforsaid Langford water with them, they go foorth by Becliswade, Sandie, Blumham, and neere vnto Themisford are vnited with the Ouze. And now to our purpose againe.

These rise not far from Michelborow & one of them in Higham parke.

After this the Ouze goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (méeting there with the Wareslie becke) and so runneth to S. Neotes (or saint Nedes, in old time Goluesburg, as Capgraue saith In vita Neoti) to Paxston, Offordes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called Gumicester, which (as it should séeme) hath béene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is; for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbars into their citie, and therevnto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I vpon these things? From hence therfore our water goeth on to Huntingdon, Wilton, saint Iues, Holiwell, and Erith, receiueth in the meane time the Stow (néere vnto little Paxton) and likewise the Ellen, and the Emmer, in one chanell a little by west of Huntingdon.

Verus or the Were. Stoueus. Stouene. Helenus. Ehnerus.

Finallie, the maine streame spreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie Ilets are inforced by the same; although of Iles, Marshland, Ancarig or Ancarie be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland also hight thornie A cruda terra, or store of bushes saith Hugo le Blanc) sometime growing in the same, and Ancarijc because sundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great swaie therein. But howsoeuer this case standeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it selfe with ranging a while about the pleasant bottoms & lower grounds, it méeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a swift course vnto Downeham. Betwéene it also and the Auon, are sundrie large meeres or plashes, by southwest of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof Whittleseie méere, and Ramseie méere (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from aboue

Riuelus.

aboue Broughton, Wiston, and great Riuelleie) are said to be greatest. Of all the riuers
Granta. that run into this streame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrycshire, as appéereth by the register of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the most noble and excellent, which I will describe euen in this place, notwithstanding that I had earst appointed it vnto my second booke. But for somuch as a description of Ouze and Granta were deliuered me togither, I will for his sake that gaue them me, not separate them now in sunder.

The verie furthest head and originall of this riuer is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Sussex, wherein (as the townesmen saie) are foure springs that run foure sundrie waies into the maine sea. Leland sought not the course of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the song of the swan, he writeth thereof after this maner insuing. Although doctor Iohn Caius the learned physician, and some other are of the opinion, that this riuer comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhée: but I may not so easilie dissent from Leland, whose iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he saith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a towne of the east Saxons, which going in a bottome beside the same, receiueth a pretie rill, which in the middest thereof dooth driue a mill, and descendeth from Wickin Bonhant, that standeth not farre from thence. Being past Newport, it goeth alongst in the lower ground, vntill it come to Broke Walden, west of Chipping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his houshold doo soiourne, and sometime stood an abbeie of Benedictine moonks, before their generall suppression. From Awdleie end it goeth to Littleburie, the lesse and greater Chesterfords, Yealdune, Hincstone,
Babren. Seoston or Sawson, and néere vnto Shaleford receiueth the Babren that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babrenham, and Stapleford: and so going forward it commeth at the last to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yer it come altogither to Trom-
Rhée. pington, it méeteth with the Barrington water, as Leland calleth it, but some other the Rhee (a common name to all waters in the Saxon speech) whereof I find this description, to be touched by the waie. The Rhée riseth short of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, and passing under the bridge betweene Gilden Mordon and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the west side (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Malton, Barrington, Haselingfield, and so into Granta, taking sundrie rills with him from south and southwest, as Wendie water southwest of Crawden, Whaddon brooke southwest of Orwell, Mildred becke southwest of Malton, and finallie the Orme which commeth out of Armington or Ormendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the same betweene Barrington and Harleston, or Harston; as they call it.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one side, and Grantcester, on the other, it hasteth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which descendeth from a castell of the same denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels sometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by sundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the queenes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betwéene the towne and the castell to Chesterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure,
Sturus. or Sture (at whose bridge the most famous mart in England is yearlie holden and kept) from Chesterton it goeth to Ditton, Milton, and yer long méeting with two rilles (from Bottesham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningseie, & Water Bech: and finallie here
Bulbecke. ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and so forth into the Ouze, fiftéene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third Isis or Ouze, out of the aforesaid author: wherevnto I haue not onelie added somewhat of mine owne experience, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent obseruation of the course of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the description of the same. Now it resteth that we come neerer to the coast of Northfolke, and set foorth such waters as we passe by vpon the same, wherein I will deale so preciselie as I may: and so farre will I trauell therein, as I hope shall content

content euen the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it shall not be so great, but that after some trauell in the finding, it shall with ease be corrected.

The first riuer that therefore we come vnto, after we be past the confluence of Granta, and the Ouze, and within the iurisdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This streame riseth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboue the greater Wheltham, and from thence it goeth on to Nawnton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genouefa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Milden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that springeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Asheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the last not farre from Iselham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Ouze. With the Burne also there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iselham, and not verie far from Mildenhall. Burne. Dale.

The Dune head, and rising of Wauenheie, are not much in sunder: for as it is supposed, they are both not farre distant from the bridge betwéene Lopham and Ford, wherby the one runneth east and the other west, as I haue béene informed. The Dune goeth first of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water cõming out of a lake short of Banham (going by Quiddenham, Herling, Gasthorpe) and so on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewston. Here they méet in like sort, with another descending from two heads, wherof the one is néere vnto Pakenham, the other to Tauestocke, as I heare. Certes these heads ioine aboue Ilesworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Yxworth, Thorpe, Berdwell, Hunnington, Fakenham, and so into the Dune at Ewston; as I said. From hence also they hasten to Downeham, which of this riuer dooth séeme to borow his name. South Rée rill I passe ouer as not worthie the description, because it is so small. Dunus.

Next vnto this riuer on the south side is the Braden, or Bradunus, which riseth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, south Peckenham, Kirsingham, Bedneie, Langford, Igbor, Munford, North Old, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Helgie, and so into the Ouze. The néerest vnto this is another which riseth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Massingham, Newton, the castell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie, Rounghton (which at one time might haue béene my liuing if I would haue giuen sir Thomas Rugband money inough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill and Caius college in Cambridge) Westchurch, and so to Linne. As so dooth also another by north of this, which commeth from the east hilles by Congenham, Grimston, Bawseie, Gaiwood, whereof let this suffice. And now giue eare to the rest sith I am past the Ouze. Being past the mouth or fall of the Ouze, we méet next of all with the Rising chase water, which Ptolomie (as some thinke) doth call Metaris, and descendeth from two heads, and also the Ingell that commeth from about Snetsham. From hence we go by the point of saint Edmund, and so hold on our course till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the sea by south from Waterden, and going betwéene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Norton, it striketh at the last into the sea; east of Burnham Norton a mile at the least, except my coniecture doo faile me. The Glow or Glowie riseth not far from Baconsthorpe, in the hundred of Tunsted; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it passeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnsford, Blackneie, Clare, and so into the sea, receiuing there at hand also a rill by east, which descendeth from the hilles lieng betwéene Killing towne and Waiburne. Bradunus forte. Linus. Congunus. Rising. Ingell. Glouius.

The Wantsume riseth in Northfolke at Galesend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Watersend, Townton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Pensthorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingsford. And here it receiueth two waters in one bottome, of which the first goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Gressonhall, and so run on ech his owne waie, till they méet at Houndlington, southwest of Billingsford with the Wantsume. From hence they go all togither to Below, Ieng, Weston, and Moreton; but yer it come to Moreton, it méeteth with the Yowke, which (issuing about Yexham) goeth by Matteshall and Barrow. After this the said Wantsume goeth on by Ringland, and so to Norwich the pon- Wantsume. Yocus.

tificall sée of the bishop, to whome that iurisdiction apperteineth, which seemeth by this memoriall yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to procéed. Beneath Norwich also it receiueth two waters in one chanell, which I will seuerallie describe, according to their courses, noting their confluence to be at Bixleie, within two miles of Norwich, except my annotation deceiue me. The first of these hath two heads wherof one mounteth vp southwest of Whinborow,

Hierus. Gerus. goeth by Gerneston, and is the verie Hiere or Yare that drowneth the name of Wantsume, so soone as he meeteth withall. The other head riseth at Wood in Mitford hundred, and after confluence with the Hiere at Caston, going by Brandon, Bixton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Bixleie as I said) doth méet with his companion, which is the second to be described as followeth. It hath two heads also that méet northwest of Therstane; and hereof the one commeth from Findon hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hemnall, Fretton, Stretton, and Tasborow, till they ioine at Therston, as I gaue notice aforehand. From Therston therefore they go togither in one to Newton, Shotesham, Dunston, Castor, Arminghale, Bixleie, Lakenham, and Trowse, and then fall into the Wantsume beneath Norwich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere, Yare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his voiage, as it were to salute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Paswije, Surlingham, Claxton, and Yardleie; and here it meeteth againe with another riueret descending from about Shotesham to Therstane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and so into Gare or Yare, whereof Yardleie the towne receiueth denomination. After this

Wauen. it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burgh castell meeteth with the Waueneie, and so into the sea.

Bure. Into this riuer also falleth the Bure, which rising at a towne of the same name, passeth by Milton, Buresdune, Corpesteie, Marington, Blekeling, Bure, Alesham, Brampton, Buxton, Horsted, Werxham bridge, Horning, Raneworth; and beneath Bastewijc receiueth the

Thurinus. Thurine which riseth aboue Rolesbie; then to Obie, Clipsbie (there also receiuing another from Filbie) Rimham, Castor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Waueneie afore mentioned, riseth on the south side of Brisingham, and is a limit betweene Northfolke and Suffolke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Octe, it méeteth with the Eie, which riseth néere Ockold, or betwéene it and Braisworth, & goeth on by Brome, Octe,

Wauen. and so into the Waueneie. From thence our Waueneie runneth by Silam, Brodish, Nedam, Harleston, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungeie, Sheepemedow, Barsham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Milford water (which is most

Einus. likelie) it goeth along by Somerleie, Hormingfléet, S. Olaues, (there receiuing the Frithstane

Fritha. or Fristan brooke, out of low or litle England) Fristan & Burgh castell, where it méeteth with the Hiere, & from thencefoorth accompanieth it (as I said) vnto the sea. Willingham water commeth by Hensted, Einsted, or Enistate, and falleth into the sea by south of Kesland.

Cokelus. The Cokell riseth south southwest of Cokeleie towne in Blithe hundred, and neere vnto Hastelworth it meeteth with the rill that commeth from Wisset, and so going on togither by Wenhaston, and Bliborow, it falleth into the sea at an hauen betwéene Roidon and Walderswicke. A little rill runneth also thereinto from Eston by Sowold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderswijke: and hereby it wanteth little that Eston Nesse is not cut off and made a pretie Iland.

Ford. The Ford riseth at Poxford, and going by Forderleie, and Theberton, it falleth at last

Orus. into Mismere créeke. Into the Oreford hauen runneth one water comming from Aldborow ward, by a narrow passage from the north into the south. By west wherof (when we are

Fromus. past a little Ile) it receiueth the second, descending from betwéene Talingston and Framingham in Plomes hundred; which cõming at last to Marleford, meeteth with a rill southwest

Glema. of Farnham called the Gleme (that commeth by Rendlesham, the Gleinhams) and so passing foorth, it taketh another at Snapesbridge, comming from Carleton by Saxmundham, Sterne-

Iken, or Ike. field & Snape. Then going to Iken (where it méeteth with the third rill at the west side) it fetcheth

fetcheth a compasse by Sudburne east of Orford, and so into the hauen. Next vnto this by west of Orford, there runneth vp another créeke by Butleie, whereinto the waters comming from Cellesford, and from the Ike, doo run both in one bottome. And thus much of Orford hauen.

The Deue riseth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertesméere, and from thence goeth to Mickford, Winston, Cretingham, Lethringham, Wickham, hitherto still creeping toward the south: but then going in maner full south, it runneth neere vnto Ash, Rendlesham, Vfford, Melton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiueth on the west side, a water comming of two heads, wherof one is by north from Oteleie, and the other by south from Henleie, which ioining west of Mertelsham, go vnto the said towne and so into the Deue, east of Mertelsham abouesaid. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldringfield and Henleie, and méeting soone after with Brightwell brooke, it hasteth into the maine sea, leauing Bawdseie on the east, where the fall therof is called Bawdseie hauen. Deua. Clarus fons.

Vre riseth not farre from Bacton, in Hertesmeere hundred, and thense descendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it méeteth with a water comming from Rattlesden, by one house) and so going on to Nedeham (through Bosméere and Claidon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ypswich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer against Ypswich, the Chatsham water, that goeth by Belsted, and so into the Vre, at the mouth whereof is a maruellous deepe and large pit, whereof some marriners saie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and ioining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to passe that the hauen there is called Vrewell, for which in these daies we doo pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen also the Sture or Stoure hath readie passage, which remaineth in this treatise next of all to be described. Vrus.

The Sture or Stoure parteth Essex from Suffolke, as Houeden saith, and experience confirmeth. It ariseth in Suffolke, out of a lake neere vnto a towne called Stourméere. For although there come two rilles vnto the same, whereof the one descendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Ketton, the other from Horshed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in summer time they are often drie, so that they cannot be said to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforesaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth standeth a prettie towne named Manitrée, which carieth some shadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariseth at Stouremeere, which is a poole conteining twentie acres of ground at the least, the one side whereof is full of alders, the other of réeds, wherin the great store of fish there bred, is not a little succoured. From this méere also it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndish, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Foxerth, Buresleie, Sudburie, Bures, Boxsted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Strotford, east Barfold, Brampton, Manitree, Catwade bridge, and so into the sea, where in the verie fall also it ioineth with Orwell hauen, so néere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a shingle that dooth run along betwéene them: neither dooth it passe cléere in this voiage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing sundrie brookes and rilles not héere to be omitted. Sturus.

For on Essex side it hath one from Hemsted, which goeth by Bumsted, and Birdbrooke: another rising short of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the same at Badlington, west of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Horkesleie, and méeteth withall west of Boxsted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke side, it receiueth one descending from Catiledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Kiddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The second descendeth northward from Posling field, and ioineth therewith east of Clare. It was in old time called Cicux or Ceuxis, and it méeteth with the Stoure in such wise that they séeme to make a right angle, in the point almost wherof standeth a ruinous castell. Howbeit as sithence which time this water (in some mens iudgement) hath béene named Clarus (not so much for the greatnesse as clearnesse of the streame) euen so the Stoure it selfe was also called Ens as they say, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Iland of no small fame and

honour. But these are but méere fables, sith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an house of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the same, because of an honour the prince had in those parties: which may suffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariseth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Risbie hundred, and ioining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Boxsted, Stansted, and north of Foxerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth issueth from betwéene the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardstone, Boxsted, Alington, Polsted, Stoke, and so at south Boxsted falleth into the same. The fift riseth northwest of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Brimsleie, Midling, and
Kettle baston. receiuing Kettle Baston water southwest of Chelsworth (and likewise the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, and Bisseton stréet on the south east of the same towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and so into the Stoure. The sixt is a little rill descending southwest from Chappell. The seuenth riseth betweene Chappell and Bentleie, and going betwéene Tatingston, and Whetsted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of.

Ocleie. As for Ocleie Drill, that riseth betweene Ocleie, and Wikes parkes, and so goeth into the Stoure, on Essex side, west of Harwich, and east of Rée Ile; I passe it ouer, because it is of it selfe but a rill, and not of anie greatnesse, till it come to the mill aboue Ramseie bridge, where I was once almost drowned (by reason of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the streame being there verie great) as an arme of the sea that continuallie ebbeth &
Mosa. floweth. Next vnto this, we came to another that runneth south of Beaumont by Mosse, and falleth into the sea about the middest of the Baie, betwixt Harwich and the Naze. Betwixt the Naze also and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riseth at little Bentleie,
Claco. and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and east of little Holland, into the déepe sea.

Colunus. The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Ouington that goeth by Tilberie, and east of Yeldam falleth into the chiefe head which riseth about Redgewell in Essex, from whence also it goeth to Yeldam and Hedingham, otherwise called Yngham: also Hedningham or
* Sic. Heuedingham, * or Heuedingham of the superioritie which accrued therevnto, because the chiefe lords of the same from time to time kept residence in the towne. For Heued or Hed signifieth The chiefe, in the old English language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet standing in England cannot easilie be forgotten. The third falleth in south of Yeldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I said) to Hedningham, Hawsted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colchester, in old time Camalodunum, and so into the sea at Brickleseie. Some thinke that Colchester and Camalodunum are sundrie cities and situat in diuerse places, whereby Maldon (or Ithancester out of whose ruines the said towne of Maldon was erected) should rather be Camalodunum than Colchester, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland saith) Maldon should be written Malodunum, it were a likelihood that there assertions should be probable. Some reason also may be gathered for the same out of Dion, and such as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colchester water. But I dare not presume to conclude any thing hereof, least I should séeme rashlie to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie vpon rather as a more certeintie, that in the first edition of this treatise I was persuaded, that the sea entring by the Colne made thrée seuerall passages frō thence into the land: but now I vnderstand that these are seuerall entrances and streames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a causeie that leadeth vnto Merseie Ile, ouer which the sea méeteth with a contrarie course) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all these thrée haue their falles either ouer against or néere vnto the aforesaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the shore. Into the Colne or Colunus also (whereof Leland thinketh Colchester to take his name, and not A colonia Romanorum, although I may not consent to him herein) doo run manie salt creekes beneath Fingering ho, of whose names sith I doo not know, nor whether

they be serued with anie backewaters or not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further & likewise of their positions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will saie so much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

There is a pretie water that beginneth néere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Essex, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that signifieth a wood: and not without cause, sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough excessiue building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced.) This said brooke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lordships possessions in those parts, descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime chéefe owners of the same. By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the chéefe (whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant) and which (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. Certes by the report of common fame it hath béene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the moores in Radwinter for corne. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parlement were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord Iohn of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that brooke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof doo yet remaine. But sée the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a woolfe vnto the other in their mischeeuous moodes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to doo his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke: wherevpon insued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is trulie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased. There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tilteie abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from Iohn Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, méeteth with the Gwin or Pant on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment. Gwin or Pant.

I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Bendishes, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Bendishes gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one laieng the said manour to morgage to the moonks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe

the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staied longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Wherevpon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalfes, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of paiment vpon the daie assigned. Herevpon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the daie came, the moonks for all this made seisure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforesaid Bendish could make. The said gentleman also tooke this cousening part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be séene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue moonke or knaue frier, as one of the name and descended from him by lineall descent hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that méet and ioine with our Pant.

Froshwell. The next is named Froshwell. And of this spring dooth the whole hundred beare the name, & after this confluence the riuer it selfe whervnto it falleth (from by north) so farre as I remember. Certes, all these, sauing the first and second, are within your lordships towne aforesaid. The streame therefore running from hence (& now, as I said, called Froshwell, of Frosh, which signifieth a frog) hasteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full streame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch brooke that commeth thorough Finchingfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stifted, Paswijc, and so to Blackewater, where the name of Froshwell ceaseth, the water being from hencefoorth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the salt arme of the sea that beateth vpon the towne; and which of some (except I be deceiued) is called also Pant: and so much the rather I make this coniecture, for that Ithancester stood somewhere vpon the banks thereof, & in the hundred of Danseie, whose ruines (as they saie) also are swalowed vp by the said streame, which can not be verified in our riuer that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, excéedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant, alias the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Coxall, Easterford, Braxsted and Wickham,

Barus. where it méeteth with the Barus, and so going togither as one, they descend to Heiebridge, and finallie into the salt water aboue Maldon, and at hand as is aforesaid. As for the Barus, it riseth in a statelie parke of Essex called Bardfield, belonging to sir Thomas Wroth whilest he liued, who hath it to him and his heires males for euer, from the crowne. Being risen, it hasteth directlie to old Saling Brainctrée, crossing a rillet by the waie comming from Raine, blacke Notleie, white Notleie, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the Blackewater beneath Braxsted on the south.

Chelmer. Beside this, the said Pant or Gwin receiueth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariseth also in Wimbech aforesaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Brodockes (where master Thomas Wiseman esquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams in the same paroch, and ioining yer long in one chanell, they hie them toward Thacsted vnder Prowds bridge, méeting in the waie with a rill comming from Boiton end, whereby it is somewhat increased. Being past Thacsted, it goeth by Tilteie, and soone after

Lindis. receiueth one rill which riseth on the north side of Lindsell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeast at Tilteie aforesaid, & another cõming from southwest, rising southeast from Lindsell at much Eiston. From thence then holding on still with the course, it goeth to Candfield the more, Dunmow, litle Dunmow, Fakted, Lies, both Walthams, Springfield, and so to Chelmeresford. Here vpon the south side I find the issue of a water that riseth fiue miles (or thereabouts) south and by west of the said towne, from whence it goeth to Munasing, Buttesburie (there receiuing a rill from by west, to Ingatstone, Marget Inge, Widford bridge, Writtle bridge, and so to Chelmeresford (crossing also the second water

Roxford. that descendeth from Roxford southwest of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this suffice.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and so to Blackwater northwest of Maldon, receiuing neuerthelesse yer it come fullie

fullie thither, a becke also that goeth from Lée parke, to little Lées, great Lées, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and so into Blackwater (whereof I spake before) as Maldon streame dooth a rill from by south ouer against saint Osithes, and also another by Bradwell. After which the said streame growing also to be verie great, passeth by the Tolshunts, Tollesbie, and so foorth into the maine sea neere vnto Marseie; betwéene which fall and the place where Salute water entreth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius sometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beeset, did send vnto him for aid and spéedie succour, who also being come did not onelie rescue his legat, but in like manner wan Colchester, and put it to the spoile, if it be Camalodunum. Lée.

The Burne riseth somewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, south Fambridge, Kirkeshot ferrie, and so to Foulnesse. And as this is the short course of that riuer, so it brancheth, and the south arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakesham dooth méet by south with the said arme, and so finish vp his course, as we doo our voiage also about the coast of England. Burne.

Thus haue I finished the description of such riuers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I saie of that which is here done, that from the Solueie by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side; to the Twede, which separateth the said kingdoms on the east: if you go backeward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-riuers, you shall not need to vse anie further aduise for the finding and falles of the aforesaid streames. For such hath beene my helpe of maister Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted some one man, in the description of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to choose one (at aduenture most commonlie) that séemed the likeliest to be sound in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finallie, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and créeks, lieng on ech coast of the English part of this Ile; and had prouided the same in such wise as I iudged most conuenient: it came to passe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by stealth, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to set downe anie thing therefore at all: and so much the rather, for that I sée it may prooue a spurre vnto further mischéefe, as things come to passe in these daies. Neuerthelesse, because a little thereof is passed in the beginning of the booke, I will set downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the rest either to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

OF SUCH PORTS AND CREEKS AS OUR SEAFARING-MEN DOO NOTE FOR THEIR BENEFIT UPON THE COASTS OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XVII.

IT maie be that I haue in these former chapters omitted sundrie hauens to be found vpon the shore of England, and some of them serued with backe waters, through want of sound and sufficient information from such as haue written vnto me of the same. In recompense whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creekes, whereby (so farre as to me is possible) I shall make satisfaction of mine ouersights. And albeit I cannot (being too

too too much abused by some that haue béereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpose to passe for all the whole coast of England round about, from Berwike to the Solue: yet I will not let to set downe so much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my countriemen shall not altogither want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer also the rest, if God grant life and good successe thereto.

Northumberland. In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bamborow, Bedwell, Donstanborow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.

Durham. In the bishoprijc, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepoole, These.

Yorkeshire. In Yorkeshire, Dapnam sands, Steningreene, Staies, Runswike, Robinhoods baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Fileie, Flamborow, Bricklington, Horneseie becke, Sister kirke, Kelseie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Kenningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Beuerlie, Hull, Hasell, Northferebie, Bucke créeke, Blacke cost, Wrethell, Howden.

Lincolneshire. In Lincolneshire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebrige, Rodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Torkeseie, Gainsborow, Southferebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Skatermill a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Guimsbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfléete, Wilgripe, Mapleford, saint Clements, Wenfléete, Friscon, Toft, Skerbike, Boston, Frompton, Woluerton, Fossedike a good hauen.

Northfolke. In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitchham, Desingham good, Thunstone, Thorneham good, Brankester good, Burnham good, with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Strikeie, Marston, Blakeleie towne, Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen good, Salthouse créeke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer, Beston, Trinningham, Mounsleie, Bromwall, Haseborow, Wakesham, Eckelles, Winterton, Custer, Helmesleie, Okell, Vpton, Waibridge, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diuerse villages on the riuer side.

Suffolke. In Suffolke, Becles, Bongeie, Southton, Corton, Gorton, Laistow a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Kasseldon, Bliborow, Coffe hith, Eston, Walderswijc, Donewich, Swold hauen, Sisewell, Thorpe, Alborow, Orford a good hauen, Balseie good, Felixstow, Colneie, Sproten, Ypswich, Downambridge good, Pinnemill, Shoteleie, Cataweie, Barfold.

Essex. In Essex we haue Dedham, Maning trée, Thorne, Wrabbesnes, Ramseie, Harwich, Douercourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Ganfléete, Newhauen good, S. Osithes, Bentleie good, Bricleseie, Thorlington (where good ships of a hundred tun or more be made) Alsford, Wiuenhall, Colchester, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, east Merseie, west Merseie, Salcot, Goldanger, Borow, Maldon, Stanesgate, Sudmester, S. Peters, Burnham, Crixseie, Aldon, Clements gréene, Hulbridge, Pacleston, Barling, litle Wakering, much Wakering, south Sudburie, Wakeringham, Melton, Papper hill, or Lee, Beamfléete, Pidseie range, Fobbing, Hadleie good, Mucking, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

Kent. In Kent, Harling, Cliffe, Tanfleete, Stokehow, Snodlond, Melhall, Maidston, Ailesford, New hith, Rochester, Gelingham, Reinham, Vpchurch, Halsted, Quinborow, Milton, Feuersham, Whitstaple, Herne, Margate, Brodestaier, Ramsgate; and manie of these good créekes: also Sandwich, Douer, Hide, reasonable ports, although none of the best.

Sussex. In Sussex we haue Smalade with the créekes adioining to the same, Ridon, Appledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelseie nothing at all inferiour to the same, and so manie shires onelie are left vnto me at this time, wherefore of force I must abruptlie leaue off to deale anie further with the rest, whose knowledge I am right sure would haue been profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great thankes at the hands of such sea-faring-men, as should haue had vse hereof.

Desunt cætera.

OF THE AIRE, SOILE, AND COMMODITIES OF THIS ILAND.

CAP. XVIII.

THE aire (for the most part) throughout the Iland is such, as by reason in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be grosse, and nothing so pleasant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme these things, haue onelie respect to the impediment or hinderance of the sunne beames, by the interposition of the clouds and oft ingrossed aire: so experience teacheth vs, that it is no lesse pure, wholesome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as Cæsar himselfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in summer than that of the Galles, from whom he aduentured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not vsuallie séene amongst other nations lieng beyond the seas. Wherefore, we must néeds confesse, that the situation of our Iland (for benefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of anie countrie of the maine, where so euer it lie vnder the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Elisian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are situate about it in the Ocean. The aire of Britaine.

The soile of Britaine is such, as by the testimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience also of such as now inhabit the same, is verie fruitfull; and such in deed as bringeth foorth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue néed, and yet it selfe (if fond niceuesse were abolished) néedlesse of those that are dailie brought from other places. Neuerthelesse it is more inclined to féeding and grasing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reason whereof the countrie is wonderfullie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and such store is there also of the same in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is scarselie manured for the prouision and maintenance of graine. Certes this fruitfulnesse was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before Cæsars time, which was the cause wherefore our predecessors liuing in those daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by féeding and grasing onelie. The grasiers themselues also then dwelled in mooueable villages by companies, whose custome was to diuide the ground amongst them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Irish Criacht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remoone further, and séeke for better pasture. And this was the British custome (as I learne) at first. It hath béene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither so fruitfull as that of England, neither the soile of Scotland so bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the most part: otherwise, there is so good ground in some parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the best of Scotland be scarselie comparable to the meane of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scotish dooth faile in some respect, so dooth it surmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yéeld foorth like commodities. The soile. Criacht.

But where our ground is not so good as we would wish, we haue (if néed be) sufficient help to cherish our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull. For beside the compest that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, doouehouses, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of so great force, that if it be cast ouer a péece of land but once in three score years, it shall not need of anie further compesting. Hereof also dooth Plinie speake, lib. 17, cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the space of fourescore yeares: insomuch that it is laid vpon the same but once in a mans life, whereby the owner shall not need to trauell twise in procuring to commend and better his soile. He calleth it Marga, and making diuerse kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth sometime a hundred foot déepe, and farre better than the scattering of chalke vpon the same, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as some of our daies also doo practise: albeit diuerse doo like better to cast on lime, but it will not so long indure, as I haue heard reported. Marle.

There

Plentie of riuers. There are also in this Iland great plentie of fresh riuers and streams, as you haue heard alreadie, and these throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fish accustomed to be found in riuers.

Hilles. The whole Ile likewise is verie full of hilles, of which some (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heigth, and diuerse extending themselues verie far from the beginning; as we may see by Shooters hill, which rising east of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the south side of the Iland westward, vntill it come to Cornewall. Like vnto these also are the Crowdon hils, which though vnder diuers names (as also the other from the Peke) doo run into the borders of Scotland. What should I speake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach twentie miles in length? of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the least in length? of the Cle hilles in Shropshire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from some part of Worcester by the Teme? of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Chiltren, which are eightéene miles at the least from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordshire to Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and are verie well replenished with wood and corne? notwithstanding that the most part yéeld a sweet short grasse, profitable for shéepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland doo somewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompensed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and those of sundrie kinds of marble, hard stone, and fine alabaster) but also rich mines of mettall, as shall be shewed hereafter.

(*) Here lacks.

Winds. In this Iland likewise the winds are commonlie more strong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane also espied: and that is often séene vpon the naked hilles, not garded with trées to beare and kéepe it off.

Building. That grieuous inconuenience also inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communaltie, to build their houses in the vallies, leauing the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, least the cold and stormie blasts of winter should bréed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one desireth to set his house aloft on the hill, not onlie to be seene a farre off, and cast forth his beames of statelie and curious workemanship into euerie quarter of the countrie; but also (in hot habitations) for coldnesse sake of the aire, sith the heat is neuer so vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, because the reuerberation of the sunne beames either reacheth not so farre as the highest, or else becommeth not so strong as when it is reflected upon the lower soile.

Husbandrie amended. But to leaue our buildings vntó the purposed place (which notwithstanding haue verie much increased, I meane for curiositie and cost, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within these few yeares) and to returne to the soile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in these our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath béene in times past. The cause is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, skilfull, and carefull through recompense of gaine, than heretofore they haue béene: insomuch that my Synchroni or time fellows can reape at this present great commoditie in a little roome; whereas of late yeares, a great compasse hath yéelded but small profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of such, as dailie manured and had the same in occupieng. I might set downe examples of these things out of all the parts of this Iland, that is to saie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but most of all out of Wales: in which two last rehearsed, verie little other food and liuelihood was wont to be looked for (beside flesh) more than the soile of it selfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meane time liuing idelie, dissolutelie, and by picking and stealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the most part) relinquished, so that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

Pasture, The pasture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie of the soile, whereby in most places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and such as either fatteth our cattell with speed, or yéeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yellowest butter and finest chéese are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long season) there the grasse is spearie, rough, and verie apt for brushes: by which occasion it commeth nothing so profitable vnto the owner as the other. The best pasture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the pasture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheefe. I speake of the same which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the

hundred

hundred part of the grasse growing is not eaten, but suffered to rot on the ground, whereby the soile becommeth matted, and diuerse bogges and quicke moores made withall in long continuance: because all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good soile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morrow find it hidden and ouergrowen with grasse: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheless, such is the fruitfulnes of the aforsaid countie that it farre surmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batablenesse with Italie, which in my time is called the paradise of the world, although by reason of the wickednesse of such as dwell therein it may be called the sinke and draine of hell: so that whereas they were woont to saie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie speake it; whereas we know by experience that the soile of Italie is a noble soile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodnesse.

Our medowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great store, and those verie large, bi- Medowes.
cause our soile is hillie) or else such as we call land meads, and borowed from the best & fattest pasturages. The first of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the rising of such streames as passe through the same, or violent falles of land-waters, that descend from the hils about them. The other are seldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cause wherefore their grasse is shorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholesome, and batable, sith the haie of our low medowes is not onelie full of sandie cinder, which breedeth sundrie diseases in our cattell, but also more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not so profitable for stouer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vse the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vsed by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue sometimes three, but commonlie two or vpward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of such as are twise mowed I speake not, sith their later math is not so wholsome for cattell as the first; although in the mouth more pleasant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increase so fast in bloud, that the garget and other diseases doo consume manie of them before the owners can séeke out any remedie, by Phlebotomie or otherwise. Some superstitious fooles suppose that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp stones which naturallie haue holes in them, and must be found vnlooked for; as if such a stone were an apt cockeshot for the diuell to run through and solace himselfe withall, whilest the cattell go scot free and are not molested by him. But if I should set downe but halfe the toies that superstition hath brought into our husbandmens heads in this and other behalfes, it would aske a greater volume than is conuenient for such a purpose, wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much of these things.

The yéeld of our corne-ground is also much after this rate folowing. Through out the Corne.
land (if you please to make an estimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dressed, will yeeld commonlie sixtéene or twentie bushels, an acre of barlie six and thirtie bushels, of otes and such like foure or fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithstanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes surmounted in the south. Of mixed corne, as peason and beanes, sowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miscelin here is no place to speake, yet their yéeld is neuerthelesse much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foison comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increase which Eldred Danus writeth of in his De imperio Iudæorum in Aethiopia surmounteth, where he saith that in the field néere to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Gosan, the ground is so fertile, that euerie graine of barleie growing dooth yéeld an hundred kernels at the least vnto the owner.

Of late yeares also we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof

our moorie hitherto and vnprofitable grounds doo yeeld such plentie & increase, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and those farre better than doo come from Flanders vnto us. Certes the corruptions vsed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practised in this kind of ware, gaue vs occasion to plant them here at home: so that now we may spare and send manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that some one man by conuersion of his moorie grounds into hopyards, wherof before he had no commoditie, dooth raise yearelie by so little as twelue acres in compasse two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which industrie God continue! though some secret frēends of Flemings let not to exclaime against this commoditie, as a spoile of wood, by reason of the poles, which neuerthelesse after three yeares doo also come to the fire, and spare their other fewell.

Cattell. The cattell which we breed are commonlie such, as for greatnesse of bone, swéetnesse of flesh, and other benefits to be reaped by the same, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare first by our oxen, whose largenesse, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are such, as none of anie other nation doo commonlie or may easilie excéed them. Our shéepe likewise for good tast of flesh, quantitie of lims, finesse of fléece caused by their hardnesse of pasturage, and abundance of increase (for in manie places they bring foorth two or thrée at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than doo our goates, who in like sort doo follow the same order, and our déere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue séene them so fat in some soiles, especiallie about Meall and Disnege, that the grease of one being weighed, hath peised verie néere six or seuen ounces. All which benefits we first refer to the grace and goodnesse of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our soile, which he hath indued with so notable and commodious fruitfulnesse.

Meall and Disnege.

Wine. But as I meane to intreat of these things more largelie hereafter, so will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; the fault whereof is not in our soile, but the negligence of our countriemen (especiallie of the south partes) who doo not inure the same to this commoditie, and which by reason of long discontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almost for pleasure & shadow, much lesse then the plaine fields or seuerall vineyards for aduantage and commoditie. Yet of late time some haue assaied to deale for wine, as to your lordship also is right well knowen. But sith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the sea, and the cost of planting and keeping thereof so chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterprises without anie consideration, that as in all other things, so neither the ground it selfe in the beginning, nor successe of their trauell can answer their expectation at the first, vntill such time as the soile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouision may be made for the more easinesse of charge, to be imploied vpon the same.

If it be true, that where wine dooth last and indure well, there it will grow no worse: I muse not a little wherefore the planting of vines should be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this Iland heretofore, first the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one sufficient testimonie. And that it did grow here, beside the testimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of some parsons and vicars in Kent, & elsewhere, besides the records of sundrie sutes, commensed in diuerse ecclesiasticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: also the inclosed parcels almost in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witnesse, as also the plot which we now call east Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus sometime king of this land, with other soile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighten Guild. The truth is (saith Iohn Stow our countrie man, and diligent traueller in the old estate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port soken ward, and giuen in time past to the religious house within Algate. Howbeit first Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Essex constables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frō the said house, vntill the reigne of king

king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie also was in the first times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appéereth, that the bishop there had yearelie thrée or foure tunne at the least giuen him Nomine decimæ, beside whatsoeuer ouer-summe of the liquor did accrue to him by leases and other excheats, whereof also I haue seene mention. Wherefore our soile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were so exceeding short, that in August and September the moone which is ladie of moisture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wise shine long inough vpon the same: a verie méere toie and fable right worthie to be suppressed, because experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rhenish wines.

The time hath béene also that wad, wherwith our countrie men died their faces (as Cæsar saith) that they might séeme terrible to their enimies in the field, and also women & their daughters in law did staine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the sacrifices of their gods, coueting to resemble therin the Ethiopians, as Plinie saith li. 22. cap. 1. and also madder haue béene (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find also that rape oile hath beene made within this land. But now our soile either will not or at the leastwise may not beare either wad or madder: I saie not that the ground is not able so to doo, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and carelesse of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the same of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like I may saie of flax, which by law ought to be sowen in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or lesse: but I sée no successe of that good and wholesome law, sith it is rather contemptuouslie reiected than otherwise dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

Wad. Madder. Rape. Flax.

Some saie that our great number of lawes doo bréed a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; bicause we haue so manie, that no subiect can liue without the transgression of some of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances dooth much harme in this respect, which (after Aristotle) doth séeme to carie some reason withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

Euentus varios res noua semper habet. Eleg. 2.

But verie manie let not to affirme, that the gréedie corruption of the promoters on the one side, facilitie in dispensing with good lawes, and first breach of the same in the lawmakers & superiors, & priuat respects of their establishment on the other, are the greatest causes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies so redie to offend without anie facultie one waie, as they are otherwise to presume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in these things I haue no skill, so I wish that fewer licences for the priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie increased) & that euerie one which by féeed friendship (or otherwise) dooth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open assizes and sessions denounced enimie to his countrie and commonwealth of the land.

Principes longè magis exemplo quàm culpa peccare solent.

Glasse also hath beene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the said stuffe also, beside fine scissers, shéeres, collars of gold and siluer for womens necks, cruses and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Augustus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like sort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and vessels of iuorie (as Strabo saith.) Wherby it appéereth that in old time our countriemen were farre more industrious and painefull in the vse and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themselues more to idlenesse and following of the warres.

If it were requisit that I should speake of the sundrie kinds of moold, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerse sorts (red, blue, blacke and white) also the red or white sandie, the lomie, rosellie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could saie that there are so manie diuerse veines in Britaine, as else where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this

Earths.

I must néeds confesse, that the sandie and cledgie doo beare great swaie: but the claie most of all, as hath beene, and yet is alwaies séene & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter (I meane the claie) doo yeeld hir full increase (which it dooth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: wheras if it faile, then haue we scarsitie, according to the old rude verse set downe of England, but to be vnderstood of the whole Iland, as experience dooth confirme:

When the sand dooth serue the claie,
Then may we sing well awaie,
But when the claie dooth serue the sand,
Then is it merie with England.

Vallies. I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horsse, another of Euesham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worcestershire, the third of Ailesbirie that goeth by Tame, the rootes of Chilterne hils, to Donstable, Newport panell, Stonie Stratford, Buckhingham, Birstane parke, &c. Likewise of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemoore in Dorsetshire. The fift of Ringdale or Renidale, corruptlie called Ringtaile, that lieth (as mine author saith) vpon the edge of Essex and Cambridgeshire, and also the Marshwood vale: but for somuch as I know not well their seuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their description. In like sort it should not be amisse to

Fennes. speake of our fennes, although our countrie be not so full of this kind of soile as the parties beyond the seas, to wit, Narbon, &c: and thereto of other pleasant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great store of corne and fine fodder for neat and horsses in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but also of no small compasse and quantitie in ground. For some of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, sixteene, twentie, or thirtie miles in length, that of the Girwies yet passing all the rest, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein also Elie the famous Ile standeth, which is seuen miles euerie waie, and wherevnto there is no accesse but by three causies, whose inhabitants in like sort by an old priuilege may take wood, sedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewise haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houses of custome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetousnesse hath now begun somewhat to abridge this large beneuolence and commoditie, aswell in the said Ile as most other places of this land.

Commons. Finallie, I might discourse in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the soiles for the benefit of such poore, as inhabit within the compasse of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in most places defrauded, in so much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the same, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, so the tractation of them belongeth rather to the second booke. Wherfore I meane not at this present to deale withall, but reserue the same wholie vnto the due place whilest I go forward with the rest; setting downe neuerthelesse by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

Illa quidem longè celebris splendore, beata,
Glebis, lacte, fauis, supereminet insula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c.

And a little after:
Testis Lundonia ratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worcestria fruge redundans,
Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria pisce,
Eboraca syluis, Excestria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Cestria Gallis,
Cicestrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia præpinguis,
Testis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Testis Eli formosa situ, Doncastria visu, &c.

OF THE FOURE HIGH WAIES SOMETIME MADE IN BRITAINE BY THE PRINCES OF THIS ILAND.

CAP. XIX.

THERE are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, doo affirme, that this diuision of waies, (whereof we now intreat) should apperteine vnto such princes of that nation as reigned here, since the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and herevpon they inferre, that Wattling street was builded by one Wattle from the east vnto the west. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of these streets it selfe shall easilie declare, whereof some parcelles, after a sort, are also set downe by Antoninus; and those that haue written of the seuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in so direct an order as they were at the first established. For my part, if it were not that I desire to be short in this behalfe, I could with such notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpose, make a large confutation of diuerse of their opinions concerning these passages, and thereby rather ascribe the originall of these waies to the Romans than either the British or Saxon princes. But sith I haue spent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I sée great cause (notwithstanding my late alledged scruple) wherfore I should hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to discourse of these things as I would, and saie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courses, procéeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our sauiour Iesus Christ, séeing the subiects of his realme to be in sundrie wise oppressed by théeues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (so much as in him laie) to redresse these inconueniences, caused his whole kingdome to be surueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which should leade such as trauelled into all parts thereof, from sea to sea, he gaue sundrie large priuileges vnto the same, whereby they became safe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the securitie of his subiects, so he made sharpe lawes grounded vpon iustice, for the suppression of such wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that should be met withall or found within the limits of those passages. How and by what parts of this Iland these waies were conueied at the first, it is not so wholie left in memorie: but that some question is moqued among the learned, concerning their ancient courses. Howbeit such is the shadow remaining hitherto of their extensions, that if not at this present perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpossible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto posteritie. It seemeth by Galfride, that the said Dunwallon did limit out those waies by dooles and markes, which being in short time altered by the auarice of such irreligious persons as dwelt néere, and incroched vpon the same (a fault yet iustlie to be found almost in euerie place, euen in the time of our most gratious and souereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the soiles doo vnite their small occupieng, onelie to increase a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoque, or giue licence to erect small tenements vpon the high waies sides and commons; wherevnto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them also doo raise a new commoditie) and question mooued for their bounds before Belinus his sonne, he to auoid all further controuersie that might from thencefoorth insue, caused the same to be paued with hard stone of eightéene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint stones also to be pitched, least the earth in time should swallow vp his workemanship, and the higher ground ouer-grow their rising crests. He indued them also with larger priuileges than before, protesting that if anie man whosoeuer should presume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wise, neere vnto or vpon those waies, he should suffer such punishment without all hope to escape (by freendship or mercie) as by the statutes of this realme latelie prouided in those cases were

were due vnto the offendors. The names of these foure waies are the Fosse, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

Fosse. The Fosse goeth not directlie but slopewise ouer the greatest part of this Iland, beginning at Dotnesse or Totnesse in Deuonshire, where Brute somtime landed, or (as Ranulphus saith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldest writers doo séeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonshire & Somersetshire, and commeth to Bristow, from whence it runneth manifestlie to Sudberie market, Tetburie, and so foorth holdeth on as you go almost to the midde waie betweene Glocester and Cirnecester, (where the wood faileth, and the champeigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteswald) streight as a line vntill you come to Cirnecester it selfe. Some hold opinion that the waie, which lieth from Cirnecester to Bath, should be the verie Fosse; and that betwixt Cirnecester and Glocester to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihood, and confirmed also by some experience, iudgeth that most of the waies crossed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland also, who learned it of an abbat of Cirnecester that shewed great likelihood by some records thereof. But to procéed. From Cirnecester, it goeth by Chepingsodbury to Couentrie, Leircester, Newarke, and so to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watlingstreet: where, by generall consent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathnesse in Scotland) it is said to haue an end.

Watling stréet. The Watlingstréete begun (as I said) by Dunwallo, but finished by Gutheline, of whome it is directlie to be called Gutheline stréet, though now corrupted into Watlingstréet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and so stretcheth through the middest of Kent vnto London, and so foorth (peraduenture by the middest of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Verlamcester, now saint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thousand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the course thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell wherwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eighteene foot broad, and about ten foot déepe, and stoned in the bottome in such wise as I haue noted afore, and peraduenture also on the top: but these are gone, and the rest remaine equall in most places, and leuell with the fields. The yelow grauell also that was brought thither in carts two thousand yéeres passed, remained there so fresh and so strong, as if it had béene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yéeres before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the west side. And a little by south of this place, where the priorie stood, is a long thorough fare vpon the said street, méetly well builded (for low housing) on both sides. After this it procéedeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell saith) to Caxton, and so to Huntingdon, & then forward, still winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leicestershire toward Lugbie, but also passeth from Castleford to Stamford, and so foorth by west of Marton, which is but a mile from Torkeseie.

Here by the waie I must touch the opinion of a traueller of my time, who noteth the said stréet to go another waie, insomuch that he would haue it to crosse the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, and so go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, the High crosse, and thence to Atherston vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Fosse had his course by the countrie in such sort as he describeth; but that the Watlingstréet should passe by Atherston, I cannot as yet be persuaded. Neuerthelesse his coniecture is not to be misliked, sith it is not vnlikelie that thrée seuerall waies might méet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I doo not doubt that the said towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all thrée Maries, vnto whom it hath béene dedicated: but that the Watlingstréet should be one of them, the compasse of his passage will in no wise permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingstréet, are that it goeth thorough or neere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice also of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it passeth hastilie ouer Castelford bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where

where are most manifest tokens of this stréet and his broad crest by a great waie togither, also to Yorke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge, where on the left hand thereof stood certeine monuments, or pyramides of stone, sometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. These stones (saith Leland) stand eight miles west from Bowis, and almost west from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Maiden castell, situate apparantlie vpon the side of this stréet. And here is one of those pyramides or great round heapes, which is three score foot compasse in the bottome. There are other also of lesse quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are sharpe stones of a yard in length; but the greatest of all is eighteene foot high at the least, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they stand on an hill in the edge of Stanes moore, and are as bounds betwéene Richmondshire, and Westmerland. But to procéed. This stréet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eightéene miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & six to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes moore, foure miles from Applebie, and fiue to Browham, where the said stréet commeth thorough Winfoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Eiemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the west side of it, goeth to Carleill seuenteene miles from Browham, which hath béene some notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathnesse, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

The Erming stréet, which some call the Lelme, stretcheth out of the east, as they saie, into the southeast, that is, from Meneuia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is somewhat likelie indeed that these two waies, I meane the Fosse and the Erming, should méet about Cirnecester, as it commeth from Glocester, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can saie no more of it, except I should indeuor to driue awaie the time, in alleging what other men say thereof, whose minds doo so farre disagrée one from another, as they doo all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in such dealing. Erming stréet.

The Ikenild or Rikenild began somewhere in the south, and so held on toward Cirnecester, then to Worcester, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield; and crossing the Watlingstréet somewhere in Yorkeshire, stretched foorth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine sea, as most men doo confesse. I take it to be called the Ikenild, because it passed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him doo séeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be doone, sith it is manifest by Tacitus, that they laie néere vnto the Silures, and (as I gesse) either in Stafford and Worcester shires, or in both, except my coniecture doo faile me. The author of the booke, intituled Eulogium historiarum, doth call this stréet the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, so haue I dealt withall so faithfullie as I may among such diuersitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confusion in the names and courses of these two latter, the discussing whereof I must leaue to other men that are better learned than I. Ikenild.

Now to speake generallie of our common high waies through the English part of the Ile (for of the rest I can saie nothing) you shall vnderstand that in the claie or cledgie soile they are often verie déepe and troublesome in the winter halfe. Wherfore by authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for six daies in summer vpon the same. And albeit that the intent of the statute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo so cancell their portions, and the poore so loiter in their labours, that of all the six, scarcelie two good days works are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as haue land lieng vpon the sides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and scowre their draines and watercourses, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the statute) whereby the stréets

doo

doo grow to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noisome for such as trauell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daies works are not imploied vpon those waies that lead from market to market, but ech surueior amendeth such by-plots & lanes as séeme best for his owne commoditie, and more easie passage vnto his fields and pastures. And whereas in some places there is such want of stones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to seeke them farre off in other soiles: the owners of the lands wherein those stones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no small commoditie by raising the same to excessiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cause wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewise to be considered of, that the trées and bushes growing by the stréets sides; doo not a little keepe off the force of the sunne in summer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs should continuallie be kept short, and the bushes not suffered to spread so far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would also be remedied, and manie a slough proue hard ground that yet is déepe and hollow. Of the dailie increaching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I speake not. But this I know by experience, that wheras some stréets within these fiue and twentie yeares haue béene in most places fiftie foot broad according to the law, whereby the traueller might either escape the théefe or shift the mier, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horsse; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be the worse, and manie an honest man encombred in his iourneie. But what speake I of these things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iust redresse, because the error is so common, and the benefit thereby so swéet and profitable to manie, by such houses and cotages as are raised vpon the same.

OF THE GENERALL CONSTITUTION OF THE BODIES OF THE BRITONS.

CHAP. XX.

SUCH as are bred in this Iland are men for the most part of a good complexion, tall of stature, strong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldnesse and courage in the warres. As for their generall comelinesse of person, the testimonie of Gregorie the great, at such time as he saw English capteins sold at Rome, shall easilie confirme what it is, which yet dooth differ in sundrie shires and soiles, as also their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betwéene Herefordshire and Essex men, or Cambridgeshire and the Londoners for the one, and Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; these latter being distinguished by their noses and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the stomachs also of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies beene in souereigne admiration among forren princes: for such hath béene the estimation of our souldiers from time to time, since our Ile hath béene knowne vnto the Romans, that wheresoeuer they haue serued in forren countries, the cheefe brunts of seruice haue beene reserued vnto them. Of their conquests and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our histories are full: & where they haue beene ouercome, the victorers themselues confessed their victories to haue béene so déerelie bought, that they would not gladlie cõuet to ouercome often, after such difficult maner. In martiall prowesse, there is little or no difference betwéene Englishmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue beene often and verie gréeuouslie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not béene for want of manhood on their parts, but through the mercie of God shewed on vs, and his iustice vpon them, sith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs méere iniurie with great despite and crueltie.

Leland noting somewhat of the constitution of our bodies, saith these words grounding (I thinke

(I thinke vpon Aristotle, who writeth that such as dwell neere the north, are of more courage and strength of bodie than skilfulnesse or wisdome.) The Britons are white in colour, strong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting neere the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the soile is not so fruitfull, and therefore the people not so feeble: whereas contrariwise such as dwell toward the course of the sunne, are lesse of stature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & some so blacke in déed as anie crow or rauen. Thus saith he. Howbeit, as those which are bred in sundrie places of the maine, doo come behind vs in constitution of bodie, so I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimblenesse of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithstanding that otherwise these gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into méere subtiltie, instabilitie, vnfaithfulnesse, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertilest region dooth bring foorth the dullest wits, and contrariwise the harder soile the finest heads. But in mine opinion, the most fertile soile dooth bring foorth the proudest nature, as we may see by the Campanians, who (as Cicero also saith) had "Penes eos ipsum domicilium superbiæ." But nether of these opinions do iustlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleased the writers to saie their pleasures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren historiographers, to be men of great strength and little policie, much courage and small shift, bicause of the weake abode of the sunne with vs, whereby ou rbraines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockish, vnciuill, fierce and warlike, which qualities increase, as they come neerer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blacknesse, wisdome, ciuilitie, weakenesse, and cowardise, thus saith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the same conclusion to be made of the constitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his assertion holdeth onelie in their persons that inhabit néere vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the small tariance of the sunne with vs, it is also confuted by the length of our daies. Wherefore his reason seemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afore alledged, than to prooue that we want wit, bicause our brains are not warmed by the tariance of the sunne. And thus also dooth Comineus burden vs after a sort in his historie, and after him Bodinus. But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compasse to doo so much in Britaine, as the strength and courage of our Englishmen (not without great wisedome and forecast) haue brought to passe in France. The Galles in time past contemned the Romans (saith Cæsar) bicause of the smalnesse of their stature: howbeit, for all their greatnesse (saith he) and at the first brunt in the warres, they shew themselues to be but féeble, neither is their courage of any force to stand in great calamities. Certes in accusing our wisedome in this sort, he dooth (in mine opinion) increase our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with singlenesse of mind, sincerelie and plainlie, without anie such suspicious fetches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practise in their affaires, then are our countrimen to be accompted wise and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftinesse, subtile practises, doublenesse, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wisedome: then are Comineus and his countrimen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time beene vsed as an eare marke of their dissimulation,

Non vi sed virtute, non armis sed ingenio vincuntur Angli.

Galli ridendo fidem frangunt. &c.

How these latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to discusse. How they are dailie practised in manie places of the maine, & he accompted most wise and politike, that can most of all dissemble; here is no place iustlie to determine (neither would I wish my countrimen to learne anie such wisedome) but that a king of France could saie; "Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, *or* viuere," their owne histories are testimonies sufficient. Galen, the noble physician, transferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, constancie; to bloud, mirth;

mirth; to phlegme, courtesie: which being mixed more or lesse among themselues, doo yéeld an infinit varietie. By this meanes therefore it commeth to passe, that he whose nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with strength of bodie, and sinceritie of behauiour (qualities vniuersallie granted to remaine so well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot see what may be an hinderance whie I should not rather conclude, that the Britons doo excell such as dwell in the hoter countries, than for want of craft and subtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie also for some to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, bicause we so little regard the shedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we sée the liquor of life to go from vs (I vse their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, bicause we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are those obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: sith we thinke it a great péece of manhood to stand to our tackling, vntill the last drop, as men that may spare much bicause we haue much: whereas they hauing lesse are afraid to lose that little which they haue: as Frontinus also noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their histories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that as an Italian writing of his credit; A papist intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his méekenesse, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be trusted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he dooth either dissemble or excéed, which is a foule vice in such as professe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we so hard to strangers as Horace wold séeme to make vs, sith we loue them so long as they abuse vs not, & make accompt of them so far foorth as they despise vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vse our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in so ample manner as we our selues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to doo in their countries, where no stranger is suffered to haue worke, if an home-borne be without. But to procéed with our purpose.

With vs (although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well) some doo liue an hundred yéers, verie manie vnto foure score: as for three score, it is taken but for our entrance into age, so that in Britaine no man is said to wax old till he draw vnto three score, at which time God spéed you well commeth in place; as Epaminondas sometime said in mirth, affirming that vntill thirtie yeares of age, You are welcome is the best salutation; and from thence to threescore, God kéepe you; but after threescore, it is best to saie, God spéed you well: for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go. These two are also noted in vs (as things apperteining to the firme constitutions of our bodies) that there hath not béene séene in anie region so manie carcasses of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by slaughter or otherwise, such as remaine vnburied by foure or fiue daies togither, are easie to be knowne and discerned by their fréends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of sundrie nations, saieng, that their bodies are "Tam fluidæ substantiæ," that within certeine houres the wife shall hardlie know hir husband, the mother hir sonne, or one fréend another after their liues be ended. In like sort the comelinesse of our liuing bodies doo continue from midle age (for the most) euen to the last gaspe, speciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children doo after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie so wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerse of other countries with whom their men also doo much participate; and thereto be so often waiward and peeuish, that nothing in maner may content them.

Salutations according to our ages.

I might here adde somewhat also of the meane stature generallie of our women, whose beautie commonlie excédeth the fairest of those of the maine, their comlinesse of person and good proportion of limmes, most of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the seas. This neuerthelesse I vtterlie mislike in the poorer sort of them, for the wealthier doo sildome offend herein: that being of themselues without gouernement, they are so carelesse in the education of their children (wherein their husbands are also to be blamed) by means whereof

oftentimes

verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, doo oftentimes come to confusion, which (if anie correction or discipline had béene vsed toward them in youth) might haue prooued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good seruice and industrie. I could make report likewise of the naturall vices and vertues of all those that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to set foorth the same, so will I giue place to other men that list to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the constitutions of our bodies: and so much may suffice.

HOW BRITAINE AT THE FIRST GREW TO BE DIUIDED INTO THREE PORTIONS.

CAP. XXI.

AFTER the comming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you haue read in the foresaid treatise, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Christ, although Goropius after his maner doo vtterlie denie our historie in this behalfe) he made a generall surueie of the whole Iland from side to side, by such means to view and search out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but also what commodities this new atchiued conquest might yéeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the last also a conuenable place wherin to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie same which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his ancestors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welshmen doo call it still Trenewith. This citie was builded (as some write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, so that he liued not aboue fiftéene yeares after he had finished the same. But of the rest of his other acts attempted and doone, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arriuall by the space of foure and twentie yeares, he finished his daies at Trenouanton aforesaid, being in his yoong and florishing age, where his carcase was honourablie interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among such writers as are extant; I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of gréeuous wounds receiued in his warres against such as withstood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can saie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languishing paines, he made a disposition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his sonnes then liuing, whereof the eldest excéeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

To the eldest therefore, whose name was Locrine, he gaue the greatest and best region of all the rest, which of him to this daie is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of such English Saxons as made conquest of the same. This portion also is included on the south with the British sea, on the est with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the west with the Irish sea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall description of this Iland I haue spoken more at large. To Camber his second sonne he assigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dée, toward the west (which parcell in these daies conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with sundrie Ilands adiacent to the same, the whole being in maner cut off and separated from England or Lhoegria by the said streams, wherby it séemeth also a peninsula or by-land, if you respect the small hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betweene their maine courses, or such branches (at the least) as run and fall into them. The Welshmen or Britons call it by the ancient name still vnto this day, but we Englishmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time past did vse the word Walsh in such sort as we doo Strange: for as we call all those strangers that are not of our nation, so did they name them Walsh which were not of their countrie.

Locrine. Lhoegria. Camber. Cambri

Albanact. The third and last part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his youngest sonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue said before) whose portion seemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatnesse with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the seuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you shall find them to be not much discrepant or differing one from another: for whatsoeuer the first & second haue in plentie of corne, fine grasse, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding store of fish, rich mettall, quarries of stone, and abundance of wild foule: so that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforesaid maner. This later parcell at the first, tooke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. But now a small portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the said denomination, the rest being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in those quarters. It is diuided from Albania. Lhoegres also by the Selue and the Firth, yet some doo note the Humber; so that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforesaid streame, vnto the point of Cathnesse.

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himselfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being solemnelie interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and tooke possession of their prouinces. But Scotland after two yeares Locrine king also of Scotland. fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was slaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none issue behind him to succeed him in that kingdome.

AFTER WHAT MANER THE SOUEREIGNTIE OF THIS ILE DOOTH REMAINE TO THE PRINCES OF LHOEGRES OR KINGS OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXII.

The Scots alwaies desirous to shake off the English subiection, haue often made cruell & odious attempts so to doo, but in vaine. IT is possible that some of the Scotish nation, reading the former chapter, will take offense with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwais belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whose more ample satisfaction in this behalfe, I will here set downe a discourse thereof at large, written by diuerse, and now finallie brought into one treatise, sufficient (as I thinke) to satisfie the reasonable, although not halfe enough peraduenture to content a wrangling mind, sith there is (or at the leastwise hath beene) nothing more odious among some, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doo in Scotland.

How their historiographers haue attempted to shape manie coloured excuses to auoid so manifest a title, all men may see that read their bookes indifferentlie, wherevnto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments togither, wherein chéeflie I haue vsed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawier, who wrote thereof (of set purpose) to king Edward the sixt, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, Iohn Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beside three other, whereof the first dedicated his treatise to Henrie the fourth, the second to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the first, as their writings yet extant doo abundantlie beare witnesse. The title also that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: "These remembrances following are found in chronicles authorised, remaining in diuerse monasteries both in England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie knowne and shewed, that the kings of England haue had, and now ought to haue the souereigntie ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the kings there reigning from time to time, &c." Herevnto you haue heard alreadie, what diuision Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, wherof eeh of his children, so

soone as he was interred, tooke seisure and possession. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanact was slaine, wherevpon Locrinus and Camber raising their powers, reuenged his death: and finallie the said Locrinus made an entrance vpon Albania, seized it into his owne hands (as excheated wholie vnto himselfe) without yéelding anie part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto anie portion of the same. Hereby then (saith Adams) it euidentlie appeareth, that the entire seigniorie ouer Albania consisted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer since hath continued, in preferring the eldest brother to the onelie benefit of the collaterall ascension from the yongest, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this daie.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to saie, the sonne of Mempris, sonne of Madan, sonne of the same Locrine builded in Albania the castell of Maidens, now called Edenborough (so called of Aidan somtime king of Scotland, but at the first named Cair Minid Agnes. I. the castell on mount Agnes, and the castell of virgins) and the castell of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scotish Hector Boetius confesseth: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that our Ebranke was then thereof seized. This Ebranke reigned in the said state ouer them a long time; after whose death Albania (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two sisters sonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the said Ebranke, who brotherlie at the first diuided the realme betwéen them; so that Morgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania. But shortlie after Morgan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and therevpon denouncing warre, death miserablie ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obteined the whole empire of all Britaine: in which state he remained during his naturall life.

From him the same lineallie descended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Gorbodian, who had issue two sonnes, Ferrex, and Porrex. This Porrex, requiring like diuision of the land, affirming the former partitions to be rather of law than fauor, was by the hands of his elder brother (best loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome béereaued at once. Wherevpon their vnnaturall mother, vsing hir naturall malice for the death of hir one sonne (without regard of the loosing of both) miserablie slue the other in his bed mistrusting no such treason.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scotish as other, was the next inheritour to the whole empire: but lacking power (the onelie meane in those daies to obteine right) he was contented to diuide the same among foure of his kinsmen; so that Scater had Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his sonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon these foure kings, and at last ouercame them, and so recouered the whole dominion. In token of which victorie, he caused himselfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the verie first of that mettall (if anie at all were before in vse) that was worne among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people should assemble for praier; to which temples he gaue benefit of sanctuarie. He made the law for wager of battell, in cases of murder and felonie, whereby a théefe that liued and made his art of fighting, should for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, beléeuing assuredlie, that the gods (for then they supposed manie) would by miracle assigne victorie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be inioied to this daie, few causes by late positiue laws among vs excepted, wherin the benefit of wager of battell is restreined. By which obedience to his lawes, it dooth manifestlie appéere, that this Dunwallo was then seized of Albania, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this estate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the sonnes also of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death fauourablie diuide the land betweéne them; so that Beline had Lhoegres, & Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a subiect) without the consent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmarke; Beline seized Albania into his owne hands, and thervpon caused the notable wales priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be

newlie

newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length extended from the further part of Cornewall, vnto the sea by north Cathnesse in Scotland. In like sort to and for the better maintenance of religion in those daies, he constituted ministers called archflamines, in sundrie places of this Iland (who in their seuerall functions resembled the bishops of our times) the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and the whole region Caerbrantonica (whereof Ptolomie also speaketh but not without wresting of the name) whose power extended to the vttermost bounds of Albania, wherby likewise appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Vigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the said Beline, who fauourablie made partition, so that Vigenius had all the land from Humber by south, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Vigenius died, and Peridurus suruiued, and thereby obteined the whole, from whom the same quietlie descended, and was by his posteritie accordinglie inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the first of that name. In his time an obscure nation (by most writers supposed Scithians) passed by seas from Ireland, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: against whome this Coell assembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night disguised, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitorouslie slue him.

This Fergus was therfore, in reward of his great prowesse, made there king, whervpon they sat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotland, and themselues Scots: from the beginning of the world, foure thousand six hundred and seauentéene yeares after the Scotish accompt, which by iust computation and confession of all their owne writers, is six hundred yeares lacking ten, after that Brutus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the same land being inioied by him and his posteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie descents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large prescription. Certes this intrusion into a land so manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by so manie descents of kings quietlie inioied, is the best title that all their owne writers can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus herevpon immediatlie did diuide Albania also among his capteins and their souldiers: whereby it most euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the same partition shall follow.

Out of Hector Boecius lib. 1.

The lands of Cathnes lieng against Orkneie, betwéene Dunmesbeie and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capteine and his people. The lands betwéene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Rosse, being in bredth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Locht, were giuen to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spaie and Nes, from the Almane seas to the Ireland seas, now called Murraie land, were giuen to one Warroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Boin Ainze, Bogewall, Gariot, Formartine, and Bowguhan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoch, and Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Mar to [illegible] seas, were giuen to capteine Nanance and his people. The lands of Athole were the Ireland [illegible] giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabraun, & Brawd[illegible] lieng west from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The [illegible] of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnox & Clidis[illegible] were allotted to Lolgona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike[illegible] Cuningham, were giuen to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now calle[illegible] Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their best men[illegible] were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons fro[illegible] Annandale in Albanie, whereby it is confessed to be before inhabited by Britons. The re[illegible] due of the land now called Scotland, that is to saie: Meirnis, Angus, Steremond, Gowri[illegible] Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwood, Lougthian, Mers, Teuedale, w[illegible] other the Rement Dales, & the Sherifdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nati[illegible] mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whose capteine called Bering[illegible] builded the castell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & these people were called Pic[illegible] vpon whome by the death of this Coell, these Scots had opportunitie to vse wars, wher[illegible] th[illegible]

Berouicum rotis à Berubio promontorio.

they ceased not, vntill such time as it pleased God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, against whose name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the first, yet he preuailed and ceased not his warre, vntill these Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troublesome reigne of Sisilt king of Britons, which was the twelft king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill discord of this realme, betweene this Sisilt and his brother Blede to their best aduantage, arriued againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Vpon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Sisilt king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Thereus succéeded, against whome the warre of Britons ceased not, vntill he freelie submitted himselfe to the said Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where shortlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finnane brother of Josine succeeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who shortlie after (compelled by the warres of the same Sicill) declared himselfe subiect, and for the better assurance of his faith and obeisance to the king of Britons, deliuered his sonne Durstus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantasieng the child, and hoping by his owne succession to alter their subtiltie (I will not saie duplicitie saith Adams) married him in the end to Agasia his owne daughter.

This Durstus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed she was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the same cause, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouslie slue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, disinherited (as much as in them was) the issues of the same Durstus and Agasia. Herevpon new warre sproong betwéene them and vs, which ceased not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in bloud then liuing, descended from Durstus and Agasia, and thereby the bloud of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was restored to the crowne of Albania: so that nature, whose law is immutable, caused this bond of loue to hold. For shortlie after this Edeir attended vpon Cassibelane king of Britons, for the repulse of Iulius Cæsar, as their owne author Boetius confesseth, who commanded the same as his subiect. But Iulius Cæsar, after his second arriuall, by treason of Androgeus preuailed against the Britons, and therevpon pursued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himselfe saith in his commentaries) subdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead writers confesse that he came beyond Calender wood, and cast downe Camelon, the principall citie of the Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of stone, which remained in some perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the first after the conquest, by whome it was subuerted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie. Durstus.

Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scithian, with a great rabble of néedie souldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the sea, diuiding Pentland from Fiffe: against whome this Marius assembled a power, by which he slue this Rodericke, and discomfited his people in Westmerland: but to those that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which prooueth it to be within his owne dominion. Marius.

Coell the sonne of this Marius had issue Lucius, counted the first christian king of this nation: he conuerted the three archflamines of this land into bishopriks, and ordeined bishops vnto ech of them. The first remained at London, and his power extended from the furthest part of Cornewall to Humber water. The second dwelled at Yorke, and his power stretched from Humber to the furthest part of all Scotland. The third aboded at Caerleon vpon the riuer of Wiske in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbishops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Yorke: yet they confesse that he of Yorke had iurisdiction through all Scotland: either of which is sufficient to proue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion. Coelus.

Seuerus.

Seuerus. Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in bloud a Briton (as some thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie of Androgeus sonne of Lud, & nephue of Cassibelane, was shortlie after emperour & king of Britons, in whose time the people to whom his ancester Marius gaue the land of Cathnesse in Scotland, conspired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But herevpon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and méeting with their faith and false harts togither, droue them all out of the maine land into Iles, the vttermost bounds of all great Britaine. But notwithstanding this glorious victorie, the Britons considering their seruitude to the Romans, imposed by treason of Androgeus, ancestor to this Seuerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defense and suertie had slaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thousand: but such was the consideration of the common sort in those daies, whose malice no time could diminish, nor iust desert appease.

Bassianus. Antoninus Bassianus borne of a Briton woman, and Geta borne by a Romane woman, were the sonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended for the crowne. Few Britons held with Bassianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was slaine, and Bassianus remained emperour, against whom Carautius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathnesse in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his seison thereof appeareth.

Coill. Coill, descended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was shortlie after king of the Britons, whose onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married vnto Constantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Britaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his state ouer them thirteene or fourteene yeares.

Constantine. Constantine the sonne of this Constance, and Helen, was next king of Britons, by the right of his mother, who passing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octauius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewisses (which some expound to be afterward called west Saxons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abusing the kings innocent goodnesse, this Octauius defrauded this trust, and tooke vpon him the crowne. For which traitorie albeit he was once vanquished by Leonine Traheron, great vncle to Constantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he preuailed againe, and vsurped ouer all Britaine. Constantine being now emperor sent Maximius his kinsman hither (in processe of time) to destroie the same Octauius, who in singular battell discomfited him. Wherevpon this Maximius, as well by the consent of great Constantine, as by the election of all the Britons, for that he was a Briton in bloud, was made king or rather vicegerent of Britaine. This Maximius made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Britaine, and ceassed not vntill he had slaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and driuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Britaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Britons, no man, woman, nor child of the Scotish nation suffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius saith) was for their rebellion; and rebellion properlie could it not be, except they had béene subiects. He suffered the Picts also to remaine his subiects, who made solemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Britaine. I had once an epistle by Leland exemplified (as he saith) out of a verie ancient record which beareth title of Helena vnto hir sonne Constantine, and entreth after this manner; "Domino semper Augusto filio Constantino, mater Helena semper Augusta, &c." And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conueigh it into this treatise whilest I had his books. For thereby I might haue had great light for the estate of this present discourse: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuerthelesse, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wish it were reserued. It followeth on also in this maner (as it is translated out of the Gréeke) "Veritatem sapientis animus non recusat, nec fides recta aliquando pátitur quamcunque iacturam, &c."

About fiue and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximius) with the helpe of Gouan or Gonan and Melga, the Scots newlie arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the second of that name to be there king. But bicause they were before banished the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yéere of our Lord, foure hundred and two and twentie, as they themselues doo write.

Maximian sonne of Leonine Traheron, brother to king Coill, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall succession next king of Britons; but to appease the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who also claimed the kingdome, he married Othilia eldest daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards assembled a great power of Britons, and entered Albania, inuading Gallowaie, Mers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell slue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durstus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: wherevpon the few number of Scots then remaining a liue, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obteined quietnesse in Britaine, he departed with his cousine Conan Meridocke into Armorica, where they subdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his cousine, to be afterward inhabited by Britons, by the name of Britaine the lesse: and hereof this realme tooke name of Britaine the great, which name by consent of forren writers it keepeth vnto this daie. Maximian.

After the death of Maximian, dissention being mooued betweene the nobles of Britaine, the Scots swarmed togither againe, and came to the wall of Adrian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factions) they ouercame one. And herevpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that for laieng of one eg, will make a great cakeling) solemnlie triumphing for a conquest before the victorie, alledgeth that hereby the Britons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confesseth that they won no more land, by that supposed conquest, but the same portion betwéene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beléeued, that such a broken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from banishment within foure yeares before, and since in battell loosing both their kings, and the great number of their best men, to be thus able to make a conquest of great Britaine; and verie vnlikelie if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot sunne of the south parts, to dwell in the cold snow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in cases of conquest behooueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Britaine, or any other countrie, should be woon without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finallie at the same wall of Adrian, whereof I spake before.

But what need I speake of these defenses, when the same Boecius scantlie trusteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he saieth that Galfride, and sundrie other authentike writers, diuerslie varie from this part of his storie, wherein his owne thought accuseth his conscience of vntruth: herein also he further forgetting how it behoooueth a lier to be mindfull of his assertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraieth himselfe, saieng that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betwéene the Britons (which then followed) hoped shortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the fresh sea, which hope had bene vaine, and not lesse than void, if it had béene their owne by anie conquest before.

Constantine of Britaine, descended from Conan king thereof, cousine of Brutes bloud to this Maximian, and his neerest heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie pursued the Scots with wars, and shortlie in battell slue their king Dongard, in the first yeare of his reigne, whereby he recouered Scotland out of their hands, and tooke all the holdes thereof into his owne possessions. Vortiger shortlie after obteined the crowne of Britaine, against whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repressing whereof (mistrusting the Britons to hate him for sundrie causes, as one that to auoid the smoke dooth oft fall into the fire) receiued Hengest a Saxon, and a great number of his countriemen, with whom and a few Britons he

entred Scotland & ouercame them, wherevpon they tooke the Iles, which are theircommon refuge. He gaue also much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with sundrie other lands to this Hengest and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengest in processe of time thirsted after the whole kingdome of the south, he was banished, and yet afterward being restored, he conspired with the Scots against Aurilambrose the sonne of Constantine, the iust inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompensed togither, for he was taken prisoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie striken off at the commandement of Aurilambrose. In the field the Scots were vanquished: but Octa the sonne of Hengest was receiued to mercie, to whome and his people this Aurilambrose gaue the countrie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his subiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Some thinke the Seimors to come from this man by lineall descent and I suppose no lesse.

Vter called also Pendragon, brother to Aurilambrose was next king of the Britons, against whome, these sworne Saxons now foresworne subiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power assembled against them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were discomfited, & Albania againe recouered vnto his subiection. Arthur the sonne of this Vter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, succéeded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whose noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather stained than commended: yet all the Scotish writers confesse, that he subdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then scattered as far as Cathnesse in Scotland: and in all these wars against them, he had the seruice and obeisance of Scots and Pits. But at the last setting their féet in the guilefull paths of their predecessors, they rebelled and besieged the citie of Yorke, Howell king of the lesse Britaine cousine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an host came thither and discomfited the Scots, chased them into a marsh, and besieged them there so long, that they were almost famished: vntill the bishops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were christened people) besought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the same countrie to dwell in vnder euerlasting subiection. Vpon this he tooke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were sworne his subiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinsman Anguisan to be their king and gouernour, Vrian king of Iland, and Murefrence king of Orkeneie. He made an archbishop of Yorke also, whose authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Finallie, the said Arthur holding his roiall feast at Cairleon, had there all the kings that were subiects vnto him, among which, Angusian the said king of Scots did his due seruice and homage, so long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs sword afore him. Malgo shortlie after succéeded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new resistance made, subdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the sword obteined at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true subiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan succéeded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defense of his subiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the last they agréed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he therevpon subdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next succeeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Whervpon the same Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treason reseised the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the vicerois of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his subiects, in singular battell he slue the same Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oswald was shortlie after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as subiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement discomfited the Scots and Picts, and subdued all Scotland. Oswie the brother of this Oswald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie subdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeisance to this Cadwallow, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the seuen kings thereof,

as

as well Saxons as others his subiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increased, yet were they alwaies either at the first expelled, or else made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers doo confesse.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his subiects, which died of sundrie diseases innumerablie, he departed into little Britaine. His sonne and cousine Iuor and Iue, being expelled out of England also by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their posteritie remained princes. Vpon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betwéene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to slip the collar of obedience, and therevpon entred in league with Charles then king of France, establishing it in this wise.

1 "The iniurie of Englishmen doone to anie of these people, shall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 "When Frenchmen be inuaded by Englishmen, the Scots shall send their armie in defense of France, so that they be supported with monie and vittels by the French.

3 "When Scots be inuaded by Englishmen, the Frenchmen shall come vpon their owne expenses, to their support and succour.

4 "None of the people shall take peace or truce with Englishmen, without the aduise of other, &c."

Manie disputable opinions may be had of warre without the praising of it, as onelie admittable by inforced necessitie, and to be vsed for peace sake onelie, where here the Scots sought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league giueth no benefit to themselues, either in frée traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuilege to the people of both. What discommoditie riseth by loosing the intercourse and exchange of our commodities (being in necessaries more aboundant than France) the Scots féele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their townes, destruction of countries, slaughter of both peoples, haue by reason of this bloudie league chanced, the histories be lamentable to read, and horrible among christian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increase according to their séed, for as they did hereby sowe dissention, so did they shortlie after reape a bloudie slaughter and confusion. For Alpine their king, possessing a light mind that would be lost with a little wind, hoped by this league shortlie to subdue all great Britaine, and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but also vsurped vpon the kingdome of Picts. Whervpon Edwine king of England, made one Brudeus king of Picts, whom he sent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he tooke this Alpine king of Scots prisoner, and discomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found subiect and rebell, his head was striken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Pasalpine, that is to saie, the head of Alpine. And this was the first effect of their French league. *Nicholas Adami*

Osbright king of England, with Ella his subiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons shortlie after, for that the Scots had of themselues elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceassed not his war against them, vntill their king and people fled into the Iles, with whome at the last vpon their submission, peace was made in this wise.

The water of Frith shall be march betwéene Scots and Englishmen in the east parts, and shall be named the Scotish sea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, shall be march in the west parts betwéene the Scots and Britons. This castell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbriton, that is to say, the castle of Britons, and sometimes it was destroied by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland seas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the strengths and commodities thereof: and the Englishmen had the lands betwéene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betwéene the Scots and the Britons on the one side, and the water of Frith named the Scotish sea, march betwéene them and Englishmen on the other side, and Sterling common march to thrée people, Britons, Englishmen, and Scots, howbeit king Osbright had the castle of Stirling, where first he caused

to be coined Sterling monie. The Englishmen also builded a bridge of stone, for passage ouer the water of Frith, in the middest whereof they made a crosse, vnder which were written these verses:

I am free march, as passengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Englishmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and slue Constantine, whom Osbright had before made king: wherevpon Edulfe or Ethelwulfe, then king of England, assembled his power against Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell slue them both; but such of their people as would remaine and become christians, he suffered to tarie: the rest he banished or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and lesse right: yet the payment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer since vnto this daie haue, and yet doo paie it, by reason of that grant, which prooueth them to be then vnder his obeisance.

Alured or Alfred succéeded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noblie ouer the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that persons excommunicated should be disabled to sue or claime anie propertie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had made king of Scots, obeied; and the same law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which also prooueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured constreined Gregour king of Scots also to breake the league with France, for generallie he concluded with him, and serued him in all his warres, as well against Danes as others, not reseruing or making anie exception of the former league with France.

The said Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like seruice and obeisance of Donald king of Scots with fiue thousand horssemen, against one Gurmond a Dane that then infested the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obeisance with Alured.

Edward the first of that name called Chifod sonne of this Alured succéeded his father, and was the next king of England: against whome Sithrijc a Dane and the Scots conspired; but they were subdued, and Constantine their king brought to obeisance. He held the realme of Scotland also of king Edward, and this dooth Marian their owne countrieman a Scot confesse: beside Roger Houeden, and William of Malmesberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the same king Edward was president and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelstane in like sort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beside Yorke, whilest the warres lasted, the king of Scots feined himselfe to be a minstrell, and harped before him onelie to espie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confesse) corrupted with monie, he sold his faith and false heart together to the Danes, and aided them against king Athelstane at sundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Broningfield in the west countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the first booke of this description, where he discomfited the Danes, and slue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confesse themselues to haue lost more people than were remembred in anie age before. Then Athelstane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie subdued it, and being in possession thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie wherof dooth follow:

"I king Athelstane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witnesse Mauld my wife."

By which course words, not onelie appeareth the plaine simplicitie of mens doings in those daies: but also a full proofe that he was then seized of Scotland. At the last also he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be restored to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there shortlie after died.

Then Athelstane, for his better assurance of that countrie there after, thought it best to haue two stringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie constituted one

Malcolme to be their king, but also appointed one Indulph sonne of Constantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelstane.

Edmund brother of Athelstane succéeded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but also serued him with ten thousand Scots, for the expulsion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Edred or Eldred brother to this Edmund succéeded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Irise then king of Scots, but also the homage of all the barons of Scotland. *Some referre this to an Edward.*

Edgar the sonne of Edmund, brother of Athelstane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the same Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before seized into the hands of Osbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He inioined Keneth their said king also once in euerie yéere at certeine principall feasts (whereat the king did vse to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in those daies was doone by the noble men or péeres according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed also sundrie lodgings in England, to him and his successours, whereat to lie, and refresh themselues in their iourneies, whensoeuer they should come vp to doo their homages: and finallie a péece of ground lieng beside the new palace of Westminster, vpon which this Keneth builded a house, that by him and his posteritie was inioied vntill the reigne of king Henrie the second. In whose time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was resumed into the king of Englands hand. The house is decaied, but the ground where it stood is called Scotland to this daie.

Moreouer, Edgar made this law, that no man should succéed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights seruice, vntill he accomplished the age of one and twentie yéeres: because by intendment vnder that age, he should not be able in person to serue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed; and the condition of his purchase. This law was receiued by the same Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obserued to this daie: which prooueth also that Scotland was then vnder his obeisance. *Lawfull age and wardship of heires.*

In the yeere of our Lord 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Duuenall king of Southwales, Siferth and Howell kings of the rest of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowaie, & Jukill of Westmerland did homage to king Edgar at Chester. And on the morrow going by water to the monasterie of saint Iohns to seruice, and returning home againe: the said Edgar sitting in a barge, and stirring the same vpon the water of Dée, made the said kings to row the barge, saieng that his successors might well be ioifull to haue the prerogatiue of so great honour, and the superioritie of so manie mightie princes to be subiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the sonne of this Edgar, was next king of England, in whose time this Keneth king of Scots caused Malcolme king of Scotland to be poisoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre against him, which ceased not vntill this Keneth submitted himselfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herevpon king Edward proclamed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the same king Edward.

Etheldred, brother of this Edward succéeded next ouer England, against whome Swaine king of Denmarke conspired with this last Malcolme then king of Scots. But shortlie after, this Malcolme sorrowfullie submitted himselfe into the defense of Etheldred: who considering how that which could not be amended, must onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whose seruice at last Etheldred recouered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yéeres.

Edmund surnamed Ironside, sonne of this Etheldred, was next king of England, in whose

whose time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much crueltie. But at the last he married with Emme sometime wife vnto Etheldred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured such amitie betweene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himselfe all England on this side Humber, gaue all the rest beyond Humber, with the seigniorie of Scotland to this Canutus. Wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accustomable resistance) did homage to the same Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the said Canutus held the same ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like seruices, so long as they liued togither. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glorie of his seigniorie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwaie and Denmarke, which church was by the same Malcolme accordinglie performed.

Edward called the Confessour, sonne of Etheldred, and brother to Edmund Ironside, was afterward king of England: he tooke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme sonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

This Edward perused the old lawes of the realme, and somewhat added to some of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardship of the lands vntill the heire should accomplish the age of one and twentie yeeres. He added, that the marriage of such heire should also belong to the lord of whom the same land was holden. Also, that euerie woman marrieng a freeman, should (notwithstanding she had no children by that husband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the same Malcolme king of Scots obeied, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obserued to this day, and directlie prooueth the whole to be then vnder his obeisance.

To whome the marriage of the ward perteineth.

By reason of this law, Malcolme the sonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the custodie also of king Edward. During whose minoritie, one Makebeth a Scot traitorouslie vsurped the crowne of Scotland. Against whome the said Edward made warre, in which the said Mackbeth was ouercome and slaine. Wherevpon the said Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of king Edward aforesaid. This Malcolme also by tenor of the said new law of wardship, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward sonne of Edmund Ironside and Agatha, by the disposition of the same king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confessour for the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward the Confessour.

Moreouer, Edward of England, hauing no issue of his bodie, and mistrusting that Harald the son of Goodwine, descended of the daughter of Harald Harefoot the Dane, would vsurpe the crowne, if he should leaue it to his cousine Edgar Eatling (being then within age) and partlie by the petition of his subiects, who before had sworne neuer to receiue anie kings ouer them of the Danish nation, did by his substantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demise the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Bastard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, constituting him his heire testamentarie. Also there was proximitie in bloud betweene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Etheldred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was son of Robert sonne of Richard, brother of the whole bloud to the same Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conquest, albeit that partlie to extinguish the mistrust of other titles, and partlie for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath béene so written euer since the time of his arriuall.

William Bastard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Bastard and the Conquerour, supposed not his conquest perfect till he had likewise subdued the Scots. Wherfore to bring the Scots to iust obeisance after his coronation, as heire testamentarie to Edward the Confessour; he entred Scotland, where after a little resistance made by the inhabitants, the said Malcolme

then

then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his superiour also by meane of his late conquest.

William surnamed Rufus, sonne to this William called the Conquerour, succéeded next in the throne of England, to whome the said Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus slaine in plaine field. Wherevpon the Scotishmen did choose one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus deposed him, and created Dunkane sonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was slaine by the Scots, and Dunwall restored, who once againe by this William Rufus was deposed; and Edgar son of Malcolme, and brother to the last Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus. William Rufus.

Henrie called Beauclerke the sonne of William called the Conquerour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, succéeded to the crowne of England, to whome the same Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beauclerke maried Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had issue Mawd afterward empresse. Henrie 1.

Alexander the sonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the first, as Edgar had doone before him.

Mawd called the empresse, daughter and heire to Henrie Beauclerke and Mawd his wife, receiued homage of Dauid, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empresse gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Voldosius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their euasion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Dauid was the first that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was since all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this mariage, & long after the said Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforesaid to Henrie Beauclerke son to the aforesaid ladie, of whome I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred: Mawd.

Ortu magna, viro maior, sed maxima partu,
Hîc iacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.

In the yéere of our Lord 1136, and first yeere of the reigne of king Stephan, the said Dauid king of Scots being required to doo his homage, refused it: for so much as he had doone homage to Mawd the empresse before time; notwithstanding the sonne of the said Dauid did homage to king Stephan.

Henrie called Fitz empresse, the sonne of Mawd the empresse daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiued homage for Scotland of Malcolme sonne of Henrie, sonne of the said Dauid their last king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended vpon the same king Henrie in his warres against Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was neuer renewed after the last diuision of their countrie by Osbright king of England. But after these warres finished with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: wherevpon king Henrie immediatlie seized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiscation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the same Malcolme died without issue of his bodie. Henrie 2.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the sonne of Henrie the second, his father. Also the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after restored to the crowne of Scotland. Because they were taken from him before.

This William did afterward attend vpon the same Henrie the second, in his warres in Normandie against the French king (notwithstanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fifteenth of Februarie he returned, and vpon the sixteenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token also

also of his perpetuall subiection to the crowne of England, he offered vp his cloake, his saddle, and his speare at the high altar in Yorke: wherevpon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatlie he mooued cruell warre in Northumberland against the same king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God tooke the defense of king Henries part, and deliuered the same William king of Scots into the hands of a few Englishmen, who brought him prisoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentith yeere of his reigne. But at the last, at the sute of Dauid his brother, Richard bishop of saint Andrews, and other bishops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his trespasse; to wit, to paie ten thousand pounds sterling, and to surrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie, which he did in all things accordinglie, sealing his charters thereof with the great seale of Scotland, and signets of his nobilitie yet to be seene: wherein it was also comprised, that he and his successours should hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his successours for euer. And herevpon he once againe did homage to the same king Henrie, which now could not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was alreadie by him surrendered. And for the better assurance of this faith also, the strengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Roxborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confesse. But Hector Boetius saith, that this trespasse was amended by fine of twentie thousand pounds sterling, and that the erledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as morgage into the hands of king Henrie, vntill other ten thousand pounds sterling should be to him paid, which is so farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet prooueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwise redéemed, or euer after came to anie Scotish kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdon was neuer occasion of the homages of the Scotish kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was doone 1175. Moreouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montensis that liued in those daies, and was (as I take it) "confessor to king Henrie. The king of Scots dooth homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is sent home againe, his bishops also did promise to doo the like to the archbishop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themselues to be of his prouince and iurisdiction. By vertue also of this composition the said Robert saith, that Rex Angliæ dabat honores, episcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel saltem eius consilio dabantur, that is, The king of England gaue honors, bishopriks, abbatships, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leastwise they were not giuen without his aduise and counsell."

At this time Alexander bishop of Rome (supposed to haue generall iurisdiction ecclesiasticall through christendome) established the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of August, at Cairleill, Rouland Talmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, Gilbert sonne of Ferguse prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the said king Henrie, and left Dunecan his sonne in hostage for conseruation of his peace.

Richard surnamed Cœur de Lion, because of his stoutnesse, and sonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the same William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken prisoner by the duke of Ostrich, for whose redemption the whole realme was taxed at great summes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a subiect) was contributorie, and paied two thousand markes sterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, Iohn king of England sent to William king of Scots, to come and doo his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the same yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the presence of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie,

turburie, and of all the people there assembled, and therevnto tooke his oth and was sworne vpon the crosse of the said Hubert: also he granted by his charter confirmed, that he should haue the mariage of Alexander his sonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promising moreouer that he the said king William and his sonne Alexander, should keepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie sonne of the said king Iohn, as to their chiefe lord against all maner of men that might liue and die.

Also whereas William king of Scots had put Iohn bishop of saint Andrew out of his bishoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he should mooue and induce the same William; and if néed required by his roiall power and prerogatiue ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancor against the said bishop, and suffer him to haue and occupie his said bishoprike againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fiue & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, sonne to king Iohn, the same Henrie and the quéene were at Yorke at the feast of Christmasse, for the solemnization of a marriage made in the feast of saint Stephan the martyr the same yeare, betwéene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the said Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerse popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the fift and Clement his successor, that they should obserue and trulie kéepe all such appointments, as had béene made betwéene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland should still hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of cursse and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his sonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whose minoritie king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to subdue a commotion in this realme, vsed the aid of fiue thousand Scotishmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reason and law was respited vntill his full age of one and twentie yeares.

Edward the first after the conquest, sonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatlie after whose coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Westminster, swearing (as all the rest did) after this maner.

"I. D. N. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and superior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men, faithfullie I shall knowlege and shall doo you seruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid, as God me so helpe and these holie euangelies."

This Alexander king of Scots died, leauing one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanigo, sonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter also shortlie after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whose custodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confessor, belonged to Edward the first: whervpon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to send into Norwaie, to conueie this yoong queene into England to him, whome he intended to haue maried to his sonne Edward: and so to haue made a perfect vnion long wished for betwéene both realmes. Herevpon their nobles at that time considering the same tranquillitie that manie of them haue since refused, stood not vpon shifts and delaies of minoritie nor contempt, but most gladlie consented, and therevpon sent two noble men of Scotland into Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward, but she died before their comming thither, and therefore they required nothing but to inioie the lawfull liberties that they had quietlie possessed in the last king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were destitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alexander their last king, at which time this Edward descended from the bodie of Mawd

daughter of Malcolme sometime king of Scots, being then in the greatest broile of his warres with France, minded not to take the possession of that kingdome in his owne right, but was contented to establish Balioll to be king thereof, the weake title betwéene him, Bruse, & Hastings, being by the humble petition of all the realme of Scotland cõmitted to the determination of king Edward, wherein by autentike writing they confessed the superioritie of the realme to remaine in king Edward, sealed with the seales of foure bishops, seuen earles, and twelue barons of Scotland, and which shortlie after was by the whole assent of the three estates of Scotland, in their solemne parlement confessed and enacted accordinglie, as most euidentlie dooth appeare.

The Balioll in this wise made king of Scotland, did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at Newcastell vpon saint Stéeuens daie (as did likewise all the lords of Scotland, each one setting his hand to the composition in writing) to king Edward of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but shortlie after defrauding the benigne goodnesse of his superiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in England. Herevpon king Edward inuaded Scotland, seized into his hands the greater part of the countrie, and tooke all the strengths thereof. Whervpon Balioll king of Scots came vnto him to Mauntrosse in Scotland with a white wand in his hand, and there resigned the crowne of Scotland, with all his right, title, and interest to the same, into the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his charter in writing, dated and sealed the fourth yeare of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland also repaired to Berwike, and did homage and fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his subiects. For the better assurance of whose oths also, king Edward kept all the strengths and holdes of Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their lawes, processes, all iudgements, gifts of assises and others, passed vnder the name and authoritie of king Edward. Leland touching the same rehearsall, writeth thereof in this maner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the same Iohn king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance rebelled against king Edward, and came into England, and burnt and slue without all modestie and mercie. Wherevpon king Edward with a great host went to Newcastell vpon Tine, passed the water of Twéed, besieged Berwike, and got it. Also he wan the castell of Dunbar, and there were slaine at this brunt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and gat the castell of Rokesborow, and the castell of Edenborow, Striuelin and Gedworth, and his people harried all the land. In the meane season, the said king Iohn of Scots, considering that he was not of power to withstand king Edward, sent his letters and besought him of treatie and peace, which our prince benignlie granted, and sent to him againe that he should come to the towre of Brechin, and bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him. The king of England sent thither Antonie Becke bishop of Durham, with his roiall power, to conclude the said treatise. And there it was agreed that the said Iohn and all the Scots should vtterlie submit themselues to the kings will. And to the end the submission should be performed accordinglie, the king of Scots laid his sonne in hostage and pledge vnto him. There also he made his letters sealed with the common seale of Scotland, by the which he knowledging his simplenes and great offense doone to his lord king Edward of England, by his full power and frée will yeelded vp all the land of Scotland, with all the people and homage of the same. Then our king went foorth to sée the mounteins, and vnderstanding that all was in quiet and peace, he turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons regular, where he tooke the stone called the Regall of Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were woont to sit, at the time of their coronations for a throne, & sent it to the abbeie of Westminster, commanding to make a chaire therof for the priests that should sing masse at the high altar: which chaire was made, and standeth yet there at this daie to be sene."

The Scots dreame that this was the stone whereon Jacob slept when he fled into Mesopotamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his parlement at Berwike: and there he tooke homage singularlie of diuerse of the lords & nobles of Scotland. And for a perpetuall memorie of the same, they made their letters patents sealed with their seales, and then the king of England made William Warreine earle of Surrie and Southsax lord Warden of Scotland,

land, Hugh of Cressingham treasuror, and William Ormesbie iustice of Scotland, and foorthwith sent king Iohn to the Tower of London, and Iohn Comin, and the earle Badenauth, the earle of Bohan and other lords into England to diuerse places on this side of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at the feast of Christmas, the king called before him the said Iohn king of Scots, although he had committed him to ward: and said that he would burne or destroie their castels, townes, and lands, if he were not recompensed for his costs and damages susteined in the warres; but king Iohn and the other that were in ward, answered that they had nothing, sith their liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The king vpon that answer mooued with pitie, granted them their liues; so that they would doo their homage, and make their oth solemnelie at the high altar (in the church of the abbeie of Westminster) vpon the eucharist, that they and euerie of them should hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance to the said king Edward and his heires kings of England for euer. And where the said king of Scots saw the kings banner of England displaied, he and all his power should draw therevnto. And that neither he or anie of his from thencefoorth should beare armes against the king of England or anie of his bloud. Finallie, the king rewarding with great gifts the said king Iohn and his lords, suffered them to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie imagining (notwithstanding this their submission) how they might oppresse king Edward, and disturbe his realme. The Scots sent also to the king of France for succour and helpe, who sent them ships to Berwike furnished with men of armes, the king of England then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went into Scotland with a great host, and the Scots also assembled in great number, but the king fought with them at Fawkirke on S. Marie Magdalens daie, where were slaine threescore thousand Scots, & William Walleis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, & quartered at London, for his trespasses.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland chose Robert Bruse to be king, except onelie Iohn Commin earle of Carrike, who would not consent thereto bicause of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruse slue him at Dumfrise, and then was crowned at Schone abbeie. Herevpon the king of England assembled a great hoast, and rode through all Scotland, discomfited Robert Bruse, slue eight thousand Scots, & tooke the most part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to deth bicause they were forsworne. This was doone vpon the nine & twentith of Ianuarie, 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan sonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceablie, dooing in all things as is aboue said of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruse conspired against him, and with the helpe of a few forsworne Scots, forswore himselfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaster and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feast of Marie Magdalene, the said Bruse and his partakers being alreadie accurssed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had established betwixt them. But being infortunate in his first warres against him, he suffered Edward the sonne of Balioll to proclame himselfe king of Scots; and neuerthelesse held foorth his warres against Bruse, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windsore sonne of Edward the second was next king of England, at the age of fifteene yeares, in whose minoritie the Scots practised with Isabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages released: whose good will therein they obteined, so that for the same release they should paie to this king Edward thirtie thousand pounds starling, in three yeares next following, that is to saie, ten thousand pounds starling yeerelie. But bicause the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement consent vnto it, their king being within age, the same release proceeded not, albeit the Scots ceased not their practises with this queene and earle. But before those three yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) should haue beene paied, were expired, our king Edward inuaded Scotland, and ceassed not the warre, vntill

Dauid the sonne of Robert le Bruse (then by their election king of Scotland) absolutelie submitted himselfe vnto him. But for that the said Dauid Bruse had before by practise of the quéene and the earle of March, married Iane the sister of this king Edward: he mooued by naturall zeale to his sister, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this Dauid Bruse, and to the heires that should be begotten of the bodie of the said Iané (sauing the reuersion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the same Dauid Bruse was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, shortlie after causelesse conceiuing cause of displeasure, this Dauid procured to dissolue this same estate tailée, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but also inuaded England, whilest king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this Dauid was not onelie expelled England in the end, but also thinking no place a sufficient defense to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowaie, Mars, Teuidale, Twedale, and Ethrike were seized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches set betwéene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Sowtrie hedge. Which when this Dauid went about to recouer againe, his power was discomfited, and himselfe by a few Englishmen taken & brought into England, where he remained prisoner eleuen yeares after his said apprehension.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceablie, and then at the contemplation and wearie suit of his sorowfull sister, wife of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to restore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid should paie to king Edward, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starling, and thereto destroie all his holdes and fortresses standing against the English borders, and further assure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better assurance of his obeisance also, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward sundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the historie of Dauid, touching his delings. Now let vs sée what was doone by Edward Balioll, wherof our chronicles doo report, that in the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Westminster, and in the fift yeare of his reigne Edward Balioll right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen also, which had title to diuerse lands there, either by themselues, or by their wiues, did the like. Wherevpon the said Balioll and they went into Scotland by sea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Englishmen, discomfited 10000 Scots, and slue 1200, and then went foorth to Dunfermeline, where the Scots assembled against them with 40000 men, and in the feast of saint Laurence, at a place called Gastmore (or otherwise Gladmore) were slaine fiue earls, thirtéene barons, a hundred and thrée score knights, two thousand men of armes, and manie other; in all fortie thousand: and there were slaine on the English part but thirtéene persons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he assembled a great hoast, and came to Berwike vpon Twéed, and laid siege therto. To him also came Edward Balioll king of Scots, with a great power to strengthen & aid him against the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & araied.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparrelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beside Berwike, met these two hoasts, and there were discomfited of the Scots fiue and twentie thousand and seauen hundred, whereof were slaine eight earles, a thousand and thrée hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie doone, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the castell were yéelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Balioll king of Scots came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruse by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great hoast vnto Neuils crosse: but the archbishop of

of Yorke, with diuerse temporall men, fought with him; and the said king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Duglas with Morrise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords slaine, which with Dauid did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots woone the towne of Berwicke, but not the castell. Herevpon the king came thither with a great hoast, and anon the towne was yéelded vp without anie resistance.

Edward Balioll, considering that God did so manie maruellous and gratious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokesborough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in presence of all his lords spirituall and temporall, let crowne himselfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and so came ouer into England.

Richard the sonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, sonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the said Iane, the wife of the said king Dauid of Scotland was deceassed without issue, and being informed how the Scots deuised to their vttermost power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made foorthwith war against them, wherein he burnt Edenbrough, spoiled all their countrie, tooke all their holds, & held continuallie war against them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued these warres begun against them by king Richard, and ceassed not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) resigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and deliuered his sonne Iames, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his custodie, wardship and disposition, as of his superiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confessor. All this was doone Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this estate ouer them fouretéene yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, sonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres against the French king, in all which this Iames then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his superiour lord, with a conuenient number of Scots, notwithstanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this Iames their king (hauing not fullie accomplished the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reason and law respited. Finallie the said Iames with diuerse other lords attended vpon the corps of the said Henrie vnto Westminster, as to his dutie apperteined.

Henrie the sixt, the sonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whome the seigniorie of Scotland & custodie of this Iames by right, law, and reason descended, married the same Iames king of Scots to Iane daughter of Iohn earle of Summerset, at saint Marie ouer Ise in Southwarke, and tooke for the value of this mariage, the summe of one hundred thousand markes starling.

This Iames king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the same king Henrie the sixt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windsore, in the moneth of Ianuarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the seuenth, grandfather to our souereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath béene molested with diuersitie of titles, in which vnmeet time neither law nor reason admit prescription to the preiudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war against the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, sufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the same superioritie ouer them.

After whose death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our souereigne lord king Henrie the eight, excéeded not the number of seauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of Iames their last king, which so continued the space of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reason an impediment to himselfe to make homage; so was the same by like reason

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an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, so that the whole time of intermission of our claime in the time of the said king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.

OF THE WALL SOMETIME BUILDED FOR A PARTITION BETWEENE ENGLAND AND THE PICTS AND SCOTS.

CHAP. XXIII.

HAUING hitherto discoursed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scotish kingdome: I haue now thought good to adde herevnto the description of two walles that were (in times past) limits vnto both the said regions, and therefore to be touched in this first booke, as generallie appertinent vnto the estate of the whole Iland; and no lesse famous than that which Anastasius Dicorus made afterward from the Euxine vnto the Thracian sea, conteining 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in bredth, & distant from Constantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turffe and timber. The author therefore of the first wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Ælius Spartianus saith) erected the same of foure score miles in length, twelue foot in heigth, and eight in bredth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill sort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all.

The first beginner of the Picts wall.

The finisher of the wall.

After his time Seuerus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had serued before in repression of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongst other things he made another wall (but of stone) betweene eightie and a hundred miles from the first, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both sides also to the sea, of whome the Britons called it S. Murseueri, or Gwall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth vntill these daies in fresh memorie, by reason of the ruines & square stones there oft found, whose inscriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting also, how that in this voiage he lost 50000 men in the Scotish side, by one occasion and other, which hinderance so incensed him, that he determined vtterlie to extinguish their memorie from vnder heauen, and had so doone in deed, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince conteined two and thirtie miles, whereby the bredth of this Iland there, and length of the wall conteineth onelie so manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chéeflie for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things saith of Seuerus as followeth: "Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus est) muro per transuersam insulam ducto, vtrinq; ad finem oceani munuit," that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chéefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both sides euen to the verie Ocean.

The wall goeth not streict by a line, but in and out in manie places.

The stuffe of the wall.

That this wall was of stone also, the ruines therof (which haue ministred much matter to such as dwell néere therevnto in their buildings) is triall sufficient. Heereby in like sort it commeth to passe, that where the soile about it is least inhabited, there is most mention of the said wall, which was wrought of squared stone, as vntill this daie maie euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, these two walles were not the onelie partitions betwéene these two kingdoms, sith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij dooth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus made beyond the same, of turffe, in the time of the said prince, who (for his victories in Britaine) was also called Britannicus, which neuerthelesse was often throwne downe by the Scots, and eftsoones repared againe, vntill it was giuen ouer and relinquished altogither. It runneth (as I take it) also within the wall about an arrow shot from that of stone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certeine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in such

Two other wals.

A rampire.

wise,

wise, that the Scotish aduersarie had much a doo to enter and scale the same in his assaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the same, to make their accesse more easie into the south parts: but as it was eftsoons repared againe, so the last time of all it was amended by the Romane soldiors, which came ouer verie little before the time of Vortiger, at which season the land was in maner left void of soldiors and munition. Betwixt Thirlewall and the north Tine, are also in the waste grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet standing, whereof the common people doo babble manie things.

Beginning therefore with the course thereof, from the west sea, I find that it runneth from Bolnesse to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewise from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and lesse on the north side, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Caerleill, then through the baronie of Linstocke, and Gillesland, on the north side of the riuer Irding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercost. Thence thrée miles aboue Leuercost, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pultrose becke (which diuideth Gillesland in Cumberland, from south Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall castell, then to the wall towne, next of all ouer the riuer to Swensheld, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuoren tower) to Walwijc, and so ouer south Tine, to Cockelie tower, Portgate, Halton sheles, Winchester, Rutchester, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcastell, where it is thought that saint Nicholas church standeth on the same. Howbeit Leland saith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcastell, and then crooketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Wallesend, three miles from the mouth of the said riuer, so called bicause the aforesaid wall did end at the same place. And thus much I read of the Pictish wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the course thereof, the curious bricks about the same néere vnto Caerleill, beside the excellent cornellines and other costlie stones alreadie intailed for seales oftentimes taken vp in those quarters, I passe them ouer as not incident to my purpose. The course of the wall from west to east.

In like maner I would gladlie also haue set downe the course of Offaes ditch, which was march betwéene the Mercian dominions, and the Welshmen in his time: but for so much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, bicause it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to speake of that also. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who saith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnaburgh hill through Treuelach forrest, by est of Crekith Cauchhill, Montgomerie castell, the New castell and Discoid, and hauing brought it hitherto, either lost it, or sought after it no further: as by the testimonie of another, who writing thereof, saith, that it stretched from the south side by Bristow, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth also of the Dée, where it falleth into the sea. And so much of such things as concerne the generall estate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well haue spared, and would, if Quintus had performed the request of Cicero his brother, who promised to send him ouer a sound aduertisement of the condition of Britaine in those daies: as appeareth in the second booke of his familiar epistles, where he saith; "Modò mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c." But sithence that was not performed, and the treatise of Demetrius and other of the same argument are perished, which were of some value, let this trifle (I beseech you) not be reiected, till some other man of better skill shall haue drawne a more absolute péece of workemanship, whereunto my vnskilfulnesse (I hope) shall prooue no hinderance.

OF THE MARUELS OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXIV.

SUCH as haue written of the woonders of our countrie in old time, haue spoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deserue no credit at all: and therefore in séeking thankes of their posteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of iust reproch, and in stéed of fame purchased vnto themselues nought else but méere discredit in their better and more learned treatises. The like commonlie happeneth also to such, as in respect of lucre doo publish vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, wherby they doo consume their times in vaine, and in manifold wise become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch speaketh in his oracles (if those bookes were written by him, for some thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Eusebius lib. 4. cap. 8. dooth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left sundrie treatises behind him, conteining woonderfull things collected of our Iland. But sith that in my time they are found to be false, it should be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beléeue, that infernall spirits can die and giue vp their ghosts like mortall men? though Saxo séeme to consent vnto him in this behalfe. In speaking also of the out Iles, he saith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie desolate Ilands, whereof some are dedicated to the Gods, some to the noble Heroes. I sailed (saith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie néere hand, onelie to see and view the same, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet such as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holinesse. During the time also that I remained in the same, it was vexed with great storme and tempest, which caused me not a little to doubt of my safe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cause should be of this so great and sudden mutation of the aire? they answered, that either some of the Gods, or at the least of the Heroes were latelie deceased: for as a candle (said they) hurteth none whilest it burneth, but being slenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie sauour: so these Gods, whilest they liued, were either not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceassed, they so mooue the heauens and aire, that much mischéefe dooth insue eftsoones vpon the same.

Being also inquisitiue of the state of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherein Saturne being ouertaken with a dead sléepe, was watched by Briareus as he laie, which Saturne also had manie spirits attending vpon him in sundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is easie to conceiue, with what vaine stuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of such writers as we haue too too manie, so among the said rable Geruase of Tilberie is not the least famous, a man as it were euen sold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his De otio imperiali, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within sight & by south of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped sometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a spirit that would of custome in a moone shine night (if he were chalenged and called therevnto) run at tilt and turneie in complet armor with anie knight or gentleman whomsoeuer, in that place: and how one Osbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himselfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one esquier, and called for him, who foorthwith appeared in rich armour, and answered his chalenge, so that running togither verie fiercelie, they met with such rigor, that the answerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot so long, till Osbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horsse behind him, which was of huge stature, blacke (as he saith) of colour, with his furniture of the same hue, and wherevpon he seized, giuing him vnto his page, who caried him home, and there kept him till it was néere daie, during which space

he was seene of manie. But when the daie light began to shew it selfe somewhat cléere, the beast stamped and snorted, and foorthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane season Osbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was sore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leastwise dissembled to know it) caused his leg-harnesse or stéele bootes to be pulled off, which his fréends saw to be full of bloud spilled in the voiage. But let who so list beléeue it, sith it is either a fable deuised, or some diuelish illusion, if anie such thing were doone. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpose here to set downe no more than either I know my selfe to be true, or am crediblie informed to be so, by such godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to speake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to discredit themselues by lieng. In writing therefore of the woonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rarenesse amongst the common sort, are taken for the foure miracles and woonders of the land.

Foure woonders of England.

The first of these is a vehement and strong wind, which issueth out of the hilles called the Peke, so violent and strong, that at certeine times if a man doo cast his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it issueth, it driueth the same backe againe, hoising it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this also Giraldus speaketh.

The second is the miraculous standing or rather hanging of certeine stones vpon the plaine of Salisburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to saie the truth, they may well be woondered at, not onelie for the manner of position, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but also for their greatnesse & strange maner of lieng of some of them one vpon another, which séemeth to be with so tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their present ruine. How and when these stones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is most likelie, that they were raised there by the Britons, after the slaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengist and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were also buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be séene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth also, that these were broght from thence, but by what ship on the sea, and cariage by land, I thinke few men can safelie imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which some call Carcer Acoli, but in English Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the passage is large and nothing noisome: so diuerse that haue aduentured to go into the same, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither sée anie other thing than pretie riuerets and streames, which they often crossed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summersetshire, and thence the said waters run till they méet with the second Ax that riseth in Owkie hole.

The fourth is no lesse notable than anie of the other. For westward vpon certeine hilles a man shall sée the clouds gather togither in faire weather vnto a certeine thicknesse, and by and by to spread themselues abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the sudden. The causes of which dispersion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: so manie men coniecture great store of water to be in those hilles, & verie néere at hand, if it were néedfull to be sought for.

Besides these foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne sea) called Barrie, which hath a rift or clift next the first shore; whereunto if a man doo laie his eare, he shall heare such noises as are commonlie made in smiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of bellowses, and such like: whereof the superstitious sort doo gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot. The riuer that runneth by Chester changeth hir chanell euerie moneth: the cause whereof as yet I can not learne; neither dooth it swell by force of anie land-floud, but by some vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a moouable Iland, which is carried to and

fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fishes in it, as eeles, trowts, and perches: but herein resteth the woonder, that all those haue but one eie a peece onelie, and the same situate in the right side of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed also by authors: There is a well in the forrest of Gnaresborow, whereof the said forrest dooth take the name; which water, beside that it is cold as Stix, in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, flesh, leaues of trees, and mosse into hard stone, without alteration or changing of shape. The like also is seene there in frogs, wormes, and such like liuing creatures as fall into the same, and find no readie issue. Of this spring also Leland writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Nide riuer as I came) I saw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, because the water thereof distilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continuallie, which is so cold, and thereto of such nature, that what thing soeuer falleth out of those rocks into this pit, or groweth neere thereto, or be cast into it by mans hand, it turneth into stone. It may be (saith he) that some sand or other fine ground issueth out with this water from these hard rocks, which cleauing vnto those things, giueth them in time the forme of stones &c. Neere vnto the place where Winburne monasterie sometimes stood, also not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie peece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard stone. In part of the hilles east southeast of Alderleie, a mile from Kingswood, are stones dailie found, perfectlie fashioned like cockles and mightie oisters, which some dreame haue lien there euer since the floud. In the clifts betweene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the sides of the same, which I take to be nothing but the shining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vsed. Howbeit, because it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I doo not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongst our woonders. Maister Guise had of late, and still hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocestershire, where certeine okes doo grow, whose rootes are verie hard stone. And beside this, the ground is so fertile there (as they saie) that if a man hew a stake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. Siluecester towne also is said to conteine fourescore acres of land within the walles, whereof some is corne-ground (as Leland saith) and the graine which is growing therein dooth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vanisheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable. Is it any woonder (thinke you) to tell of sundrie caues neere to Browham, on the west side of the riuer Aimote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of houshold cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increase the number of maruels verie much by a rehearsall of other also. For we haue manie of the like, as one neere saint Assaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Vendrath Vehan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and sandie ground vnder their feet, and other else-where. But sith these things are not strange, I let them alone, and go forward with the rest.

In the parish of Landsarnam in Wales, and in the side of a stonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie seats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge stone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie parish, and of the notable carcasse that is affirmed to lie vnder the same, there is no cause to touch it here: yet were it well doone to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to see what it is, which the people haue in so great estimation & reuerence. There is also a poole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockshire, where (as is said) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanseie, which hath such a propertie, that it will breed no fish at all, & if anie be cast into it, they die without recouerie: but this peraduenture may grow throgh the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it selfe. There is also a lin in Wales, which in the one side beareth trowts so red as samons, and in the other, which is the westerlie side, verie white and delicate. I

heare

heare also of two welles not far from Landien, which stand verie néere togither, and yet are of such diuersitie of nature, that the one beareth sope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a litle to be mused at, considering (I saie) that they participate of one soile, and rise so nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a stone not farre from saint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or such like thing: and being raised vp, a man may stirre it with his thumbe; but not with his shoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from stonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into stone; and an other in Wales, which is said to double or triple the force of anie edge toole that is quenched in the same. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the parish of Kilken), which is of maruellous nature, and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine: for although it be six miles from the sea, it ebbeth and floweth twise in one daie; alwaies ebbing when the sea dooth vse to flow, and in flowing likewise when the sea dooth vse to ebbe; wherof some doo fable, that this well is ladie and mistresse of the ocean. Not farre from thence also is a medicinable spring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof dooth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable mosse, wherewith the head of the smeller is maruellouslie refreshed. Other welles and water-courses we haue likewise, which at some times burst out into huge streames, though at other seasons they run but verie softlie, whereby the people gather some alteration of estate to be at hand. And such a one there is at Henleie, & an other at Croidon; & such a one also in the golden dale beside Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common sort imagine manie things. Some of the greater sort also giue ouer to run at all in such times, wherof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the same nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable historie in an ancient chronicle that I saw of late. What the foolish people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthie the rehearsall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will saie thus much also of those pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little pooles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile distant from the These banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels Kettles, as if he should séeth soules of sinfull men and women in them. They adde also, that the spirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke sauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion also was Cutbert Tunstall late bishop of Durham, a man (notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth, being begotten by one Tunstall vpon a daughter of the house of the Commers, as Leland saith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in those places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of some other vnctuous matter be set on fire, which being here and there consumed, the earth falleth in, and so dooth leaue a pit. Indéed the water is now and then warme (as they saie) and beside that it is not cléere: the people suppose them to be an hundred fadam déepe. The biggest of them also hath an issue into the These, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes aliàs Belzis made report, how a ducke marked after the fashion of the duckes of the bishoprike of Durham, was put into the same betwixt Darlington and These banke, and afterward séene at a bridge not farre from master Clereuax house. If it were woorth the noting, I would also make relation of manie wooden crosses found verie often about Halidon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oswald and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed sometimes against the British infidels, vpon a superstitious imagination, that those crosses should be their defense and shield against their aduersaries. Beda calleth the place where the said field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictish wall, and the famous monasterie of Hagulstad. But more of this elsewhere. Neither will I speak of the little hillets séene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnskilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing else but Tumuli or graues of former times, as appeareth by such tooms & carcasses as be daily found in the same, when they be digged downe.

downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunarie, which is to be found in manie places, although not so well knowen by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, because it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horses féet as hit vpon it where it groweth in their féeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouslie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compasse of the parish where I dwell, and doo take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbarists doo write, albeit that it hath not béene my lucke at anie time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie superstitious things thereof, but especiallie our Chymists, who make it of farre more vertue than our smiths doo their ferne séed, whereof they babble manie woonders, and prate of such effects as may well be performed indéed when the ferne beareth séed, which is commonly Ad calendas Græcas, for before it will not be found. But to procéed. There is a well in Darbieshire called Tideswell (so named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whose water often séemeth to rise and fall, as the sea which is fortie miles from it dooth vsuallie accustome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it keepeth an ordinarie course as the sea dooth. Howbeit, sith diuerse are knowne to haue watched the same, it may be that at sometimes it riseth, but not continuallie; and that it so dooth I am fullie persuaded to beléeue. But euen inough of the woonders of our countrie, least I doo seeme by talking longer of them, woonderouslie to ouershoot my selfe, and forget how much dooth rest behind of the description of my countrie. As for those that are to be touched of Scotland, the description of that part shall in some part remember them.

THE

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OF THE ANCIENT AND PRESENT ESTATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

THERE are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the first and greatest is subiect to the sée of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & also Ireland, which in time past were seuerall, & brought into one by the archbishop of the said sée & assistance of the pope; who in respect of méed, did yéeld vnto the ambitious desires of sundrie archbishops of Canturburie, as I haue elsewhere declared. The second prouince is vnder the sée of Yorke, and of these; either hath hir archbishop resident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters apperteining to the hierarchie and iurisdiction of the church; but also great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: so far foorth as their commissions and seuerall circuits doo extend.

In old time there were thrée archbishops, and so manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerlheon vpon Uske. But as that of London was translated to Canturburie by Augustine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithstanding

withstanding that the greatest part of his iurisdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotish archbishop) so that of Caerlheon is vtterlie extinguished, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in spirituall cases: after it was once before remoued to S. Dauids in Wales by Dauid successor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons, where it remained till the time of the Bastard, and for a season after, before it was annexed vnto the sée of Canturburie.

The archbishop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it shall please the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to set it vpon their heads. They beare also the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue presumed (in time past) to be their equals, and void of subiection vnto them. That this is true, it may easilie appéere by their owne acts yet kept in record; beside their epistles & answers written or in print; wherein they haue sought not onelie to match but also to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. Our aduersaries will peraduenture denie this absolutelie, as they doo manie other things apparant, though not without shamelesse impudencie, or at the leastwise defend it as iust and not swaruing from common equitie; bicause they imagine euerie archbishop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their dooing herein agreeth with the saieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may easilie appéere. Some examples also of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, least they should saie I speake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

Of their practises with meane persons I speake not, neither will I begin at Dunstane the author of all their pride and presumption herein England. But for somuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman against earle Goodwine is a rare historie, and deserueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; protesting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French English, who (of set purpose) haue so defaced earle Goodwine, that were it not for the testimonie of one or two méere Englishmen liuing in those daies, it should be impossible for me (or anie other) at this present to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumstances. Marke therefore what I saie. For the truth is, that such Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confessor, did fall by sundrie means into such fauor with those princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be possessors of the best benefices in the land. Hervpon therefore one Robert, a iolie ambitious préest, gat first to be bishop of London, and after the death of Eadsius, to be archbishop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former sée to William his countrieman. Ulfo also a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

These Norman clerkes, and their freends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuse, and despise the English: and so much the more, as they dailie saw themselues to increase in fauour with king Edward, who also called diuerse of them to be of his secret councell, which did not a litle incense the harts of the English against them. A fraie also was made at Douer, betwéene the seruants of earle Goodwine and the French, whose maisters came ouer to sée and salute the king: whereof I haue spoken in my Chronologie, which so inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers against the English nobilitie, that each part sought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long tooke hold betwéene them. For the said Robert, being called to be archbishop of Canturburie, was no sooner in possession of his sée, than he began to quarrell with earle Goodwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who also was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and so the mischiefe begun. Herevpon therefore the archbishop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he but Harald the sonne of Canutus and the Danes had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming

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into the land with fiue and twentie saile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed; the Normans that arriued with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & therevnto the vnskilfull yoong gentlemen, shewing themselues to like of the rumour that was spred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who caused a companie foorthwith of Danes priuilie to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was slaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie escaped to his ships, and to returned into Normandie.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbishop being greatlie soothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French frēends, (for they had all conspired against the erle) and therevnto the king being desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred such a grudge in his mind against Goodwine, that he banished him and his sons cleane out of the land. He sent also his wife the erles daughter prisoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where she laie almost a yeare before she was released. In the meane season, the rest of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland surnamed Digara or Fortis, Leofrijc earle of Chester, and other went to the king, before the departure of Goodwine, indeuouring to persuade him vnto the reuocation of his sentence; and desiring that his cause might be heard and discussed by order of law. But the king incensed by the archbishop and his Normans would not heare on that side, saieng plainelie, and swearing by saint Iohn the euangelist (for that was his common oth) that earle Goodwine should not haue his peace till he restored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his presence. With which answer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Goodwine toward the coast.

Comming also vnto the shore and readie to take shipping, he knéeled downe in presence of his conduct (to wit at Bosenham in the moneth of September, from whence he intended to saile into Flanders vnto Baldwine the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing against the kings person of England, or his roiall estate, that he might neuer come safe vnto his cousine, nor sée his countrie any more, but perish in this voiage. And herewith he went aboord the ship that was prouided for him, and so from the coast into the open sea. But sée what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he saw the shore full of armed souldiers, sent after by the archbishop and his freends to kill him yer he should depart and go out of the countrie: which yet more incensed the harts of the English against them.

Being come also to Flanders, he caused the earle, the French king, and other of his frēends, among whome also the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe; but all in vaine: for nothing could be obteined from him, of which the Normans had no liking, wherevpon the earle and his sonnes changed their minds, obteined aid, and inuaded the land in sundry places. Finallie ioining their powers they came by the Thames into Southwarke néere London where they lodged, and looked for the king to incounter with them in the field. The king séeing what was doone, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made answer, how the quarrell of Goodwine was the cause of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the spoile of the French: and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but also receiued the earle and his chiefe frēends into the citie, where they lodged them at their ease, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great resort also was made vnto them from all places of the realme, so that the earles armie was woonderfullie increased, and the daie and place chosen wherein the battell should be fought. But when the armies met, the kings side began some to flée to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the rest telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight against their owne countriemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans also seeing the sequele, fled awaie so fast as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to shift for himselfe (as he best might) whilest they did saue themselues elsewhere.

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In the meane season the earles power would haue set vpon the king, either to his slaughter, or apprehension; but he staied them, saieng after this maner: The king is my sonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale so hardlie with his child, neither a subiect with his souereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or doone me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will doo him no violence. And therewithall casting aside his battell ax he ran to the king, that stood altogither amazed, and falling at his féet he craued his peace, accused the archbishop, required that his cause might be heard in open assemblie of his péeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie should deserue.

The king (after he had paused a pretie while) seeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his féet, and conceiuing with himselfe that his sute was not vnreasonable; seeing also his children, and the rest of the greatest barons of the land to knéele before him, and make the like request: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was past, and freendlie hauing kissed him and his sonnes vpon the chéekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the quéene, and summoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were presented against the bishop & his Normans; some conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manslaughter, high treason, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of sléepe) was so offended, that vpon consultation had of these things, he banished all the Normans out of the land, onelie thrée or foure excepted, whome he reteined for sundrie necessarie causes, albeit they came neuer more so néere him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

After this also the earle liued almost two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he sat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our first broile raised by the cleargie, and practise of the archbishop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practised by the prelats of this sée, against their lords and souereignes: but then I should rather write an historie than a description of this Iland.

Anselme. Wherefore I refer you to those reports of Anselme and Becket, sufficientlie penned by other, the which Anselme also making a shew, as if he had bin verie vnwilling to be placed in the sée of Canturburie, gaue this answer to the letters of such his fréends, as did make request vnto him to take the charge vpon him. "Secularia negotia nescio, quia scire nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati sacrarum intendo scripturarum, vos dissonantiam facitis, verendúmque est nè aratrum sanctæ ecclesiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est rex & archiepiscopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, distorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui si quietus essem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus possem fortassis non ingratus esse, sed si me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro disparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c." Which is in English thus: Of secular affaires I haue no skill, bicause I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that rise about them, as one that desireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indeuor to the rule of the scriptures. you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared least the plough of holie church, which two strong oxen of equall force, and both like earnest to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbishop) ought to draw, should thereby now swarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old shéepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old shéepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture shew my selfe not altogither vngratfull to some, by féeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with wooll: but if you match me with this bull, you shall sée that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c: as foloweth in the

Thomas Becket. processe of his letters. The said Thomas Becket was so proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the second, as to his lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like sort haue protested, that they owght nothing

nothing to the kings of this land, but their counsell onelie, reseruing all obedience vnto the sée of Rome.

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, so the yoong cockerels of other sées did imitate his demeanor, as may be séene by this one example also in king Stephans time, worthie to be remembred; vnto whome the bishop of London would not so much as sweare to be true subiect: wherein also he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by these letters.

" Eugenius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio Stephano illustri regi Anglorũ salutẽ, & apostolicã benedictionẽ. Ad hæc superna prouidẽtia in ecclesia pontifices ordinauit, vt Christianus populus ab eis pascua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes seculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipsis pontificibus tanquam Christi vicarijs reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis siquidem frater noster Robertus London episcopus, tanquam vir sapiens & honestus, & relligionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus est, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propensiùs honorandus. Quia ergò, sicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ suæ salute, ac suæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur astringi non potest: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu consulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem nostrum super hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & nostra reuerentia, eum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præstare non possit, sufficiat discretioni tuæ, vt simplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læsionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij."

Thus we sée, that kings were to rule no further than it pleased the pope to like of; neither to chalenge more obedience of their subiects than stood also with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto quéene Mawd about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here insuing.

" Solomone attestante, didicimus quòd mulier sapiens ædificat domum; insipiens autem constructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut relligiosorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intẽdis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatẽ tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopũ, pro illius reuerentia, qui cùm olim diues esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentiùs diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium nostrum Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cõsilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensiùs habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, vt vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissionẽ ab eo suscipere, quòd læsionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ suæ nõ inferat. Dat. vt supra."

Is it not strange, that a peeuish order of religion (deuised by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incoraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new bishoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to kéepe it still maugre his displeasure: & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

" Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesiæ canonicis spiritũ consilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abjicienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iustè desyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinensis ecclesia, diu proprio destituta pastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium

Forsitan naturalem.

filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesiæ archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum susceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia desuper ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commëdabilem reddidit. Inde est quòd fraternitati vestræ mandando consulimus, vt proposito vestro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo est) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoscetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi, spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius námque industria credimus, quòd antiqua relligio, & forma disciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si quæ fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præsente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c."

Hereby you see how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a dooer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no lesse vnquietnesse had another of our princes with Iohn of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; "Thomas proditionis non expers nostræ regiæ maiestati insidias fabricauit," the pope vnderstood the botom of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be depriued, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride staie at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For beside the iniurie receiued of their superiors, how was K. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Cistertians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceiued some grudge against them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon deniall to paie such summes of moneie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such horsses, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were mainteined in his forrests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselues with bell, booke and candle, to be accurssed and excommunicated. Therevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yéeld to their good graces: insomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betwéene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop of Canturburie, who went oft betweene him and the Cistertian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapiter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thencefoorth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreouer full satisfaction of their damages susteined; and to build an house of their order in whatsoeuer place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentith of Nouember, after the Scotish king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c:) a man may easilie conceiue how proud the cleargie-men haue beene in former times, as wholie presuming vpon the primassie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like broiles, not to be found among our common historiographers: howbeit reseruing the same vnto places more conuenient, I will ceasse to speake of them at this time, and go forward with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbishops: but as he of Canturburie hath long since obteined the prerogatiue aboue Yorke (although I saie not without great trouble, sute, some bloudshed & contention) so the archbishop of Yorke is neuerthelesse written primate of England, as one contenting himselfe with a péece of a title at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, so this of Yorke dooth the like to the quéene, whose perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath beene from time to time, since the determination of this controuersie, as writers doo report. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to the

number

number of one and twentie inferiour bishops; the other hath onlie foure, by reason that the churches of Scotland are now remooued from his obedience vnto an archbishop of their owne, whereby the greatnesse and circuit of the iurisdiction of Yorke is not a little diminished. In like sort each of these seauen and twentie sées haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conquest) doo beare the chéefe rule, being men especiallie chosen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlinesse so néere as can be possible. These cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries still remaining vnto them, as héeretofore vnder the popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no idle and vnprofitable persons (as in times past they haue béene when most of these liuings were either furnished with strangers, especiallie out of Italie, boies, or such idiots as had least skill of all in discharging of those functions, wherevnto they were called by vertue of these stipends) but such as by preaching and teaching can and doo learnedlie set foorth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichrist to the vttermost of their powers.

Twentie one bishoprikes vnder the sée of Canturburie. Onelie foure sées vnder the archbishop of Yorke. Deanes. Canonries.

These churches are called cathedrall, bicause the bishops dwell or lie néere vnto the same, as bound to keepe continuall residence within their iurisdictions, for the better ouersight and gouernance of the same: the word being deriued à cathedra, that is to saie a chaire or seat where he resteth, and for the most part abideth. At the first there was but one church in euerie iurisdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with some oblation or other toward the maintenance of the pastor. For as it was reputed an infamie to passe by anie of them without visitation: so it was a no lesse reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occasion also they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwise they were not capable of such multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word and receive the sacraments.

But as the number of christians increased, so first monasteries, then finallie parish churches were builded in euerie iurisdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpréests; the rest being added since the conquest, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue some ease by building them neere hand. Vnto these deanerie churches also the cleargie in old time of the same deanrie were appointed to repaire at sundrie seasons, there to receiue wholesome ordinances, and to consult vpon the necessarie affaires of the whole iurisdiction; if necessitie so required: and some image hereof is yet to be seene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increased, so the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminish: whereby they now become especiallie in their nether parts rather markets and shops for merchandize, than solemn places of praier, wherevnto they were first erected. Moreouer in the said cathedrall churches vpon sundaies and festiuall daies, the canons doo make certeine ordinarie sermons by course, wherevnto great numbers of all estates doo orderlie resort: and vpon the working daies thrise in the wéeke, one of the said canons, or some other in his stéed, dooth read and expound some péece of holie scripture, wherevnto the people doo verie reuerentlie repaire. The bishops themselues in like sort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, which is one (and a no small) péece of their felicitie (although Richard archbishop of Canturburie thought otherwise, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, Epistola 44. Petri Blesensis, where he saith; Bicause the cleargie of his time were somewhat narrowlie looked vnto, "Supra dorsum ecclesiæ fabricant peccatores, &c:") they so applie their minds to the setting foorth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which doo not euerie sundaie or oftener resort to some place or other, within their iurisdictions, where they expound the scriptures with much grauitie and skill; and yet not without the great misliking and contempt of such as hate the word. Of their manifold translations from one sée to another I will saie nothing, which is not now doone for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time past much doubted of, to wit, whether a bishop or pastor might be translated from one sée to another;

Ordinarie sermons.

Ordinarie expositions of the scriptures.

The bishops preach diligentlie, whose predecessors heretofore haue béene occupied in temporall affairs.

another; & left vndecided, till prescription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once doone, is well doone, and to be doone oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

Archdeacons. They haue vnder them also their archdeacons, some one, diuerse two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the bishops eies: and these (beside their ordinarie courts, which are holden within so manie or more of their seuerall deanries by themselues or their officials once in a moneth at the least) doo kéepe yearelie two visitations or synods (as the bishop dooth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth some children, though most care but a little for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquisition and search, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the ministers, as the orderlie dealing of the parishioners in resorting to their parish churches and conformitie vnto religion. They punish also with great seueritie all such trespassers, either in person or by the pursse (where permutation of penance is thought more gréeuous to the offendor) as are presented vnto them: or if the cause be of the more weight, as in cases of heresie, pertinacie, contempt, and such like, they referre them either to the bishop of the diocesse, or his chancellor, or else to sundrie graue persons set in authoritie, by vertue of

High commissioners. an high commission directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner doo sée the offendors gently reformed, or else seuerlie punished, if necessitie so inforce.

A prophesie or conference. Beside this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exercise latelie begun, which for the most part is called a prophesie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their studie of holie scriptures. Howbeit, such is the thirstie desire of the people in these daies to heare the word of God, that they also haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themselues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their presence at the same. Herein also (for the most part) two of the yoonger sort of ministers doo expound ech after other some péece of the scriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courses (wherein they orderlie go through with some one of the euangelists, or of the epistles, as it pleaseth the whole assemblie to choose at the first in euerie of these conferences) and when they haue spent an houre or a little more betwéene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who being a graduat for the most part, or knowne to be a preacher sufficientlie authorised, & of a sound iudgement, supplieth the roome of a moderator, making first a breefe rehearsall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie spent at this most profitable méeting. When all is doone, if the first speakers haue shewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and incouraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be slacke, or not sound in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reprooued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer speake of course (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselues with offense) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vsed in some places wéekelie, in other once in foureteene daies, in diuerse monethlie, and elsewhere twise in a yeare, so is it a notable spurre vnto all the ministers, thereby to applie their bookes, which otherwise (as in times past) would giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as should be godlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull distributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

But alas! as sathan the author of all mischéefe hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred vp aduersaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who not regarding the commoditie that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as spekers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at words

words and termes, or at the least wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peraduenture taking a misliking at the slender demeanours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses doo occupie the roomes, haue either by their owne practise, their sinister information, or suggestions made vpon surmises vnto other procured the suppression of these conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dailie breeders of no small hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cause belongeth.

Our elders or ministers and deacons (for subdeacons and the other inferiour orders, some- Ministers & deacons.
time vsed in popish church we haue not) are made according to a certeine forme of consecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the sixt, by the cleargie of England, and soone after confirmed by the three estates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the first sort, that is to saie, of such as are called to the ministerie (without respect whether they be married or not) are bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & such as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and these also as all the rest, at the first comming vnto anie spirituall promotion, doo yeeld vnto the prince the entire taxe of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name and title of first fruits.

With vs also it is permitted, that a sufficient man may (by dispensation from the prince) hold two liuings, not distant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to passe, that as hir maiestie dooth reape some commoditie by the facultie, so the vnition of two in one man dooth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame against such faculties, as if there were mo good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to mainteine them. In deed when a liuing is void, there are so manie sutors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true and most certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are sufficient, and who not, who are staied men in conuersation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardlie find one or two, such as they ought to be: and yet none more earnest to make sute, to promise largelie, beare a better shew, or find fault with the state of things than they. Neuerthelesse, I doo not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiselie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumours or ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men, to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our vniuersities are neuer able to performe. For if you obserue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford doo yearelie send foorth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall soone see a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed.

And to saie truth, one most commonlie of these small liuings is of so little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane scholar; much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, sixteene, seuenteene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) doo go out of the same. I saie more than before, bicause euerie small trifle, noble mans request, or courtesie craued by the bishop, dooth impose and command a twentith part, a three score part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our liuings, which hitherto hath not beene vsuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the poorer sort considered of, which now are euallie burdened.

We paie also the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of ech of them, as hath beene latelie made; which neuerthelesse in time past were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Herevpon also hangeth a pleasant storie though doone of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie seeing the continuall losses that the king of England susteined in France, vpon some motion of releefe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Bur-

deaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had doone, came into the conuocation house also in great hast and lesse spéed, where, in a solemne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauourable to their spirituall father the pope, and mother the sée of Rome, than they had shewed themselues vnto his vassall and inferiour, meaning their souereigne lord in temporall iurisdiction, &c. In deliuering also the cause of his sute, he shewed how gréeuouslie the pope was disturbed by cutthrotes, varlots, and harlots, which doo now so abound in Rome, that his holinesse is in dailie danger to be made awaie amongst them. To be short when this fine tale was told, one of the companie stood vp and said vnto him; My lord we haue heard your request, and as we thinke, it deserueth litle consideration and lesse eare, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in suppression of such, as he and such as you are doo continuall vphold, it is not vnknowen in this house what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iust reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue béene made sooner, but now it is too late: neuerthelesse I beséech you to write vnto his holinesse, with request that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sinke of mischiefe, and kéepe his court elsewhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are most bound, he be incouraged thereto. Manie other words passed to and fro amongst them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was dismissed without anie penie obteined. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement first as deuised by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the prescription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine also our first fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the same, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt also of these two paiments, an especiall office or court is erected, which beareth name of first fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, doo not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after possession taken, there to compound for the paiment of his said fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine statute prouided in that behalfe, against such as doo intrude into the ecclesiasticall function, and refuse to paie the accustomed duties belonging to the same.

They paie likewise subsidies with the temporaltie, but in such sort, that if these paie after foure shillings for land, the cleargie contribute commonlie after six shillings of the pound, so that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himself well acquited, if all ordinarie paiments being discharged he may reserue thirtéene pounds six shillings eight pence towards his owne sustentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome also are they without the compasse of a subsidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often seene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: so that I saie againe they are seldome without the limit of a subsidie. Herein also they somewhat find themselues grieued, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themselues, and so they doo through consideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impouerishment cannot but touch also the parson or vicar, vnto whom such libertie is denied, as is dailie to be séene in their accompts and tithings.

Some of them also, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by fréendship get themselues quite out of the booke. But what stand I vpon these things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by some of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie endeuor to bring vs also within the compasse of their fifteens or taxes for their owne ease, whereas the taxe of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland soile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden easie inough to be borne vpon so manie shoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whose tenths and subsidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troublesome vnto their aforesaid paiments. Sometimes also we are threatned with a Melius inquirendum, as if our liuings were not racked high inough alreadie. But if a man should seeke out where all those

those church lands were, which in time past did contribute vnto the old summe required or to be made vp, no doubt no small number of the laitie of all states should be contributors also with vs, the prince not defrauded of his expectation and right. We are also charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more néedfull than diuerse other charges imposed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our case groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithstanding our immunitie from temporall seruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I sée not likelie to be diminished, as if the church were now become the asse whereon euerie market man is to ride and cast his wallet.

The other paiments due vnto the archbishop and bishop at their seuerall visitations (of which the first is double to the latter) and such also as the archdeacon receiueth at his synods, &c: remaine still as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers doo commonlie visit the whole realme vnder the forme of an ecclesiasticall inquisition, in which the clergie doo vsuallie paie double fées, as vnto the archbishop. Hereby then, and by those alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no lesse commodious to the princes coffers than the state of the laitie, if it doo not farre excéed the same, since their paiments are certeine, continuall, and seldome abated, howsoeuer they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, sute, and slanderous speeches of the paiers, or haue their liuings otherwise hardlie valued vnto the vttermost farding, or shrewdlie cancelled by the couetousnesse of the patrones, of whome some doo bestow aduousons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horssekéepers, in sted of other recompense, for their long and faithfull seruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their most aduantage.

Certes here they resemble the pope verie much, for as he sendeth out his idols, so doo they their parasites, pages, chamberleins, stewards, groomes, & lackies; and yet these be the men that first exclame of the insufficiencie of the ministers, as hoping thereby in due time to get also their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times past bishopriks went almost after the same maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, so that he which helped a clerke vnto a see, was sure to haue a present or purse fine, if not an annuall pension, besides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing doone in my yoonger daies, whilest quéene Marie bare the swaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the sée of Winchester was void for a season, during which time cardinall Poole made seizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the same, pretending authoritie therevnto Sede vacante, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the bishop of Lincolne called White tooke such displeasure, that he stepped in like a mate, with full purpose (as he said) to kéepe that sée from ruine. He wrote also to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promising so as he might be Compos voti, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeere after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet desirous to reape a further benefit, first shewed himselfe to stomach his simonicall practise verie grieuouslie, considering the dangerousnesse of the time and present estate of the church of England, which hoong as yet in balance readie to yéeld anie waie, sauing foorth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he so terrified the poore bishop, that he was driuen vnto another issue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further summe than stood with his ease to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuise was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be bishop of Winchester, which at the last he obteined, but in such wise as that the pope and his néerest friends did lose but a little by it. I could if néed were set downe a report of diuerse other the like practises, but this shall suffice in stéed of all the rest, least in reprehending of vice I might shew my selfe to be a teacher of vngodlinesse, or to scatter more vngratious séed in lewd ground alreadie choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names vsuallie giuen vnto such as féed the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so that these words,

words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be adiudged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and vniuersities haue béene so spoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to haue one: there are (beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeare) certeine sermons or homilies (deuised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies doo comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustification by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two lessons, wherof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new, and of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after noone out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we haue the letanie and suffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deuised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie curious mindsicke persons vtterlie condemne it as superstitious and sauoring of coniuration and sorcerie.

This being doone, we procéed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell with the Nicene créed (of some in derision called the drie communion) and then procéed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie sabaoth daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone bestowed. In the after noone likewise we méet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the leastwise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus doo we spend the sabaoth daie in good and godlie exercises, all doone in our vulgar toong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are soong by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, sauing that in the administration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the créed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skilfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar toong, hath not a litle offended the pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obteined, for feare least the consenting thervnto might bréed the ouerthrow (as it would in déed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuerthelesse in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed maugre his resistance. Vratislaus duke of Bohemia, would long since haue doone the like also in his kingdome, but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

" Gregorius septimus Vratislao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quòd secundū Sclauonicā linguā apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquàm posse fauere, ex hoc nempe se voluentibus liquet, non immeritò sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, fortè vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut prauè intellecta à mediocribus in errorem

errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuuat, quòd quidam viri hoc, quod simplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt: cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quæ à sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correcta sunt: vnde id nè fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter exposcitur, authoritate beatri Petri inhibemus; téque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis resistere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c."

I would set downe two or thrée more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, shrines, tabernacles, roodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are remooued, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the stories in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogither abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their roomes. Finallie, whereas there was woont to be a great partition betwéene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogither needlesse, sith the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot prouided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant doo not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, doo praie togither with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and feruent manner. Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fiftéene, called festiuall, and thirtie Profesti, beside the sundaies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathnish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saincts, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest vtterlie remooued from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The apparell in like sort of our clergie men is comlie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popish church: before the vniuersities bound their graduats vnto a stable attire, afterward vsurped also euen by the blind sir Johns. For if you peruse well my chronologie insuing, you shall find, that they went either in diuerse colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with their shooes piked, their haire crisped, their girdles armed with siluer; their shooes, spurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the most part) of silke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and butned with gold: so that to méet a priest in those daies, was to behold a peacocke that spreadeth his taile when he danseth before the henne: which now (I saie) is well reformed. Touching hospitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vsed in England, sith by reason that mariage is permitted to him that will choose that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dressed; their furniture of houshold more conuenient, and better looked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue béene, when onlie a few bishops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Christmasse onelie, or otherwise kept great houses for the interteinment of the rich, which did often see and visit them. It is thought much peraduenture, that some bishops, &c: in our time doo come short of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predecessors: but to such as doo consider of the curtailing of their liuings, or excessiue prices whervnto things are growen, and how their course is limited by law, and estate looked into on euery side, the cause of their so dooing is well inough perceiued. This also offendeth manie, that they should after their deaths

Apparell.

Hospitalitie.

leaue their substances to their wiues and children: wheras they consider not, that in old time such as had no lemans nor bastards (verie few were there God wot of this sort) did leaue their goods and possessions to their brethren and kinsfolks, whereby (as I can shew by good record) manie houses of gentilitie haue growen and béene erected. If in anie age some one of them did found a college, almeshouse, or schoole, if you looke vnto these our times, you shall see no fewer déeds of charitie doone, nor better grounded vpon the right stub of pietie than before. If you saie that their wiues be fond, after the deceasse of their husbands, and bestow themselues not so aduisedlie as their calling requireth, which God knoweth these curious surueiors make small accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehension: I beséech you then to looke into all states of the laitie, & tell me whether some duchesses, countesses, barons, or knights wiues, doo not fullie so often offend in the like as they: for Eue will be Eue though Adam would saie naie. Not a few also find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wiues were causes of our wo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue beene performed of late in Essex, where a minister taking a benefice (of lesse than twentie pounds in the Quéenes bookes so farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and sixtéene yéerelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another left the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yéere, which is well woorth fortie at the least, the cause of our thred-bare gownes would easilie appeere, for such patrons doo scrape the wooll from our clokes. Wherfore I may well saie, that such a thred-bare minister is either an ill man, or hath an ill patrone, or both: and when such cookes & cobling shifters shall be remooued and weeded out of the ministerie, I doubt not but our patrons will proone better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or else the single minded bishops shall sée the liuing bestowed vpon such as doo deserue it. When the Pragmatike sanction tooke place first in France, it was supposed that these enormities should vtterlie haue ceased: but when the elections of bishops came once into the hands of the canons and spirituall men, it grew to be farre worse. For they also within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raised the markets, and sought after new gaines by the gifts of the greatest liuings in that countrie, wherein (as Machiauell writeth) are eightéene archbishoprikes, one hundred fortie and sixe bishoprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuersities, 1000700 stéeples (if his report be sound.) Some are of the opinion, that if sufficient men in euerie towne might be sent for from the vniuersities, this mischiefe would soone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I consider wherevnto the gifts of felowships in some places are growen: the profit that ariseth at sundrie elections of scholars out of grammar schooles, to the posers, schoolemasters, and preferrers of them to our vniuersities, the gifts of a great number of almeshouses builded for the maimed and impotent souldiors, by princes and good men heretofore mooued with a pittifull consideration of the poore distressed: how rewards, pensions, and annuities also doo reigne in other cases, wherby the giuer is brought somtimes into extreame miserie, & that not so much as the roome of a common souldior is not obteined oftentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am brought into such a mistrust of the sequele of this deuise, that I dare pronounce (almost for certeine) that if Homer were now aliue, it should be said to him:

Mariage.

Thred-bare gownes from whence they come.

Number of churches in France.

Pretie packing.

> "Túque licèt venias musis comitatus Homere,
> Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras."

More I could saie, and more I would saie of these and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue said inough alreadie for the aduertisement of such as be wise. Neuerthelesse, before I finish this chapter, I will adde a word or two (so brieflie as I can) of the old estate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collected togither here and there among the writers, and whereby it shall easilie be seene what they were, and how neere the gouernment of ours doo in these daies approch vnto them, for that there is an irreconciliable ods betwéene

betwéene them and those of the papists, I hope there is no learned man indéed, but will acknowlege and yéeld vnto it.

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue church, that there was in euerie see or iurisdiction one schoole at the least, whereinto such as were catechistes in christian religion did resort. And hereof as we may find great testimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Hierusalem; so no small notice is left of the like in the inferior sort, if the names of such as taught in them be called to mind, & the histories well read which make report of the same. These schooles were vnder the iurisdiction of the bishops, and from thence did they & the rest of the elders choose out such as were the ripest scholars, and willing to serue in the ministerie, whome they placed also in their cathedrall churches, there not onelie to be further instructed in the knowledge of the word, but also to invre them to the deliuerie of the same vnto the people in sound maner, to minister the sacraments, to visit the sicke and brethren imprisoned, and to performe such other duties as then belonged to their charges. The bishop himselfe and elders of the church were also hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in processe of time found meet workmen for the lords haruest, they were forthwith sent abrode (after imposition of hands, and praier generallie made for their good proceeding) to some place or other then destitute of hir pastor, and other taken from the schoole also placed in their roomes. What number of such clerks belonged now and then to some one sée, the chronologie following shall easilie declare: and in like sort what officers, widowes, and other persons were dailie mainteined in those seasons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the same with the decaies and ablations séene and practised at this present. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the estate of the cathedrall churches in those times, so I wish that the like order of gouernment might once againe be restored vnto the same, which may be doone with ease, sith the schooles are alreadie builded in euerie diocesse, the vniuersities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great inough to receiue so manie as shall come from thence to be instructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadie and more & more to be looked for (beside the plucking and snatching commonlie séene from such houses and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the ministerie, and small consideration of their former paines taken, whereby lesse and lesse hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to insue. Wherefore the greatest part of the more excellent wits choose rather to imploy their studies vnto physike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the studie of the scriptures, for feare least they should in time not get their bread by the same. By this meanes also the stalles in their quéeres would be better filled, which now (for the most part) are emptie, and prebends should be prebends indéed, there to liue till they were preferred to some ecclesiasticall function, and then other men chosen to succéed them in their roomes, whereas now prebends are but superfluous additaments vnto former excesses, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue said before.) But as I haue good leisure to wish for these things: so it shall be a longer time before it will be brought to passe. Neuerthelesse, as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, so will I here conclude this my discourse of the estate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our seuerall sées, in such order as they shall come vnto my present remembrance.

Old estate of cathedrall churches.

OF THE NUMBER OF BISHOPRIKES AND THEIR SEVERALL CIRCUITS.

CHAP. II.

HAUING alreadie spoken generally of the state of our church, now will I touch the sées seuerallie, saieng so much of ech of them as shall be conuenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but also the later writers, and somewhat of mine owne experience, beginning first with the sée of Canturburie, as the most notable, whose archbishop is the primat of all this land for ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and most accompted of commonlie, bicause he is néerer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.

Canturburie. The iurisdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected first by Augustine the moonke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue respect to hir prouinciall regiment, extendeth it selfe ouer all the south and west parts of this Iland, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and few shires there are wherein the archbishop hath not some peculiars. But if you regard the same onelie that was and is proper vnto his see, from the beginning, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the iurisdiction of Rochester including the rest: so that in this one countie the greatest archbishoprike and the least bishoprike of all are linked in togither. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iurisdiction ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred sixtie one parish churches; & in the popish time in sted of the 3093 pounds, eighteene shillings, halfepenie, farthing, which it now paieth vnto hir maiestie, vnder the name of first frutes, there went out of this see to Rome, at euerie alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beside 5000 that the new elect did vsuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an English crowne or thereabout, as I haue béene informed.

Rochester. The sée of Rochester is also included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Augustine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolrijc ouer the west-Saxons. The bishop of this sée hath one archdeacon, vnder whose gouernment in causes ecclesiasticall are three deanries, or 132 parish churches: so that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 parish churches in Kent, ouer which the said two archdeacons haue especiall cure & charge. He was woont to paie also vnto the court of Rome at his admission to that see 1300 ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, considering the smalnesse of circuit belonging to his sée. Howbeit, in my time it is so farre from ease by diminution, that it is raised to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we resolue them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three shillings, six pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciselie made than anie bishop of that sée dooth take any great delight in. He was crosse-bearer in times past vnto the archbishop of Canturburie. And there are and haue béene few sées in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their bishops for the most part from this see: for as it is of it selfe but a small thing in déed, so it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer possessed it, Thomas Kempe had the best lucke, who being but a poore mans sonne of Wie (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew first to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this sée, he was translated from thence to Chichester, thirdlie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie after seauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became also cardinall, deacon, and then preest in the court of Rome, according to this verse, "Bis primas, ter præses, bis cardine functus." Certes I note this man, bicause he bare some fauour to the furtherance of the gospell, and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and tooke order for the continuall maintenance of a sermon there vpon the sabaoth, which dooth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the soundest doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for such strangers to resort vnto as haue no habitation in anie parish within the citie where it standeth.

London. The sée of London was erected at the first by Lucius, who made it of an archeflamine and temple

temple of Iupiter an archbishops sée, and temple vnto the liuing God, and so it continued, vntill Augustine translated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbishops of London are these; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus restitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Fastidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus slaine by the Saxons, and Theonus Iunior. But for their iust order of succession as yet I am not resolued, neuerthelesse the first bishop there was ordeined by Augustine the moonke, in the yeare of Christ 604, in the time of Ceolrijc, after he had remooued his see further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what secret occasion, if not the spéedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readinesse to flee out of the land, if any trouble should betide him. For iurisdiction it included Essex, Middlesex, and part of Herefordshire, which is neither more nor lesse in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the east Angles, before it was vnited to the west Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this sée, was first begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Inuber as I find, whilest he held that part of the said kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had sundrie times defaced it, it was repared and made vp with hard stone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Mawrice bishop of that sée, and sometimes chapleine to the bastard Henrie the first, allowing him stone and stuffe from Bainards castell néere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his works. Howbeit the moold of the quire was not statelie inough in the eies of some of his successors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time also the bodies of diuerse kings and bishops were taken vp and bestowed in the walles, to the end their memories should be of longer continuance. The iurisdiction of this sée also vnder the bishop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, who haue amongst them to the number of 363 parish churches, or thereabouts, beside the peculiars belonging to the archbishop and chapiter of that house, and at euerie alienation the bishop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight shillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerse suppose to be more, than (as it now standeth) the bishop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie, of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the bishop hath fiue eies) I speake not, for although it be vnder the bishop of London for visitations and synods, yet is it otherwise reputed as member of the sée of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath also fiue and twentie parishes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the rest in Herefordshire.

The first beginning of the sée of Chichester was in the Ile of Seales or Seolseie, and from thence translated to Chichester, in the time of William the bastard, and generall remooving of sées from small villages vnto the greater townes. It conteineth Sussex onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, wherein are sixtéene deanries, and 551 parish churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the sée of Rome 333 ducats: and after Edbert the first bishop, one Cella succeeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yéere as now it is) was void by many yeares. It was erected in Seoleseie also 711, by the decrée of a synod holden in Sussex, which borowed it from the iurisdiction of Winchester, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the bishops that haue béene in this sée, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath béene of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which sometime I did possesse; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie instruments of astronomie reserued in that house (a college erected sometime by Walter Merton bishop of Rochester, and lord chancellor of England) he builded also the castell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Scorie or Storie his successor did the new crosse in the market place of Chichester. Chichester.

The bishop of Winchester was sometime called bishop of the west Saxons, and of Dorchester, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his successors, by Kinigils and Oswald of the Northumbers, in whose time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time it hath iurisdiction onelie ouer Hamshire, Surrie, Iardeseie, Gardeseie, and the Wight, conteining eight. Winchester.

eight deaneries, two hundred seuentie and six parish churches, and beside all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuised by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his first fruits are 2491 pounds nine shillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was said to be the higher racke, but Winchester hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are also which make Lucius to be the first founder of an house of praier in Winchester, as Kinigils did build the second, and Kinwaldus his sonne the third; but you shall sée the truth herof in the chronologie insuing. And herevnto if the old catalog of the bishops of this sée be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our histories, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriours, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimoongers, and politike counsellors in temporall affaires to haue, I wote not by what secret working of the diuine prouidence, beene placed here in Winchester, since the foundation of that sée, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius sent hither out of Italie) and first planted at Dorchester, in the time of Kinigils, then translated to Winchester, where it dooth yet continue.

Salisburie. Salisburie was made the chéefe sée of Shirburne by bishop Harman (predecessor to Osmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkeshire, Wilshire, and Dorsetshire vnder hir iurisdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Winchester was diuided in two, so that onelie Hamshire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorset, Barkeshire, Summerset, Deuon & Cornewill assigned vnto Shirburne till other order was taken. Bishop Adelme did first sit in that bishoprike (704 as I said) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the said diuision. And as manie lerned bishops did succéed him in that roome, before and after it was remooued to Sarum; so there was neuer a more noble ornament to that sée than bishop Iuell, of whose great learning and iudgement the world it selfe beareth witnesse, notwithstanding that the papists prefer S. Osmond (as they call him) because he builded the minster there, and made the portesse called Ordinale ecclesiastici officij, which old préests were woont to vse. The bishops also of this sée were sometimes called bishops of Sunning, of their old mansion house neere vnto Reading (as it should seeme) and among those that liued before the said Iuell, one Roger builded the castell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the first, taken in those daies for the strongest hold in England, as vnto whose gate there were regals and gripes for six or seuen port cullises. Finallie this sée paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir maiestie in my time 1367 pounds twelue shillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

Excester. Excester hath, Deuonshire and Cornewall, sometime two seuerall bishopriks, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Excester in the time of the Bastard or soone after. It began vpon this occasion, Anno Gratiæ 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie, among the Gewises, wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onelie béene without hir pastor by the space of seuen yéeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into fiue parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir sée then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Kirton, or Cridioc. And the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited, the valuation thereof was taxed by the sée of Rome at six thousand ducats or florens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I gesse) sith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermost, I find that it is litle worth aboue fiue hundred pounds by the yéere, bicause hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath. Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, before Iohn the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summersetshire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie florens; but in hir maiesties books I find it fiue hundred

hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od shilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that sée. Of the erection of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Excester, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in somewhat more large maner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me somewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. 'This bishoprike (saith he) was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewises, whereat king Edward of the west-Saxons, and Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had béene seuen yéeres without anie pastorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agréed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Winchester, another at Shireburne) there should be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better instructed. By this meanes Frithstan was placed at Winchester, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne also susteined the subdiuision; so that Werstane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose sée was at Kirton) Herstan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you sée what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurisdictions. The bishoprike of Shirburne diuided into three.

Worcester sometime called Episcopatus Wicciorum (that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worcester, & part of Warwikeshires. And before the bishoprike of Glocester was taken out of the same, it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance doo deceiue me.) This sée was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles, and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whome succéeded Ostfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa, and there gat a monasterie (which he builded in Worcester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. In this sée was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop, whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north side of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the same (as I haue béene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and should haue béene archbishop of Canturburie in the roome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his election, fearing least he would haue shewed himselfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore, least he should seeme altogither to reiect the said Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, Martij 31, being thursdaie (as appeereth by the register of that house) after long plée holden for the aforesaid sée of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monie did oftenest preuaile. This is also notable of that sée, that fiue Italians succéeded ech other in the same, by the popes prouision; as Egidius, Syluester, Egidius his nephue (for nephues might say in those daies; Father shall I call you vncle? And vncles also; Son I must call thée nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutijs, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainie daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not casilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours. Worcester.

Glocester hath Glocestershire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, bicause it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the vsurped authoritie of the pope, except in quéene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it woorth yeerelie 315 pounds, seauen shillings three pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth. Glocester.

Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and it paid to Rome at euerie aliena- Hereford.

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tion 1800 ducats at the least, but in my time it paieth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this sée there was a bishop sometime called Iohn Bruton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register saith. A woonderfull preferment that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes: but such was the time. Neuerthelesse his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemnlie remembred, than anie good sermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield. Lichefield, wherevnto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see, hath Staffordshire, Darbishire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwikeshire, that is void of subiection to the sée of Worcester shire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which laie on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Kellac first, then Tunher an Englishman succéeded, this later being well learned, and consecrated by the Scots. In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter bishop of this sée translated his chaire to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Lichfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert his successor not likeing of this president, remooued his chaire from Chester to Couentrie, and there held it whilest he liued, whereby the originall diuision of the bishoprike of Lichfield into Lichefield, Chester, and Couentrie, dooth easilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be vnited, and Chester remaineth a bishoprike by it selfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as some old bookes haue) 3000, a good round summe, but not without a iust punishment, as one saith, sith that anno 765, Edulfe bishop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in déed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop misliked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and bestowed so much in building the same, and pauing the stréets, that his hungrie kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the freends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King Iohn was the greatest benefactor vnto this sée, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, Quasi mortuorum campus, bicause of the great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Dioclesian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue shillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a summe verie narrowlie cast by that auditor which tooke it first in hand.

Oxford hath Oxfordshire onelie, a verie yoong iurisdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of quéene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Iesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuersant (as the constant fame went) in the blacke art, than skilfull in the scriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongst the Romane monarchs. It is said that obseruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that sée: but I haue heard since that he wist well inough what became of those commodities, for by one meane and other he found the swéetnesse of 354 pounds sixteene shillings thrée pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skilfull, as the fame then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.

Elie. Elie hath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Heruie also was made bishop there, as I haue found in a register, belonging sometime to that house being translated from Bangor. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do testifie at large.

large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds sixtéene shillings thrée pence halfe penie farthing, whose disme ioined to those of all the bishopriks in England, doo yéeld yearelie to hir maiesties coffers 23370 poundssixtéene shillings thrée pence halfe penie farthing: whereby also the huge sums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome dooth in some measure appéere. Ethelwold afterward bishop of Winchester builded the first monasterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was yer long destroied by enimies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforesaid bishoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular préests, and stored with moonkes prouided from Abandune néere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunstane then metropolitane of England. There was sometime a greeuous contention betwéene Thomas Lild bishop of this see, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, because the matter is so parciallie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop; & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Lichfield he was chosen bishop of that see. Herevpon the pope vnderstanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, staied his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourablie with him in golden reasoning, that his worthinesse was commended to the popes holinesse, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himselfe apposed him, and after secret conference vtterlie disableth his election, till he had prooued by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that Ex mera plenitudine potestatis, he was made capable of the benefice and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings presence told him how he had doone he wist not what in preferring so vnméet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speach the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his presence. In like sort the ladie Wake then duchesse of Lancaster, standing by, and hearing the king hir cousine to gather vp the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, dooth presentlie picke a quarrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession, which he defended & in the end obteined against hir by plée and course of law: yer long also *afore hapned in a part of hir house, for which she accused the bishop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the said fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

[* sic. qu. *afire*]

Neuerthelesse, being sore grieued, that she had (as he said) wrested out such a verdict against him, and therein packed vp a quest at hir owne choise: he taketh his horsse, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciouslie) placed, that the king tooke yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdemeanor toward his person by his rude and threatening speeches. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he still auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witnesse: wherevpon he is banished from the kings presence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was doone, she beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betweene their seruants one of hir men was slaine: for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe accessarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the sequele of his third cause by his successe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his moouables, and committed the monie vnto his trustie friends. And being

found giltie by the inquest, the king seizeth vpon his possessions, and calleth vp the bishop to answer vnto the trespasse. To be short, vpon safe-conduct the bishop commeth to the kings presence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and therevpon craueth to be tried by his péeres. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Wherevpon he craueth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie and priuileges of the church, hoping by such meanes to be solemnlie rescued. But they fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vse any such meanes; but rather willed him to submit himselfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refused, standing vpon his innocencie from the first vnto the last. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so preuaile against him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iustice (saith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the perusall of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appéered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and doong-hilles, "Vnde timor & turba (saith my note) in Anglia." For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all processes, billes, and whatsoeuer instruments should come from Rome: such also as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembred of some ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater cursses, except he did the sooner staie the furie of the lady, reconcile himself vnto the bishop, and finallie, making him amends for all his losses susteined in these broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuerthelesse, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betwéene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himselfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington dooth deliuer it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliuer it.

Norwich. The see of Norwich called in old time Episcopatus Donnicensis, Dononiæ, or Eastanglorum, was erected at Felstow or Felixstow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime schoolemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose persuasion also the said Sigebert erected the vniuersitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his sée, afterward it was remooued from thence to Donwich, & thence to Helmham, Anno 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Bastard, to Norwich. For iurisdiction it conteineth in our daies Norffolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles. It began about the yéere 632, vnder Cerpenwald king of the east-Saxons, who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius also confirmed, and after which he held it by the space of seauenteene yéeres. It paid sometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir maiestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the same iurisdiction also there were once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of these I know one conuerted into a barne, whilest the péople heare seruice further off vpon a greene: their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the gréene, hanged in an oke for want of a stéeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuerthelesse a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Ashlie towne that should come to the same in such wise, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

Peterborow. Peterborow, sometimes a notable monasterie, hath Northampton and Rutland shires vnder hir iurisdiction, a diocesse erected also by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) wherof I doubt, because it was not recorded in his ancient register of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors

collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpose; it yéeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue seene and had an ancient iarror of the lands of this monasterie, which agréeth verie well with the historie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annexed to the same, I saw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Sussex, Sebbie of Essex, with the additions of their names: the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfehere,
Kindburg and Kindswith sisters to Wulfhere,
Deusdedit archbishop,
Ithamar bishop of Rochester,
Wina bishop of London,
Iarnman bishop of Mearc,
Wilfride and Eoppa préests,
Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the instrument at the sute of Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Breding, Reping, Cedenac, Swinesheued, Lusgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath béene vsed to the hinderance of the gospell, and maintenance of idle moonks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocrisie.

Bristow hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisburie, a sée also latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore eased a number of ancient sées of some part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and bestowed those portions deducted, vpon such other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and féeding of the flocke: the value thereof is thrée hundred foure score and thrée pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue béene informed.) Bristow.

Lincolne of all other of late times was the greatest; and albeit that out of it were taken the sees of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it still reteineth Lincolne, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope fiue thousand ducats (as appeereth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reason of hir diminution it yéeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight shillings, seauen pence farthing. It began since the conquest, about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remooued his sée from Dorchester to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for vnto the king.) And thus much of the bishopriks which lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I procéed with Wales. Lincolne.

Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor shires. And although it paid seuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it scarselie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore bishoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the séed time and the frée planting of the gospell, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawen. Landaffe.

S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine shires, whose liuerie or first fruits to the sée of Rome was one thousand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and seauen pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it paieth vnto hir maiesties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop mis- S. Dauids.

liketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedrall church; and therfore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what suertie he would put in to sée it well performed: of the rest I speake not.

Bangor. Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernaruon, Angleseie, and Merioneth shires vnder hir iurisdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the bishoprikes in England it is now the least for reuenues, and not woorth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and sixteene pence to hir maiesties coffers at euerie alienation (as appéereth by the tenths, which amount to much lesse than those of some good benéfice) for it yeeldeth not yéerelie aboue thirtéene pounds, thrée shillings, and seauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifest.

S. Asaphes. S. Asaphes hath Prestholme and part of Denbigh and Flintshires vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, which being laid togither doo amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in respect of circuit the least that is to be found in Wales, neuerthelesse it paid to Rome 470 ducates at euerie alienation. In my time the first fruits of this bishoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen shillings six pence; wherby it séemeth to be somewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor last remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compasse of this iurisdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of siluer yearelie to the best harper in Wales, but did anie bishop thinke you deserue that in the popish time? Howell or Aphowell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifie so much as Hugo or Hugh. Hitherto of the prouince of Canturburie, for so much therof as now lieth within the compasse of this Iland. Now it resteth that I procéed with the curtailed archbishoprike of Yorke, I saie curtailed because all Scotland is cut from his iurisdiction and obedience.

Yorke. The see of Yorke was restored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the comming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time Iustus archbishop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be first bishop there, in the time of Gadwijn king of Northumberland. This Paulinus sate six yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, wherby Lindeffarne grew into credit, and so remained vntill the daies of Oswie of Northumberland, who sent Wilfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Yorke: but whilest he taried ouer long in those parts, Oswie impatient of delaie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that roome, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recouered his roome, and held it as he might, vntill it was seuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulstade, or Lindeffarne, where Eata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincolne or Lindsie in that part of Mercia which he had goten from Woolfhere. Of it selfe it hath now iurisdiction ouer Yorkeshire, Notinghamshire (whose shire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest) and the rest of Lancastershire onelie not subiect to the sée of Chester; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his see 1000 ducates, beside 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare of late, considering the curtailing & diminution of his sée, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yéeldeth 1609 pounds ninetéene shillings two pence to hir maiestie, whom God long preserue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Chester. Chester vpon Dee, otherwise called Westchester, hath vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall, Chestershire, Darbishire, the most part of Lancastershire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint and Denbigh shires in Wales, was made a bishoprike by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentie pence (a streict reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, and hereof the bishops haue sometimes béene earles palantines & ruled the rost vnder the name of the bishoprike and succession of S. Cuthbert. It was a sée (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maiesties coffers by 221 pounds eighteene shillings ten pence

pence farthing, and yet of lesse countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheles the sunneshine thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other flitches haue forgone the like collops, but let such matters be scanned by men of more discretion. Capgraue saith how that the first bishop of this sée was called bishop of Lindseie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Mercians in a mansion house néere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the West-saxons bestowed all the land betwéene the These & the Tine now called the bishoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beside whatsoeuer belonged to the see of Hagulstade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bastard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that house; but whether these donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a sight of them, from whome I had this ground. But whatsoeuer this bishoprike be now, in externall & outward apparance, sure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expresseth. Aidan a Scot or Irishman was the first bishop of this sée, who held himselfe (as did manie of his successors) at Colchester and in Lindeffarne Ile, till one came that remooued it to Durham. And now iudge you whether the allegation of Capgraue be of anie accompt or not.

Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and hereof one Ethelwoolfe confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made the first bishop, hauing Cumberland & Westmerland assigned to his share; of the deaneries and number of parish churches conteined in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am sure, that notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds foureteene shillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than to haue gained by his tale, and so peraduenture should haue doone, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speach was vttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and eftsoones repared by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in an ancient booke which I haue séene, and yet haue, intituled, Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ, octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, doo euidentlie declare, what store of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie. Caerleill.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifullie gat he by his perquisits, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, seales, préests, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he séeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old bookes of record, which I also haue séene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion poore saint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therfore I praie you whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot seeth, beside all other commodities.

Beside

Man. Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England almost slipped out of my remembrance, because it is verie obscure, for that the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficient ie, and that is the see of Mona or Man, somtime named Episcopatus Sodorensis, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the first bishop, and Iohn the second, in the troublesome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie resteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate such a one from time to time therto as to them dooth séeme conuenient. Howbeit if that sée did know and might reape hir owne commodities, and discerne them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter) I doubt not but the state of hir bishop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later sée after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state of our bishoprike, and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and counties of this realme. Whose bishops as they haue béene heretofore of lesse learning, and yet of greater port & dooings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended somewhat by fréendship, doo bring them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken more at large of diuerse other bishopriks, sometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerlheon tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the moonke (as Malmesburie saith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward translated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leircester called Legerensis, whose fourth bishop (Vnwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Ramsbirie or Wiltun, and of Glocester (of which you shall read in Matth. Westm. 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulstade, one of the members whereinto the see of Yorke was diuided after the expulsion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his see into two parts, making Bosa ouer the Deiranes that held his sée at Hagulstade, or Lindfarne: and Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus ouer Lindseie (as is afore noted) whose successors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Sexulfus was ouer Lindseie before Edhedus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie, and came into those quarters to séeke his refuge and succour.

Glocester's verie ancient bishoprike.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Casam, an house with the countrie wherein it stood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; also of the erection of the late sée at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one so the other is ceased, and the lands of this later either so diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should sée it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would beléeue what is become of the same. I might likewise and with like ease also haue added the successors of the bishops of euerie sée to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuerthelesse I will remember the fame of London my natiue citie, after I haue added one word more of the house called Ad Candidam Casam, in English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white stone wherwith it was builded, and was séene far off as standing vpon an hill to such as did behold it.

THE NAMES AND SUCCESSIONS OF SO MANIE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF LONDON, AS ARE EXTANT, AND TO BE HAD, FROM THE FAITH FIRST RECEIUED.

Archbishops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.
Tadwinus alias Theodwinus, some doo write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus alias Theodred.
Hilarius.
Fastidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

The see void manie yeares.

Augustine the moonke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remoued his see to Canturburie, to the intent he might the sooner flée, if persecution should be raised by the infidels, or heare from, or send more spéedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melitus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Fadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oswinus.
Ethelnothus.
Cedbertus.
Cernulphus.
Suiduiphus
Eadstanus.
Wulffinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elstanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunstanus.
Tidricus.
Alwijnus.
Elswoldus.
Robertus a Norman.
Wilhelmus a Norman.
Hugo a Norman.

I read also of a bishop of London called Elsward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Eoueshàm, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramseie, howbeit in what order of succession he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue remembred, but in this order doo I find them.

The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.
2 Richardus Beaumis.
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis a notable man for three things, auarice, riches, and learning
4 Robertus de Sigillo.
5 Richardus Beaunis.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.
7 Richardus.
8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.
9 Eustathius Falconberg.
10 Rogerus Niger.
11 Fulco Basset.

12 Henricus Wingham.
Richardus Talbot electus.
15 Richard. Grauesend.
16 Radulfus Gandacensis.
17 Gilbertus Segraue.
18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauesend.
20 Richard. Bintworth.
21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables hanging in the vesterie of Paules.
22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
26 Richardus.
27 Thomas Sauagius.
28 Wilhelmus.
29 Wilhelm. Warham.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
33 Richardus fitz Iames.
34 Edmundus Boner, remooued, imprisoned.
35 Nicholas Ridleie remooued and burned.
Edm. Boner, restored, remooued, & imprisoned.
36 Edmundus Grindall.
37 Edwinus Sandes.
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops, I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments that haue béene in that seat.

Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes conteined in the whole psalter, and appointed the same dailie to be read amongst the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie.
3 Alardus Bucham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Patteshull.
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfridus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Stāman.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chishull.
17 Herueus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmus de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc postea episcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup postea cardinalis.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.
Richardus de Newport electus.
23 Magister Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Euerisdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Lisieux aliàs Leseux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolseie.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohānes Collet, founder of Paules schoole.
Richardus Paceus.
Richardus Sampson.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius resignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham aliàs Howman resignauit.
Henricus Colus, remoued, imprisoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, restored.
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbishops, bishops, and deanes of that honorable sée. I call it honorable, because it hath had a succession for the most part of learned and wise men, albeit that otherwise it be the most troublesome seat in England, not onelie for that it is néere vnto

vnto checke, but also the prelats thereof are much troubled with sutors, and no lesse subiect to the reproches of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reprooue and carpe at. I would haue doone so much for euerie see in England, if I had not had consideration of the greatnesse of the volume, and small benefit rising by the same, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuerthelesse I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.

OF VNIVERSITIES.

CHAP. III.

THERE haue béene heretofore, and at sundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my daies not altogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carlheon vpon Vske, neere to the place where the riuer dooth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Eridon or Criclade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford in time of ciuill dissention vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimonie by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betwéene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall sée more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are thrée noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the toongs, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuill law, physicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onelie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard fréestone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort, through the excéeding liberalitie of kings, quéenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large liuings and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be séene in anie other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the seuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

Manie vniuersities somtime in England.

Thrée vniuersities in England.

When these two schooles should be first builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuerthelesse, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that Iohn of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant of the finisher of the worke, or at the leastwise of the riuer that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons Grantcester. An other sort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium; or Cantodunum, according to the same? All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biscaie, called the said towne after his owne and the

When the vniuersities were builded vncerteine.

name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it béene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thense ouer into England, sith the chronologie shall declare that it hath béene often seene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer also into Scithia, and contrariwise: coasting still through Yorkeshire, which of them also was called Brigantium, as by good testimonie appeareth.

Oxford fiftie miles from London.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie, being inuironed in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whose courses would bréed no small commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if such impediments were remooued as greatlie annoie the same, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London.

Cambridge six and fortie miles from London.

That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, sauing that it is somewhat néere vnto the fens, whereby the wholesomenesse of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of prouision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of the riuer that passeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elie, which is so néere at hand. Onlie wood is the chéefe want to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of prouision is brought them either from Essex, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall (a bastard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath not such store of medow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced in like sort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great aboundance.

Longitude & latitude of both.

Oxford is supposed to conteine in longitude eightéene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and thereunto fiftie and two degrées and fifteene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workemanship and priuat commodities, are much more statelie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and therevnto the stréets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanship, excéedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is and hath béene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I gesse) although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. This also is certeine, that whatsoeuer the difference be in building of the towne stréets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroching vpon their liberties, and kéepe them bare by extreame sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, bicause that goods euill gotten, doo seldome long indure.

Cambridge burned not long since.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell standeth low and is not so apparant to our sight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they saie) by Gurguintus, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman giuen to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbeie of Oseneie neere vnto the same, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will héere remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, néere vnto the aforesaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happened diuerse times. In the end being wearie

of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherefore these pies did so molest & vexe hir. Oh madam (saith he) the wiliest pie of all, these are no pies but soules in purgatorie that craue relèefe. And is it so in déed quoth she? Now De pardieux, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will doo what I can to bring these soules to rest. Herevpon she consulted, craued, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that synagog 1120, which afterward prooued to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the same, in the habit of a vowesse, and yet to be séene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to procéed with my purpose.

In each of these vniuersities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Iulie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as haue béene called to anie degrée in the yeare precedent, doo there receiue the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous maner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vse the French word Commensement; and such resort is made yearelie vnto the same from all parts of the land, by the fréends of those which doo procéed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge those gests. When and by whome the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elsewhere made relation. That of Oxford also was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the seuenth, when doctor Fitz Iames a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton college, but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and stéeple, which since that time haue neuer béene repared. There were sometime foure and twentie parish churches in the towne and suburbes, but now there are scarselie sixtéene. There haue béene also 1200 burgesses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbes, and so manie students were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compasse about the towne, for their prouision of vittels.

The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanship, commeth next the moold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the seauenth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone thrée more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betwéene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they séeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in fréendlie consent and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so déere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupill; or my power so great, that I might woorthilie requite them both for those manifold kindnesses that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue these things, and procéed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The manner to liue in these vniuersities, is not as in some other of forren countries we sée dailie to happen, where the students are inforced for want of such houses, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we liue in such exact order, and vnder so precise rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres passed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of students in these two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient moonks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie came néere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monastical institutiõs that euer were deuised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houses, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich fréends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholers, in others an

hundred and fiftie, in diuerse a hundred and fortie, and in the rest lesse numbers; as the capacitie of the said houses is able to receiue: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late surueie it manifestlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the first, onelie for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the least benefit of them, by reason the rich doo so incroch vpon them. And so farre hath this inconuenience spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowship (though he be neuer so good a scholer & woorthie of that roome.) Such packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deserueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the woorst scholer, is alwaies surest to spéed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue beene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, doo intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or estatutes deuised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine) the case is too too euident: and their attempt would soone take place, if their superiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In some grammar schooles likewise, which send scholers to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what briberie is vsed; for yer the scholer can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort receiued (who in time past thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they oft bring the vniuersities into much slander. For standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, excéeding in apparell, and banting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which gréeueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.

Readers in priuat houses.

Euerie one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the toongs and seuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to shew themselues abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were "In aream") there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

Publike readers maipteiued by the prince.

Moreouer, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, physicke, the Hebrue, and the Gréeke toongs. And for the other lectures, as

Studie of the quadriuials and perspectiues neglected.

of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arythmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronomie, and with them all skill in the perspectiues are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselues doo allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incoraged to be diligent in their functions.

These professors in like sort haue all the rule of disputations and other schoole exercises, which are dailie vsed in common schooles seuerallie assigned to ech of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to haue atteined to anie conuenient ripenesse of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deserued degrees of schoole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Sophisters.

The first degree, is that of the generall sophisters, from whence when they haue learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obteined thereto competent skill in

Batchelers of art.

philosophie, and in the mathematicals, they ascend higher vnto the estate of batchelers of art,

art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie. From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the toongs, they rise at the last (to wit, after other three or foure yéeres) to be called masters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he professe but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to choose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike; so that being once masters of art, the next degrée if they follow physike, is the doctorship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But i t ey meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, aft t ey haue necessarilie proceeded masters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie twise against some other man vpon a like number, and on two seuerall daies in the same place: which being doone with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batcheler of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene master of art by the space of seauen yéeres, according to their statutes. Masters of art. Batcheler of diuinitie.

The next and last degrée of all is the doctorship after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. I haue read that Iohn of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word doctor is not so strictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, sith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitiue church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptisme, or anie office in the church. Doctor.

Thus we sée, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degrée receiued, is commonlie eighteene or peraduenture twentie yéeres, in which time if a student hath not obteined sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarieng longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yéeres of age, the most part of students doo commonlie giue ouer their woonted diligence, & liue like drone bées on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet dooing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice in sted of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and vpright life, as bishop Fox sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit. This Fox builded Corpus Christi college in Oxford.

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the lawe, or physike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honor) so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the toongs and ripenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he doo, then his first degrée is bacheler of law, or physicke, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, doo for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finallie, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea doo in their owne or else where. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whense verie few without speciall grace doo returne good men, whatsoeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chiefelie the physicians who vnder pretense of séeking of forreine simples doo oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknowen than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be séene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, bicause of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people. So much also may be inferred of lawiers.

There is moreouer in euerie house a maister or prouost, who hath vnder him a president, & certeine

& certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauior and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. And these are the vsual names of gouernours in Cambridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In ech of these also they haue one or moe thresurers whom they call Bursarios or Bursers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses. Ouer each vniuersitie also there is a seuerall chancelor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, taskers, maisters of the streates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they haue vouchsafed rather of their fauour than my desert to yeeld and bestow vpon me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am resolutelie persuaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did signifie the vacation therof to the bishop, and the bishop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuersities, with request that the vicechancellor with his assistents might prouide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then should the church be prouided of good pastors, by whome God should be glorified, the vniuersities better stored, the simoniacall practises of a number of patrons vtterlie abolished and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie estate.

London. To these two also we may in like sort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are sundrie famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the rest of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as applie their minds to our common lawes. Out of these also come manie scholers of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore beene brought vp in one of the aforesaid vniuersities, and prooue such commonlie as in processe of time, rise vp (onelie through their profound skill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among themselues, and rules of discipline, vnder which they liue most ciuilie in their houses, albeit that the yoonger sort of them abroad in the streats are scarse able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was woont also greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betweene the students and the burgesses: but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine counteies it cannot yet be suppressed.

Grammar schooles. Besides these vniuersities, also there are great number of Grammer schooles through out the realme, and those verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore scholers, so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the queenes dominion, that hain not one Gramar schoole at the least, with a sufficient liuing for a maister and vsher appointed to the same.

Windsor, Winchester, Eaton, Westminster. There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windsor, Wincester, Eaton, Westminster (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father master Nowell now deane of Paules) and in those a great number of poore scholers dailie mainteened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue beene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke toongs, and rules of versifieng (the triall whereof is made by certeine apposers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are sent to certeine especiall houses in each vniuersitie, where they are receiued * the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to shew their faces in the schooles, as I haue said alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuersities, and likewise of colleges in the same, whose names I will also set downe here, with those of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer perish from among the wise and learned.

* [*and?*]

OF THE COLLEGES IN CAMBRIDGE WITH THEIR FOUNDERS.

Yeares of the foundations.	*Colleges.*	*Founders.*
1546	1 Trinitie college.	King Henrie 8.
1441	2 The kings college.	K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3 S. Iohns.	L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4 Christes college.	K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforesaid.
1446	5 The queenes college.	Ladie Margaret wife to king Henrie 6.
1496	6 Iesus college.	Iohn Alcocke bishop of Elie.
1342	7 Bennet college.	The brethren of a popish guild called *Corporis Christi.*
1343	8 Pembroke hall.	by Maria de Valentia, countesse of Pembroke.
1256	9 Peter college.	Hugh Balsham bishop of Elie.
1348 1557	10 Gundeuill and Caius college.	Edmund Gundeuill parson of Terrington, and Iohn Caius doctor of physicke.
1354	11 Trinitie hall.	William Bateman bishop of Norwich.
1326.	12 Clare hall.	Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13 Catharine hall.	Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.
1519	14 Magdalen college.	Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie.
1585	15 Emanuell college.	Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.

OF COLLEGES IN OXFORD.

Yeares.	*Colleges.*	*Founders.*	
1539	1 Christes church.	King Henrie 8.	
1459	2 Magdalen college.	William Wainflet first fellow of Merton college, then scholer at Winchester, and afterward bishop there.	He founded also a good part of Eaton college, and a frée schole at Wainflet where he was borne.
1375	3 New college.	William Wickham bishop of Winchester.	
1276	4 Merton college.	Walter Merton bishop of Rochester.	
1437	5 All soules college.	Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie.	
1516	6 Corpus Christi college.	Richard Fox bishop of Winchester.	
1430	7 Lincolne college.	Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne.	
1323	8 Auriell college.	Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.	
1340	9 The queenes college.	by R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.	
1263	10 Balioll college.	Iohn Balioll king of Scotland.	
1557	11 S. Iohns.	Sir Thomas White knight.	
1556	12 Trinitie college.	Sir Thomas Pope knight.	
1316	13 Excester college.	Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.	
1513	14 Brasen nose.	William Smith bishop of Lincolne.	
873	15 Vniuersitie college.	William archdeacon of Duresme.	
	16 Glocester college.	Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.	
	17 S. Marie college.		
	18 Iesus college now in hand.	Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.	

There

There are also in Oxford certeine hostels or hals, which may rightwell be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be seen in the other. I mine opinion the liuers in these are verie like to those that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names also are these so farre as I now remember.

Brodegates.	S. Marie hall.
Hart hall.	White hall.
Magdalen hall.	New In.
Alburne hall.	Edmond hall.
Postminster hall.	

The students also that remaine in them, are called hostelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to passe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie being brought vp in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant sort of Londoners called an hosteler, supposing that he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and therfore in despite diuerse hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the gospell, whereas in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient house & in the end a faithfull witnesse of Iesus Christ, in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his bloud and yeeld vp his life vnto the furie of his aduersaries.

Besides these there is mention and record of diuerse other hals or hostels, that haue beene there in times past, as Beefe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whose ruines yet appeere: so that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be seene, it should be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuersitie. Therin are also manie dwelling houses of stone yet standing, that haue beene hals for students of verie antike workemanship, beside the old wals of sundrie other, whose plots haue beene conuerted into gardens, since colleges were erected.

Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals.

In London also the houses of students at the Common law are these.

Sergeants In.	Furniuals In.
Graies In.	Cliffords In.
The Temple.	Clements In.
Lincolnes In.	Lions In.
Dauids In.	Barnards In.
Staple In.	New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuersities, whose lands some greedie gripers doo gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded sundrie reasons, whereby they supposed to haue preuailed in their purposes. But who are those that haue attempted this sute, other than such as either hate learning, pietie, and wisedome; or else haue spent all their owne, and know not otherwise than by incroching vpon other men how to mainteine themselues? When such a motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this maner; Ah sirha, I perceiue the abbeie lands haue fleshed you and set your teeth on edge, to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrow all goodnesse by subuersion of colleges. I tell you sirs that I iudge no land in England better bestowed than that which is giuen to our vniuersities, for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your selues with that you haue alreadie, or else seeke honest meanes whereby to increase your liuelods, for I loue not learning so ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one house by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden. In king Edwards daies likewise the same sute was once againe attempted (as I haue heard) but in vaine, for saith the duke of Summerset among other speeches tending to that end, who also made answer therevnto in the kings presence by his assignation; If lerning decaie, which of wild men

Now abbeies be gone, our dingthrifts prie after church and college possessions.

men maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors, of obstinat rebels obedient subiects, and of euill men good and godlie christians; what shall we looke for else but barbarisme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie shall be assailed, by such as liue to spend all, and thinke that what so euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath sweat and laboured for it. In quéene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie such course to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gratious quéene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a sort in talke the third time, but without successe as mooued also out of season, and so I hope it shall continue for euer. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to sée his countrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their councell house, by meanes whereof those people became sauage, tyrants, and mercilesse helhounds, till they restored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.

OF THE PARTITION OF ENGLAND INTO SHIRES AND COUNTIES.

CHAP. IV.

IN reding of ancient writers, as Cæsar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of sundrie regions to haue béene sometime in this Iland, as the Nouantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali or Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Parisi, Ordouici aliàs Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritani, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Casij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Kentishmen, and such like. But sith the seuerall places where most of them laie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of these daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon such doubtfull cases, least that in so dooing I should but increase coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with such as are of lesse value, and things nothing so likelie to be true, as those which other men haue remembred and set downe before me. Neither will I speake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whose number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Augustane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.

Alfred brought England into shires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the first Saxons by families.

It shall suffice therfore to begin with such a ground as from whence some better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the estate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who first diuided England into shires, which before his daies, and since the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the same in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doo witnesse.

Shire and share all one.

Into how manie shires the said Alfred did first make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, sith we find by no good author, that aboue fifteene haue beene added by anie of his successours, since the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shires, or shares, he diuided againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maister Lambert following their authorities, hath also giuen out, saieng almost after this maner in his description of Kent; "The Danes (saith he) both before, & in the time of king Alfred, had flocked by the sea coasts of this Iland in great numbers, sometimes wasting and spoiling with sword and fire, wheresoeuer they might arriue, and somtime taking

great booties with them to their ships, without dooing anie further hurt or damage to the countrie. This inconuenience continuing for manie yéeres togither, caused our husbandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion and hardinesse to euill disposed persons, to fall to the like pillage, as practising to follow the Danes in these their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloake their mischeefe withall, they feigned themselues to be Danish pirats, and would sometime come a land in one port, and sometime in another, driuing dailie great spoiles (as the Danes had doone) vnto their ships before them. The good king Alfred therefore (who had maruellouslie trauelled in repelling the barbarous Danes) espieng this outrage, and thinking it no lesse the part of a politike prince, to root out the noisome subiect, than to hold out the forren aduersarie: by the aduise of his nobilitie, and the example of Moses (who followed the counsell of Iethro his father in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme into certeine parts or sections, which (of the Saxon word Schyran, signifieng to cut) he termed shires, or as we yet speake, shares, or portions, of which some one hath fortie miles in length (as Essex) and almost so manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth, and Warwike six and thirtie in length, &c: and some of them also conteine ten, twelue, thirteene, sixtéene, twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or lesse, as some hundreds doo sixteene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or sixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred able men to serue him in the warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the gouernement of the same. These shires also he brake into lesser parts, whereof some were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which is to assemble togither; other hundreds, for that they enioied iurisdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and other tithings, bicause there were in each of them to the number of ten persons, whereof euerie one from time to time was suertie for others good abearing. He prouided also that euerie man should procure himselfe to be receiued into some tithing, to the end, that if anie were found of so small and base a credit, that no man would become pledge or suertie for him, he should forthwith be committed to prison, least otherwise he might happen to doo more harme abroad. Hitherto master Lambert." By whose words we may gather verie much of the state of this Iland in the time of Alfred, whose institution continued after a sort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in such wise (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of some officers (except peraduenture in Kent) so that in these daies it is hard to set downe anie great certeintie of things as they stood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this present.

Englishmen noisome to their owne countrie.

Earle and alderman.

What a lath is.

Some as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, doo saie that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old English a lath, as they coniecture. From which spéech in like sort some deriue the word Laistow, as if it should be trulie written Lath stow, a place wherein to laie vp or laie on things, of whatsoeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot absolutelie be satisfied, although peraduenture some likelihood in their iudgements may séeme to be therein. Other vpon some further consideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or shire conteining an appointed number of townes, whose inhabitants alwaies assembled to know and vnderstand of matters touching their portions, in to some one appointed place or other within their limits, especiallie whilest the causes were such as required not the aid or assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes also (as they saie) some shires had more, some lesse, as they were of greatnesse. And M. Lambert séemeth to be of the opinion, that the leets of our time (wherein these pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word Freeburgh) doo yeeld some shadow of that politike institution of Alfred. But sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe anie thing more than I read, least I should roue at randon in our obscure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke shall be of hundreds.

Léetes.

Hundred or wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in some, and by this diuision not a name

name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundreds should be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges (as I said) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in most places a borsholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the said Alfred caused ech man of frée condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwais haue such as should sweare or saie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honest behauiour and ciuill conuersation if it should happen at anie time, that his credit should come in question. In like sort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie small matter did fall out worthie to be discussed, the tithing man or borsholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high constable of which euerie hundred hath one at the least) should decide the same in their léetes, whereas the great causes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselues, & make finall ends of the same, according vnto iustice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelue men chosen of good age and wisedome, and those sworne to giue their sentences without respect of person, and in this maner (as they gather) were things handeled in those daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in vse, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the soldiers which were to serue in that hundred did méet, fetch their weapons, & go togither from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, then generallie knowen amongst them. It is supposed also that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and snatching, bicause the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or sundrie daies & made quicke dispatch of their lords haruest at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this maner.

Denarie or tithing.

Tithing man in Latine Decurio Borsholder. Burrow.

Twelue men.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie shires, and likewise thirtéene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times past were ordred by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreing one from another: as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the shires in England are these, whereof the first ten lie betwéene the British sea and the Thames, as Polydor also dooth set them downe.

Fortie shires in England, thirtéene in Wales.

Kent.	Wilshire.
Sussex.	Dorsetshire.
Surreie.	Summerset.
Hampshire.	Deuon.
Barkeshire.	Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the northside of the Thames, and betwéene the same and the riuer Trent, which passeth through the middest of England (as Polydor saith) sixtéene other shires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, more into the middest of the countrie.

Essex, somtime all forrest saue one hundred.	Cambrigeshire in which are 12 hundreds.
Middlesex.	Bedford.
Hartfordshire.	Huntingdon wherin are foure hundreds.
Suffolke.	Buckingham.
Norffolke.	Oxford.

Northampton.	Notinghamshire.
Rutland.	Warwike.
Leircestershire.	Lincolne.

We haue six also that haue their place westward towards Wales, whose names insue.

Glocester.	Shropshire.
Hereford.	Stafford.
Worcester.	Chestershire.

And these are the thirtie two shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same riuer we haue in like sort other eight, as

Darbie.	when it is accompted as parcell of Yorkeshire (out of which it is taken) then is it reputed for the whole Riding.
Yorke.	
Lancaster.	
Cumberland.	Durham.
Westmerland.	Northumberland.
Richemond, wherein are fiue wapentaxes, &	

So that in the portion sometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie shires. In Wales furthermore are thirtéene, whereof seuen are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or Cereticon.	Glamorgan.
Penmoroke, or Penbrooke.	Monmouth.
Caermardine, wherein are 9 hundreds or commots.	Breckenocke.
	Radnor.

In Northwales likewise are six, that is to saie

Angleseie.	Denbigh.
Carnaruon.	Flint.
Merioneth.	Montgomerie.

Which being added to those of England yéeld fiftie and thrée shires or counties, so that vnder the quéenes Maiestie are so manie counties, whereby it is easilie discerned, that hir power farre excéedeth that of Offa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had so much of Britaine vnder his subiection as afterward conteined thirtie nine shires, when the diuision was made, whereof I spake before.

Od parcels of shires.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuision of shires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid togither in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But sith the occasiõ hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or some like occasion, it is better briefelie to set downe how some of these parts lie than to spend the time in séeking a iust cause of this their od diuision. First therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamshire betweene Amondesham, and Beconsfield, there is a peece of Hartfordshire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie most. In Barkeshire also betwéene Ruscombe and Okingham is a péece of Wilshire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one side lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamptonshire directlie ouer against Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamshire, I find a parcell of Oxfordshire not passing two miles in compasse.

With Oxfordshire diuerse doo participate, in so much that a péece of Glocestershire, lieth halfe in Warwikeshire & halfe in Oxfordshire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Glocestershire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a péece of Worcestershire, directlie betwéene it & Glocestershire. Glocester hath the third péece vpon the north side of the Winrush neere Falbrocke, as Barkeshire hath one parcell also vpon the selfe side of the same water, in the verie edge of Glocestershire: likewise an other in Oxfordshire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer against Lachlade,

lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeshire, by a little strake of Oxfordshire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilshire were to be seene in Barkeshire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like sith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not presentlie gone thorough with them all, yet these may suffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof most readers (as I persuade my selfe) are ignorant.

But to proceed with our purpose. Ouer ech of these shires in time of necessitie is a seuerall lieutenant chosen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authoritie ouer the same for the time being in manie cases which doo concerne his office: otherwise it is gouerned by a shiriffe (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whose office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the excheker, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called Quæstor comitatus or Prouinciæ. This officer is resident and dwelling somewhere within the same countie, and called also a viscount, Quasi vicarius comitis or Procomes, in respect of the earle (or as they called him in time past the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be seldome seene in England, that the earle hath anie great store of possessions, or oughts to doo in the shire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his personall resiance, if he happen to dwell and be resident in the same. Lieutenants. Shiriffes.

In the election also of these magistrates, diuerse able persons aswell for wealth as wisedome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choise, whose names being deliuered to the prince, he foorthwith pricketh some such one of them, as he pleaseth to assigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is shiriffe of that shire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be chosen. The shiriffe also hath his vnder shiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the shire courts and law daies vnder him; vpon sufficient caution vnto the high shiriffe for his true execution of iustice, preseruation from impeachment, and yeelding of accompt when he shall be therevnto called. There are likewise vnder him certeine bailiffes, whose office is to serue and returne such writs and processes as are directed vnto them from the high shiriffe: to make seisure of the goods and cattels, and arrest the bodies of such as doo offend, presenting either their persons vnto him, or at the leastwise taking sufficient bond, or other assurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the shiriffe by order of law ought to present them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred also are one or more high constables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and iniunctions from the high shiriffe vnder his seale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouision of vittels or for other causes, or priuat purueiance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, doo forthwith charge the petie constables of euerie towne within their limits, with the execution of the same. Vndershiriffes. Bailiffes. High constables. Petie constables.

In each countie likewise are sundrie law daies holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retaine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, of the word motes and law. They haue also an other called the shiriffes turne, which they hold twise in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the first of Maie, vntill the first of euerie moneth) and in these two latter such small matters as oft arise amongst the inferior sort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter sessions, wherein they are assisted by the iustices and gentlemen of the countrie, & twise in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie seuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iustices there resiant associat them) & minister the lawes of the realme, with great solemnitie & iustice. Howbeit in dooing of these things, they reteine still the old order of the land in vse before the conquest. For they commit the full examination of all causes there to be heard, to the consideration of twelue sober, graue, and wise men, chosen out of the same countie; and foure of them of necessitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth Motelagh. Shiriffes turne. Gaile deliuerie or great assises.

Inquests. (which number they call an inquest) & of these inquests there are more or lesse impanneled at euerie assise, as the number of cases there to be handled dooth craue and require, albeit that some one inquest hath often diuerse matters to consider of. And when they haue (to their vttermost power) consulted and debated of such things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iustice, with their verdict in writing, according wherevnto the iudge dooth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what soeuer is brought before him. It is also verie often séene, that such as are nominated to be of these inquests, doo after their charge receiued seldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agréed vpon their verdict, and yeelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof sometimes it commeth to passe that diuerse of the inquest haue béene welneere famished, or at least taken such a sickenesse thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practise, when the one side feareth the sequele, and therefore conueieth some one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yéeld vnto the rest, but of set purpose put them to this trouble.

Certes it is a common practise (if the vnder shiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or stronger side to procure and packe such a quest, as he himselfe shall like of, whereby he is sure of the issue before the charge be giuen: and beside this if the matter doo iustlie procéed against him, it is a world to sée now and then how the honest yeomen that haue Atteinct. Bona fide discharged their consciences shall be sued of an atteinct, & bound to appéere at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they shall be caried from place to place, countie to countie, yea and sometime in carts, which hath and dooth cause a great number of them to absteine from the assises, & yeeld to paie their issues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, whervpon poore men, not hauing in their pursses wherewith to beare their costes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halfe so painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and atturneies hath so exceedinglie increased, that some shifts must néeds be found and matters sought out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or three Nisi priùs, but verie seldome of an atteinct, wheras now an hundred & more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often perceiued, and some of them for a cause arising of sixpence or tweluepence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue béene in time past, and readier to reuenge their quarels of small importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpose, from whence I haue now digressed.

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are sundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present the plées of the crowne, to make inquirie of treasure found, &c. There are diuerse also of Iustices of peax & quorum. the best learned of the law, beside sundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not suffice (and whose reuenues doo amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir subiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwise called of Oier and Determiner, so that the first haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine such matters as are brought vnto their presence. These also doo direct their warrants to the kéepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the safe kéeping of such offendors as they shall iudge worthie to commit vnto their custodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assises, to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these officers were first deuised about the eightéene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue béene informed.

Quarter sessions. They méeting also & togither with the shiriffes, doo hold their aforesaid sessions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of sundri

drie trespasses, and the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and diuerse other things, determining vpon them as iustice dooth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, wherein the weights and measures are perused by the clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these méetings also vittellers, and in like sort seruants, labourers, roges and runnagates, are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not since their second apprehension applied themselues to labour, or else to be set perpetuallie to worke in an house erected in euerie shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in greatest feare. Petie sessions.

I might here deliuer a discourse of sundrie rare customes and courts, surnamed barons, yet mainteined and holden in England: but forsomuch as some of the first are beastlie, and therefore by the lords of the soiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the most part deuised in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in méere contempt and slauish abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of sundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange maner; yet none more absurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therfore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are that were deuised vpon such occasions. This court is kept vpon wednesdaie insuing after Michaelmasse daie after midnight, so that it is begun and ended before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also are altogither in an alehouse, the steward secretlie stealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where sitting on a mole-hill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing their appéerance vpon a péece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in the lanterne: so soone as the tenants also doo misse the steward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there answer all at once, Here here, wherby they escape their amercements: which they should not doo if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had missed him in the alehouse. And this is the verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie against their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could beside this speake also of some other, but sith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to haue said so much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe generallie of the said counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in so perfect order as the cause requireth, bicause that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to saie truth) smallie concerneth my calling. What else is to be added after the seuerall shires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuision of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reserue vnto that excellent treatise of my frend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse the same.

OF DEGREES OF PEOPLE IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. V.

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure sorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgesses, yeomen, which are artificers, or laborers. Of gentlemen the first and chéefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons: and these are called gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of spéech is) lords and noblemen:

noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, esquiers, and last of all they that are simplie called getlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, wherof in this chapiter I will make particular rehearsall.

Prince. The title of prince dooth peculiarlie belong with vs to the kings eldest sonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie Monsieur. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word Princeps, sith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king. The kings yoonger sonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher estate, as to be either visconts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie assigned to the king and prince, and now also by custome conueied to dukes, archbishops, and (as some saie) to marquesses and their wiues.

Duke. The title of duke commeth also of the Latine word Dux, à ducendo, bicause of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times past a name of office due to the emperour, consull, or chéefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although perished in England, whose ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, or as there be now earles, I doo not thinke but that they would florish and prosper well inough.

Marquesse. In old time he onelie was called marquesse, Qui habuit terram limitaneam, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, and thereby bound to kéepe and defend the frontiers. But that also is changed in common vse, and reputed for a name of great honor next vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.

Earle. The name of earle likewise was among the Romans a name of office, who had Comites sacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites stabuli, comites patrimonij, largitionum, scholarum, commerciorum, and such like. But at the first they were called Comites, which were ioined in commission with the proconsull, legate, or iudges for counsell and aids sake in each of those seuerall charges. As Cicero epistola ad Quintum fratrem remembreth, where he saith; "Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores, negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa respublica duntaxat finibus his præstabis, quos ante præscripsi, &c." After this I read also that euerie president in his charge was called Comes, but our English Saxons vsed the word Hertoch and earle for Comes, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sith the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. Goropius saith, that Comes and Graue is all one, to wit the viscont,

Viscont. called either Procomes, or Vicecomes: and in time past gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie such seruice or office, it is also become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degrée before the baron. His reléefe also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fiue at the most for euerie fée.

Baron. The baron, whose degrée answered to the dignitie of a senator in Rome, is such a frée lord as hath a lordship or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerse knights or fréeholders holding of him, who with him did serue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in Baronia, that is, for performance of such seruice. These Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth Barones, quasi robur belli. The word Baro indéed is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written since the conquest, we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans Liberi vel Ingenui, or Freihers in the Germane toong as some men doo coniecture, or (as one saith) the citizens and burgesses of good townes and cities were called Barones. Neuerthelesse by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word Baro and Filius in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properlie called Barones, from whome also it was first translated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferentlie. That Baro and Filius signifieth one thing, it yet

remaineth

remaineth to be séene, although with some corruption: for to this daie, euen the common sort doo call their male children barnes here in England, especiallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accustomablie in vse. And it is also growne into a prouerbe in the south, when anie man susteineth a great hinderance, to saie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue toong (as some affirme) it signifieth Filij solis, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but Filij or serui regum? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from hensefoorth the originall of the word Baro shall not be anie more to seeke: and the first time that euer I red thereof in anie English historie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnecester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else-where remembred. Howbeit the word Baro dooth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the chéefe or high tribune of the excheker is of custome called lord chéefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts next vnto the lord treasuror, as they are vnder him are called Tribuni ærarij, & rationales. Hervnto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not seldome and in like sort with sundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they doo execute the same, and no longer.

Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the same roome in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whose countenances in time past were much more glorious than at this present it is, bicause those lustie prelats sought after earthlie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost shéepe of Christ, of which they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leisure to attend vpon the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth no lesse reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they estéemed with high and low. They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the eldership is equallie distributed betwéene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill gouernements sake, the first haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the rest maie thereby be with more ease reteined within a limited compasse of vniformitie, than otherwise they would be, if ech one were suffered to walke in his owne course. This also is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their estate, crieng to haue the word lord abolished, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to saie trulie, few of them doo agrée vpon forme of discipline and gouernement of the church succedent: wherein they resemble the Capuans, of whome Liuie dooth speake in the slaughter of their senat. Neither is it possible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one towne or citie, or to stirre vp such an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or desire, sith our corruption is such that it will neuer yéeld to so great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat house, will much lesse be brought to passe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before such a prince be found as Xenophon describeth, or such an orator as Tullie hath deuised. But whither am I digressed from my discourse of bishops, whose estates doo daily decaie, & suffer some diminution? Herein neuerthelesse their case is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared bicause of their authoritie and seuere gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie for their painefull diligence dailie shewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of some hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & snatch at the loose ends of their best commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guise, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall liuing, what part thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse. Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie for their places of estate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuerthelesse with what degrées of honour and worship they haue béene

Bishops.

1. Sam. b 15. 1. Reg. a 7.

De Asia, cap. 12.

matched in times past Iohannes Bohemus in his De omnium gentium moribus, and others doo expresse; and this also found beside their reports, that in time past euerie bishop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and sundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious comparisons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie shroonke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to mainteine such pompous vanitie, they doo thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their sées (so long as they shall be able) from the hands of such as indeuour for their owne preferrement to fléece and diminish the same. This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in deed so skilfull in the two principall toongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be exactlie seene in the Greeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterlie ignorant or nothing conuersant in them. As for the Latine toong it is not wanting in anie of the ministerie, especiallie in such as haue beene made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vnserued, bicause they had none at all. And to saie truth, our aduersaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilest they made no further accompt of their priesthood, than to construe, sing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in quéene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to doo anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.

No Gréeke, no grace.

Bene con, bene can, bene le.

Duke, marquesse, earle, viscont.

Dukes, marquesses, earles, visconts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good seruice doone by the first ancestor, with some aduancement, which with the title of that honour is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but esquiers: yet in common spéech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie dooth agrée to none of lower degrée than barons, yet by law and vse these be not esteemed barons.

Barons.

The baronie or degrée of lords dooth answer to the degree of senators of Rome (as I said) and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Also in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie dispend of yearelie reuenues a thousand pounds, or so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But visconts, erles, marquesses, and dukes excéed them according to the proportion of their degrée & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he kéepeth this degree: but if the decaie be excessiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as Senatores Romani were amoti à senatu: so sometimes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parlement although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention; in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

Of the second degrée of gentlemen.

This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, indeuouring to restore the decaied estate of Italie vnto some part of hir pristinate magnificence, did after the French example giue Dignitates & prædia to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valuasors or capteins, and valuasines.

Prædia.

His Prædia in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, profits by saltpits, milles, water-courses (and whatsoeuer emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word Baro was brought into those parts. And as for the valuasors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrées of honor vnder the first three

three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) so that they are called Maiores, minores, & minimi valuasores. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor therof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquesse, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called Maiores valuasores, if from anie of his thrée péeres, then were they Minores valuasores: but if anie of these Valuasors doo substitute a deputie, those are called Minimi valuasores, and their deputies also Valuasini, without regard vnto which degrée the valuasor dooth apperteine: but the word Valuasor is now growne out of vse, wherefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function. Valuasores.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for their courage and prowesse alreadie shewed (& then are they called Milites;) or out of the warres for some great seruice doone, or for the singular vertues which doo appeare in them, and then are they named Equites aurati, as common custome intendeth. They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order seemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called Equitum Romanorum. For as Equites Romani were chosen Ex censu, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or aboundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their estates. Yet all that had Equestrem censum, were not chosen to be knights, and no more be all made Knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuerse ancient gentlemen, burgesses, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and neuerthelesse refuse to take that state vpon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwise their seruice should be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this also is a cause, wherefore there be manie in England able to dispend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents. The number of the knights in Rome was also vncerteine: and so is it of knights likewise with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. And whereas the Equites Romani had Equum publicum of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie méet for their defense and seruice. This neuerthelesse is certeine, that who so may dispend 40 pounds by the yeare of frée land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degrée, or otherwise paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time be acquited of that title. We name him knight in English that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins Equitem, or Equestris ordinis virum. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is striken of the king or his substitute with his sword naked vpon the backe or shoulder, the prince, &c: saieng, "Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu." And when he riseth vp the king saith "Aduances bon cheualier." This is the maner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in vse among the common sort. Knights. Milites. Equites aurati.

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But how soeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the barons wife; he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife also of courtesie so long as she liueth is called my ladie, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the cōmon law she hath no such prerogatiue. If hir first husband also be of better birth than hir second, though this later likewise be a knight, yet in that she pretendeth Knights of the bath.

a priuilege to loose no honor through courtesie yéelded to hir sex, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not séene elsewhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knighthood in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, in tituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king Iohn of France, and king Iames of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his realme, and restored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blacke prince) he then inuented this societie of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowmed persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garnished with gold and pretious stones, to weare dailie on the left leg onlie: also a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other solemne and magnificent apparell, both of stuffe and fashion exquisite & heroicall to weare at high feasts, & as to so high and princelie an order apperteineth. Of this companie also he and his successors kings and queenes of England, be the souereignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the same, an example whereof I haue here inserted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

Round table.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table and estate of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in so dooing that I should rather set downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue péeres, with their solémne rites and vsages: but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errours and fables inserted into the same by the lewd religious sort, that except a man should professe to lie with them for companie, there is little sound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerse aswell subiects as princes haue attempted to restore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth) but such were the excessiue charges apperteining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie insued therevpon, beside the breeding of sundrie quarrels among the knights, and such as resorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and suffered their whole inuentions to perish and decaie, till Edward the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

Roger Mortimer.

The occasion of the deuise.

The order of the garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) vpon this occasion. The quéenes maiestie then liuing, being departed from his presence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following soone after happened to find hir garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from hir leg, vnespied in the throng by such as attended vpon hir. His groomes & gentlemen also passed by it, disdaining to stoope and take vp such a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to staie and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (saieth a gentleman) it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from hir as she followed the quéenes maiestie. What soeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had receiued the garter, he said to such as stood about him: You my maisters doo make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all, to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had so simple a begining hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performance of his deuise, and had

Peraduenture but a blue ribben.

set

set downe such orders as he himselfe inuented concerning the same, he proclamed a roiall feast to be holden at Windsore, whither all his nobilitie resorted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and foorthwith inuested an appointed number into the afore said fellowship, whose names insue, himselfe being the souereigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himselfe also he placed

Edward Prince of Wales.
Henrie duke of Lancaster.
N. earle of Warw.
N. capt. de Bouche.
N. earle of Stafford.
N. earle of Sarum.
N. lord Mortimer.
Sir Iohn Lisle.
Sir Bartholomew Burwash.
N. sonne of sir Iohn Beauchamp.
Sir N. de Mahun.
S. Hugh Courtneie.
S. Thomas Holland.
Sir Iohn Graie.
Sir Rich. Fitzsimon.
Sir Miles Stapleton.
Sir Thomas Wale.
Sir Hugh Wrotesley.
Sir Neale Lording.
Sir Iohn Chandos.
S. Iames Dawdleie.
Sir Otho Holland.
Sir Henrie Eme.
Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
Sir Walter Pannell aliàs Paganell.

What order of election, and what estatutes were prescribed vnto the elected at this first institution, as yet I can not exactlie vnderstand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before the six and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the sixt: wherefore of necessitie I must resort vnto the estate of the said order as it is at this present, which I will set downe so brieflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a roome found void for his admission) into this fellowship, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithstanding that he before hand be nominated to the same, to this effect. Right trustie and welbeloued we greete you well, asserteining you, that in consideration aswell of your approoued truth and fidelitie, as also of your couragious and valiant acts of knighthood, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in sundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, assembled at the election holden this daie within our manour of N. haue elected and chosen you amongst other to be one of the companions of the said Order, as your deserts doo condignelie require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient diligence vpon the sight herof, you repaire vnto our presence, there to receiue such things as to the said order apperteineth. Dated vnder our signet at our maner of N. &c. These letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it should seeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi sexti at Greenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordships honorable father, at such time as they were called vnto the aforesaid companie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the same. Election.

Edward duke of Summerset vncle to the king.
The marq. of Northhampton.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.
Earle of Shrewesburie.
L. Russell lord priuie seale.
L. S. Iohn lord great master.
Sir Iohn Gage.
S. Anthonie Wingfield.
Sir William Paget.

Being elected, preparation is made for his installing at Windsore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner be set vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in bredth, besides the fringe. Secondlie his sword of whatsoeuer length him seemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of three inches at the least. Fourthlie the crest, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such conuenient stuffe and bignesse, as it shall please him to appoint. Admissions.

Item

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his stall, and crest with mantels and beasts supportant, to be grauen in the mettall.

Item lodging scutcheons of his armes, inuironed with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fixed in the common Ins where he dooth lodge, as a testimonie of his presence and staies from time to time as he did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college at Windsore, the other to vse at his pleasure, with the scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, tasselets, and knops of blue silke and gold belonging to the same.

Item a surcote or gowne of red or crimosine veluet, with a whood of the same, lined with white sarcenet or damaske.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garnished with precious stones or otherwise.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle and pendant garnished with gold.

Item a booke of the statutes of the said order.

Item a scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to set vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to be prouided against his installation.

Installation. When anie knight is to be installed, he hath with his former letters, a garter sent vnto him, and when he commeth to be installed, he is brought into the chapter house, where incontinentlie his commission is read before the souereigne, or his deputie, and the assemblie present: from hence he is lead by two knights of the said order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or else the king at armes, to whome it secondarilie apperteineth to

Mantell. beare it. This mantell shall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his stall, and not before: which doone, he shall returne vnto the chapter house, where the souereigne, or his deputie, shall deliuer him his collar, and so he shall haue the full possession

Stall. of his habit. As for his stall, it is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, so that each one called vnto this knighthood (the souereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted) shall haue the same seat, which became void by the death of his predecessor, howsoeuer it fall out: wherby a knight onlie oftentimes dooth sit before a duke, without anie murmuring or grudging at his roome, except it please the souereigne, once in his life onelie to make a generall alteration of those seats, and to set each one according to his degrée.

Now as touching the apparell of these knights, it remaineth such as king Edward, the first deuiser of this order left it, that is to saie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to say, scarlet, sanguine in grain, blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at his pleasure the content of cloth for his gowne and whood, lined with white satine or damaske, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his gowne and whood, and garters with letters of gold at his pleasure, beside fiue timber of the finest mineuer.

A timber conteineth fortie skins, peltes, or felles.

A duke hath fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fiue yards of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 110 garters of silke.

An earle fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of silke.

A viscount fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 90 garters of silke.

A baron fiue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer gresse, 80 garters of silke.

A banneret fiue yards of woollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer, 70 garters of silke.

A knight fiue yards of woollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer, 60 garters of silke.

The bishop of Winchester chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure,

pure, ninetéene timber gresse, thrée timber and a halfe of the best, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellor of the order fiue yards of woollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer pure.

The register of the order fiue yardes of woollen cloth, thrée timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are six and twentie in number, and whose patrone in time of superstition was supposed to be S. George, of whome they were also called S. Georges knights as I haue heard reported. Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by some other name, for the title of saint George argueth a wrong patrone.

Furthermore at his installation he is solemnelie sworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good also to annex, in this maner. You being chosen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, shall promise and sweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maiestie, and to obserue and kéepe all the points of the statutes of the said order, and euerie article in them conteined, the same being agréeable and not repugnant to the kings highnesse other godlie procéedings, so far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premisses. Installation.

As touching the estatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo arise aboue the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall souereigne of that order hath to determine and resolue the same: Neither are anie chosen therevnto vnder the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of bloud and of sound estimation. Estatutes.

And for the better vnderstanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to descend of thrée descents of noblenesse, that is to saie, of name and of armes both by father and mother. Gentleman of bloud.

There are also foure degrées of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the first is heresie lawfullie prooued, the second high treason, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall excesse of expenses, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Degrées of reproch.

Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforesaid apparell, it is their custome to weare the same, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter house of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like sort they weare also their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the souereigne, or his deputie in the same in maner of procession from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewise backe againe vnto the aforsaid place, not putting it from them, vntill supper be ended, and the auoid doone. The next daie they resort vnto the chappell also in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their said apparell vnto euening praier, and likewise all the supper time, vntill the auoid be finished. In the solemnitie likewise of these feasts, the thirtéene chanons there, and six and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof those for the chanons are of Murreie with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a scutcheon onelie of the said armes. Apparell.

If anie knight of this order be absent from this solemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be present either through bodilie sicknesse, or his absence out of the land: he dooth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable stall for the kings maiestie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of estat, and cushions, and scutchion of the garter, and therein the armes of the order. Also his owne stall of which side soeuer it be distant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed so nigh as he can, after the maner and situation of his stall at Windsore, there to remaine, the first euening praier on the euen of S. George, or thrée of the clocke, and likewise the next daie during the time of the diuine seruice, vntill the morning praier, and the rest of the seruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with Sicke or absent.

with the George and the lace, without either whood, collar or surcote. Or if he be so sicke that he doo keepe his bed, he dooth vse to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine seruice aforesaid.

Offering. At the seruice time also vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (sauing the deputie of the souereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the sword with the hilts forwards, which being doone the first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme and crest, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the statutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe lords, dooth deliuer at his offering a peece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he so procéedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like solemnitie vnto his stall, and next of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himselfe, whose oblation being made, euerie knight according to their stals, with an herald before him procéedeth to the offering.

Buriall. What solemnitie is vsed at the buriall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefore I will shew generallie what is doone at the disgrading of one of these knights, if through anie grieuous offense he be separated from this companie. Whereas otherwise the signe of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end &. finish vp his daies. Therfore when anie such thing is doone, promulgation is made therof after this maner insuing.

Disgrading. Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the most noble order of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and destestable crime of high treason, for he hath most traitorouslie conspired against our most high and mightie prince souereigne of the said order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath sworne and taken. For which causes therefore he hath deserued to be deposed from this noble order, and fellowship of this Garter. For it may not be suffered that such a traitor and disloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowmed stomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes should be mingled with those of noble chiualrie. Wherefore our most excellent prince and supreme of this most honorable order, by the aduise and counsell of his collegues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deserued shall be from hencefoorth be taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himselfe cleane cut off from the societie of this renowmed order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the same, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like trespasse, or fall into such notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there resorteth vnto the partie to be disgraded certeine officers with diuerse of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inuestiture, after a solemne maner.

And hitherto of this most honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering thus much. For sith the noble order of the Toison Dor or golden fléese, with the ceremonies apperteining vnto the creation and inuestiture of the six and thirtie knights thereof: and likewise that of saint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are discoursed vpon at large by the historiographers of their owne countries, without reprehension or checke, especiallie by Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis, where he calleth them Cheualliers sans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the least, and honour thereof so great, that it is not lawfull for them to sell, giue or laie the same to morgage (would to God they might once brooke their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not suffer some of the best of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I trust I haue not giuen anie cause of displeasure, briefelie to set foorth those things that apperteine vnto our renowmed order of the Garter, in whose compasse is written commonlie, * "Honi soit qui mal y pense," which is so much to saie, as, "Euill come to him that euill thinketh:" a verie sharpe imprecation, and yet such as is not contrarie to the word, which promiseth like measure to the meter, as he dooth mete to others.

* Some think that this was the answer of the quéene, when the king asked what men would thinke of hir, in losing the garter after such a maner.

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, so that being before but a bacheler knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to displaie his armes in a banner, as barrons doo. Howbeit these knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings standard being vnfolded. Bannerets.

Esquire (which we call commonlie squire) is a French word, and so much in Latine as Scutiger vel armiger, and such are all those which beare armes, or armoires, testimonies of their race from whence they be descended. They were at the first costerels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being instructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to distinguish them from common souldiers called Gregarij milites when they were togither in the field. Esquire.

Gentlemen be those whome their race and bloud, or at the least their vertues doo make noble and knowne. The Latines call them Nobiles & generosos, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as Gens in Latine betokeneth the race and surname: so the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were also called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that house and race. Gentlemen.

Moreouer as the king dooth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, so gentlemen whose ancestors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much lesse of the British issue) doo take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times. Who soeuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who so abideth in the vniuersitie giuing his mind to his booke, or professeth physicke and the liberall sciences, or beside his seruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, or good counsell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same doo of custome pretend antiquitie and seruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made so good cheape be called master, which is the title that men giue to esquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is so much the lesse to be disalowed of, for that the prince dooth loose nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subiect to taxes and publike paiments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise dooth beare the gladlier for the sauing of his reputation. Being called also to the warres (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle) what soeuer it cost him, he will both arraie & arme himselfe accordinglie, and shew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he representeth. No man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe saith, now and then beare a bigger saile than his boat is able to susteine. Lawiers students in vniuersities. Physicians. Capteins.

Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great strife sometimes amongst the Romans, I meane when those which were Noui homines, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie séene and shewed, than the old smell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardise & euill life of their nephues & defendants * could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iustice and equitie, so it forceth not what language the malicious doo giue out, against such as are exalted for their wisdomes. This neuerthelesse is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to passe that they returne far worsse men than they went out. A gentleman at this present is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earnest protestant, but comming home he could saie after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no losse or hinderance of a further purpose is susteined by holding of the same; and forgiuenesse onelie to be shewed when full reuenge is made. Another no * Sic.—qu. dependants?

lesse forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a foole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more foole that will loose anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for constant leaning to anie: but if he yéeld to loose his life for his possession, he is stark mad, and worthie to be taken for most foole of all the rest. This gaie bootie gate these gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may see what fruit is afterward to be looked for where such blossoms doo appéere. I care not (saith a third) what you talke to me of God, so as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my side. Such men as this last, are easilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe also in England, with pages at their héeles finelie apparelled, whose face and countenance shall be such as sheweth the master not to be blind in his choise. But least I should offend too much, I passe ouer to saie anie more of these Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifest to the world, and yet not called into question.

Citizens and burgesses.

Citizens and burgesses haue next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and are of some likelie substance to beare office in the same. But these citizens ro burgesses rae to serue the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assemblie of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assemblie is called the high court of parlement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesses to haue voices in it, and giue their consent or dissent vnto such things as passe or staie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

Merchants.

In this place also are our merchants to be installed, as amongst the citizens (although they often change estate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conuersion of the one into the other) whose number is so increased in these our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cause of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwise when euerie nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great transportation of them into other countries, I speake not, sith the matter will easilie bewraie it selfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the state of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wished that the huge heape of them were somewhat restreined, as also of our lawiers, so should the rest liue more easilie vpon their owne, and few honest chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doo not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and so are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie sale of things, vpon pretense of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times past, when the strange bottoms were suffered to come in, we had sugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatise is well worth halfe a crowne, raisons or corints for a penie that now are holden at six pence, and sometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raisons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and sixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may sée the sequelé of things not alwaies but verie seldome to be such as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the most part brode clothes and carsies of all colours, likewise cottons, fréeses, rugs, tin, wooll, our best béere, baies, bustian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rash, lead, fells, &c: which being shipped at sundrie ports of our coasts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times past their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iseland onelie: now in these daies, as men not contented with these iournies, they haue sought out the east and west Indies, and made now and then suspicious voiages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewise into Cathaia, Moscouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they saie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I sée

not

not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for so I doo accompt of it) was sufficientlie prouided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble estatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occasion the generall execution thereof is staied or not called on, in good sooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and seuerall vocation striueth with other, which of them should haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne cesterne.

Yeomen are those, which by our law are called Legales homines, free men borne English, and may dispend of their owne frée land in yearelie reuenue, to the summe of fortie shillings sterling, or six pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the same which the French men call varlets, but as that phrase is vsed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be so. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which signifieth (as I haue read) a settled or staid man, such I meane as being maried and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This sort of people haue a certeine preheminence, and more estimation than labourers & the common sort of artificers, & these commonlie liue wealthilie, kéepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called Pagani, & opponuntur militibus, and therfore Persius calleth himselfe Semipaganus) or at the leastwise artificers, & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and kéeping of seruants (not idle seruants as the gentlemen doo, but such as get both their owne and part of their masters liuing) do come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands wherevpon they may liue without labour, doo make them by those meanes to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called master as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie Iohn and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue doone verie good seruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were woont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horssemen: the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist.

Yeomen.

Englishmen on foot and Frenchmen on horssebacke best.

The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie labourers, poore husbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no frée land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, shomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, naie such is the priuilege of our countrie by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so frée of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is vterlie remooued from them, wherein we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed frée, but) the old Indians and the Taprobanes, who supposed it a great iniurie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whome she in hir woonted course dooth product and bring foorth frée. This fourth and last sort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make up their inquests of such maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, sidemen, aleconners, now and then constables, and manie times inioie the name of hedboroughes. Vnto this sort also may our great swarmes of idle seruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a prouerbe; Yoong seruing men old beggers, bicause seruice is none heritage. These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well perused, they are enimies to their masters, to their freends, and to themselues: for by them oftentimes their masters are incouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their frèends brought vnto pouertie by their rents in-

Capite censi or *Proletarij*.

No slaues nor bondmen in England

hanced, and they themselues brought to confusion by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as men that hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their excesses, doo search in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and stables, which way to supplie their wants. How diuerse of them also coueting to beare an high saile doo insinuate themselues with yoong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the case is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but also their liuelihoods and reuenues so wasted and consumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they shall be able to recouer themselues. It were verie good therefore that the superfluous heapes of them were in part diminished. And sith necessitie inforceth to haue some, yet let wisdome moderate their numbers, so shall their masters be rid of vnnecessarie charge, and the common wealth of manie théeues. No nation cherisheth such store of them as we doo here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themselues to idlenesse, that otherwise would be brought to labour, and liue in order like subiects. Of their whoredomes I will not speake anie thing at all, more than of their swearing, yet is it found that some of them doo make the first a cheefe piller of their building, consuming not onelie the goods but also the health & welfare of manie honest gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by such vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I waded in this point, or how farre may I saile in such a large sea? I will therefore now staie to speake anie more of those kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter, this furthermore among other things I haue to saie of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in their trades as at this present. But as the workemanship of the later sort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, so was it neuer lesse strong and substantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common sort of our artificers more than hast, and a barbarous or slauish desire to turne the penie, and by ridding their worke to make spéedie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and dispatch manie things they care not how so they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often sore defrauded, and findeth to his cost, that hast maketh wast, according to the prouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no néed? How manie néedfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great cost, &c: and yet may with farre more ease and lesse cost be prouided from other countries if we could vse the meanes. I will not speake of iron, glasse, and such like, which spoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better chéepe than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie also in manie other. But to leaue these things and procéed with our purpose, and herein (as occasion serueth) generallie by waie of conclusion to speake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by three sorts of persons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the woman) the quéene: in whose name and by whose authoritie all things are administred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two sorts, as the baronie or estate of lords (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and also those that be no lords, as knights, esquiers, & simple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of these also are the great deputies and high presidents chosen, of which one serueth in Ireland, as another did sometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lord president dooth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this Iland, which later with certeine councellors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forsomuch as I haue touched their conditions elsewhere, it shall be inough to haue remembred them at this time.

3 The third and last sort is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their sequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue said somewhat euen now. Whereto I ad that they be not called masters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Coot, goodman Cornell, goodman Mascall, goodman Cockswet, &c: & in matters of law these and the like are called thus, Giles Iewd yeoman, Edward Mountford yeoman, Iames Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman,

yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common sorts. Cato calleth them Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ, of whom also you may read more in the booke of common wealth which sir Thomas Smith sometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen also some are by the prince chosen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which said offices diuerse concerne the whole realme; some be more priuat and peculiar to the kings house. And they haue their places and degrées, prescribed by an act of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octaui, after this maner insuing.

These foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasuror (who is Supremus ærarij Anglici quæstor *or* Tribunus ærarius maximus) the lord President of the councell, and the lord Priuie seale, being persons of the degrée of a baron or aboue, are in the same act appointed to sit in the parlement and in all assemblies or councell aboue all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, Videlicet the kings brother, vncle, or nephue.

And these six, the lord great Chamberleine of England: the lord high Constable of England: the lord Marshall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great master or Steward of the kings house: and the lord Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all assemblies of councell, after the lord priuie seale, according to their degrées and estats: so that if he be a baron, then he is to sit aboue all barons: or an earle, aboue all earles.

And so likewise the kings secretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, he shall sit and be placed according therevnto.

The rehearsall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or first calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this present.

No duke in England.

Earles.

The Marquise of Winchester.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Oxford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shrewesburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derbie.
The earle of Worcester.
The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Sussex.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbrooke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leicester.
The earle of Essex.
The earle of Lincolne.

Viscents.

The viscont Montague.
The viscont Bindon.

Barons.

The lord of Abergeuennie.
The lord Awdeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Morleie.
The lord Dacres of the south.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scroope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windsore.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willowbie.

The

The lord Sheffeld.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chichester.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunsdon.

The lord saint Iohn of Bletso.
The lord of Buckhirst.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

Bishops in their anciencie, as they sat in parlement, in the fift of the Queenes maiesties reigne that now is.

Cleargie.

The archbishop of Canturburie.
The archbishop of Yorke.
London.

Durham.
Winchester.

The rest had their places in senioritie of consecration.

Chichester.
Landaffe.
Hereford.
Elie.
Worcester.
Bangor.
Lincolne.
Salisburie.
S. Dauids.
Rochester.

Bath and Welles.
Couentrie and Lichfield.
Excester.
Norwich.
Peterborough.
Carleill.
Chester.
S. Assaph.
Glocester.

And this for their placing in the parlement house. Howbeit, when the archbishop of Canturburie siteth in his prouinciall assemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbishop of Yorke, and next vnto him the bishop of Winchester, on the left hand the bishop of London: but if it fall out that the archbishop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his sée, then the archbishop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the bishop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Winchester to his left, the rest sitting alwaies as afore, that is to saie, as they are elders by consecration, which I thought good also to note out of an ancient president.

OF THE FOOD AND DIET OF THE ENGLISH.

CHAP. VI.

THE situation of our region, lieng néere vnto the north, dooth cause the heate of our stomaches to be of somewhat greater force: therefore our bodies doo craue a little more ample nourishment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accustomed withall, whose digestiue force is not altogither so vehement, bicause their internall heat is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the coldnesse of the aire, that from time to time (speciallie in winter) dooth enuiron our bodies.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifullie garnished than those of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen since the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our predecessors fed largelie vpon flesh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, bicause they applied their chéefe studies vnto pasturage and féeding. After this maner also did our

Welsh

Welsh Britons order themselues in their diet so long as they liued of themselues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the English they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, so that at this daie there is verie little difference betweene vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewise they haue giuen themselues (of late yeares to speake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for some respect nature dooth make them equall with vs: so otherwise they far excéed vs in ouer much and distemperate gormandize, and so ingrosse their bodies that diuerse of them doo oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to spend their times in large tabling and bellie chéere. Against this pampering of their carcasses dooth Hector Boetius in his description of the countrie verie sharpelie inueigh in the first chapter of that treatise. Henrie Wardlaw also bishop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into excéssiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with Iames the first (who had béene long time prisoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries, and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) dooth vehementlie exclame against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three estats, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restreint of superfluous diet, amongest other things baked meats (dishes neuer before this mans daies seene in Scotland) were generallie so prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the samé vnder the degrée of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiuall daies, but alas it was soone forgotten.

In old time these north Britons did giue themselues vniuersallie to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often féed but once or twise at the most in two or thrée daies (especiallie if they held themselues in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marises, through the presence of the enimie) and in this distresse they vsed to eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rootes, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such prouision at hand, then vsed they to créepe into the water or said moorish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and béene readie to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ouer all, to eat either goose, hare, or henne, bicause of a certeine superstitious opinion which they had conceiued of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I saie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long yer open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in processe of time, so well the north and south Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make such difference in meats, as they had doone before.

From thencefoorth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we liue, there is no restreint of anie meat, either for religions sake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to féed vpon what soeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that abundance of fish which the sea yéeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beside this there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preseruation of the nauie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decaie, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how soeuer this case standeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheese, which were neuer so deere as in my time, and woont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe staies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilest such as are more wealthie, doo féed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whose cookes are for the most part musicall headed Frenchmen and strangers) doo most exceed, sith there is no daie in maner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie béefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yeeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow déere, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and thereto sundrie other delicates wherein the swéet hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to doo, but ech one feedeth vpon that meat him best liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being reserued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is drawen vp still by the waiters as order requireth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof) is rather to yéeld vnto a conspiracie with a great deale of meat for the spéedie suppression of naturall health, then the vse of a necessarie meane to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to susteine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not séene in their gests, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue dailie much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of seruants, it is verie requisit & expedient for them to be somewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their dailie prouision is brought in before them (commonlie in siluer vessell if they be of the degrée of barons, bishops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, wherof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserued, and afterward sent downe to their seruing men and waiters, who féed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, their reuersion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and guestes are accustomed to sit, beside which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted by custome to waite vpon their master) and with them such inferiour guestes doo féed as are not of calling to associat the noble man himselfe (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or thrée score persons fed in those hals, to the great reliefe of such poore sutors and strangers also as oft be partakers thereof and otherwise like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elsewhere in pots of earth of sundrie colours and moulds whereof manie are garnished with siluer) or at the leastwise in pewter, all which notwithstanding are seldome set on the table, but each one as necessitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him listeth to haue: so that when he hath tasted of it he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, restoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise (a thing brought vp at the first by Mnesteus of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of Orestes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egistus and Clitemnestra) much idle tippling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots should continuallie stand at the elbow or néere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelie when necessitie vrgeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the seruitours with filling of their bols. Neuerthelesse in the noble mens hals, this order is not vsed, neither in anie mans house commonlie vnder the degrée of a knight or esquire of great reuenues. It is a world to sée in these our daies, wherin gold and siluer most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing those mettals (bicause of the plentie) do now generallie choose rather the Venice glasses both for our wine and béere, than anie of those mettals or stone wherein before time we haue béene accustomed to drinke, but such is the nature of man generallie that it most coueteth things difficult to be atteined; & such is the estimation of this stuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne néere to Venice situat on the Adriatike sea) from whence the verie best are dailie to be had, and such as for beautie doo well néere match the christall

or the ancient Murrhina vasa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is seene in the gentilitie, so in the wealthie communaltie the like desire of glasse is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchase is yet much more increased to the benefit of the merchant. The poorest also will haue glasse if they may, but sith the Venecian is somewhat too deere for them, they content themselues with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to shards at the last, so that our great expenses in glasses (beside that they breed much strife toward such as haue the charge of them) are worst of all bestowed in mine opinion, bicause their peeces doo turne vnto no profit. If the philosophers stone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with fortie of molten glasse, it would induce such a mettallicall toughnesse therevnto, that a fall should nothing hurt it in such maner, yet it might peraduenture bunch or batter it, neuerthelesse that inconuenience were quickelie to be redressed by the hammer. But whither am I slipped? Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himselfe with foure, fiue, or six dishes, when they haue but small resort, or peraduenture with one, or two, or three at the most, when they haue no strangers to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their seruants haue their ordinarie diet assigned, beside such as is left at their masters boordes, & not appointed to be brought thither the second time, which neuerthelesse is often seene generallie in venison, lambe, or some especiall dish, whereon the merchant man himselfe liketh to feed when it is cold, or peraduenture for sundrie causes incident to the feeder is better so, than if it were warme or hot. To be short, at such time as the merchants doo make their ordinarie or voluntarie feasts, it is a world to see what great prouision is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beside that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will seldome regard anie thing that the butcher vsuallie killeth, but reiect the same as not worthie to come in place. In such cases also geliffes of all colours mixed with a varietie in the representation of sundrie floures, herbs, trees, formes of beasts, fish, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wrought with no small curiositie, tarts of diuerse hewes and sundrie denominations, conserues of old fruits forren and home-bred, suckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, sugerbread, gingerbread, florentines, wild foule, venison of all sorts, and sundrie outlandish confections, altogither seasoned with suger (which Plinie calleth Mel ex arundinibus, a deuise not common nor greatlie vsed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia) doo generallie beare the swaie, besides infinit deuises of our owne not possible for me to remember. Of the potato and such venerous roots as are brought out of Spaine, Portingale, and the Indies to furnish vp our bankets, I speake not, wherin our Mures of no lesse force, and to be had about Crosbie Rauenswath, doo now begin to haue place.

But among all these, the kind of meat which is obteined with most difficultie and cost, is commonlie taken for the most delicat, and therevpon each guest will soonest desire to feed. And as all estats doo exceed herin, I meane for strangenesse and number of costlie dishes, so these forget not to vse the like excesse in wine, in somuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where more store of all sorts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but yearelie to the proportion of 20000 or 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithstanding the dailie restreincts of the same brought ouer vnto vs) wherof at great meetings there is not some store to be had. Neither doo I meane this of small wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie six sorts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but also of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanish, Canarian, &c: whereof Veruage, Cate pument, Raspis, Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard Tire, Oseie, Caprike, Clareie & Malmeseie are not least of all accompted of, bicause of their strength and valure. For as I haue said in meat, so the stronger the wine is, the more it is desired, by means wherof in old time, the best was called Theologicum, bicause it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the laitie would often send for bottels filled with the same, being sure that they would neither drinke nor be serued of the worst, or

such as was anie waies mingled or brued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his soule should haue gone streightwaie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them with other than the best. Furthermore when these haue had their course which nature yéeldeth, sundrie sorts of artificiall stuffe, as ypocras & wormewood wine must in like maner succéed in their turnes, beside stale ale and strong béere, which neuerthelesse beare the greatest brunt in drinking, and are of so manie sorts and ages as it pleaseth the bruer to make them.

Béere. The béere that is vsed at noble mens tables in their fixed and standing houses, is commonlie of a yeare old, or peraduenture of two yeares tunning or more, but this is not generall. It is also brued in March and therefore called March béere, but for the household it is vsuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one coueting to haue the same stale as he may, so that it be not sowre, and his bread new as is possible so that it be not hot.

Artificer. The artificer and husbandman make greatest accompt of such meat as they may soonest come by, and haue it quickliest readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade doo meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food also consisteth principallie in béefe and such meat as the butcher selleth, that is to saie, mutton, veale, lambe, porke, &c: whereof he findeth great store in the markets adioining, beside souse, brawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of sundrie sorts, cheese, butter, egs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne prouision, which is at the best hand, and commonlie least charge. In feasting also this latter sort, I meane the husbandmen doo excéed after their maner: especiallie at bridales, purifications of women, and such od méetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed & spent, ech one bringing such a dish, or so manie with him as his wife & he doo consult vpon, but alwaies with this consideration, that the léefer fréend shall haue the better prouision. This also is commonlie séene at these bankets, that the good man of the house is not charged with any thing sauing bread, drink, sauce, houseroome, and fire. But thé artificers in cities and good townes doo deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them doo suffer their iawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerse of them by making good cheere doo hinder themselues and other men: yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well inough in these iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, & verie fréendlie at their tables, and when they méet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour sort somewhat to be blamed, that being thus assembled, their talke is now and then such as savoureth of scurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themselues not to be merie & welcome, if their foolish veines in this behalfe be neuer so little restreined. This is moreouer to be added in these méetings, that if they happen to stumble vpon a péece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide against their appointed daies) they thinke their chéere so great, and themselues to haue fared so well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined so well as my lord maior.

I might here talke somewhat of the great silence that is vsed at the tables of the honorable and wiser sort, generallie ouer all thē realme (albeit that too much deserueth no cōmendation, for it belongeth to gests neither to be muti nor loquaces) likewise of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie séene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surffetting and dronkennesse (for which cause salt meat, except béefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit esteemed, and yet these thrée may not be much powdered) but as in rehearsall thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od yeoman) with whome he is thought

to

to be the meriest that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them, & now and then surffetting and dronkennesse, which they rather fall into for want of héed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in those errours of set mind and purpose. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them hauing scarse inough of that, are soonest ouertaken when they come vnto such bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupshotten, so that it is a greefe vnto them though now sans remedie sith the thing is doone and past. If the freends also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart as vpon the first daie of their comming, wheras in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little roome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of béefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or béere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an "You are heartelie welcome" is thought to be great interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this saieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of townesmens and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis estq; secundus,
Tertius est vanus, sed fetet quatriduanus.

The bread through out the land is made of such graine as the soile yéeldeth, neuerthelesse the gentilitie commonlie prouide themselues sufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whilest their household and poore neighbours in some shires are inforced to content themselues with rie, or barleie, yea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peason, or otes, or of altogither and some acornes among, of which scourge the poorest doo soonest tast, sith they are least able to prouide themselues of better. I will not saie that this extremitie is oft so well to be seene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I should I could easilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almost in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iust cause (except it be that landlords doo get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to kéepe vp the peeces for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himselfe with horsse-corne, I meane, beanes, peason, otes, tares, and lintels: and therefore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer so well verified as now, that hunger setteth his first foot into the horsse manger. If the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and some caterpillers there are that can saie so much alreadie.

Bread.

A famine at hand is first séene in the horsse manger when the poore doo fall to horssecorne.

Of bread made of wheat we haue sundrie sorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the first and most excellent is the mainchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine Primarius panis, wherof Budeus also speaketh, in his first booke De asse, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushell with another they make fortie cast of manchet, of which euerie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and six ounces out, as I haue béene informed. The second is the cheat or wheaton bread, so named bicause the colour therof resembleth the graie or yellowish wheat, being cleane and well dressed, and out of this is the coursest of the bran (vsuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread also, but it reteineth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being more sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or should be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed size (according to such price as the corne dooth beare) and by a statute prouided by king Iohn in that behalfe. The raueled cheat therfore is generallie so made that out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet) they make thirtie cast, euerie lofe weighing eightéene ounces into the ouen and sixteene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter that to euerie bushell of meale they

Primarius panis.

Cheat bread.

Raueled bread.

The size of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.

ad onelie two and twentie or three and twentie pound of water, washing also in some houses there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleasing to the eie, than otherwise it would be. The next sort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cõmeth from the mill, so that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminished, this Celsus called Autopirus panis, lib. 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at all, howbeit he calleth it Panem Cibarium, and it is not onlie the woorst and weakest of all the other sorts, but also appointed in old time for seruants, slaues, and the inferiour kind of people to fèed vpon. Herevnto likewise, bicause it is drie and brickle in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handsomelie into loaues) some adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough drinesse or drie roughnes therof is somwhat qualified, & then it is named miscelin, that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerse doo sow or mingle wheat & rie of set purpose at the mill, or before it come there, and sell the same at the markets vnder the aforesaid name.

Browne bread.

Panis Cibarius.

Summer wheat and winter barleie verie rare in England.

In champeigne countries much rie and barleie bread is eaten, but especiallie where wheat is scant and geson. As for the difference that is betwéene the summer and winter wheat, most husbandmen know it not, sith they are neither acquainted with summer wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both sorts, speciallie in the north and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and also of summer rie, but in so small quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Drinke.

Our drinke, whose force and continuance is partlie touched alreadie, is made of barleie, water, and hops, sodden and mingled togither, by the industrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barleie doo come vnto their hands, it susteineth great alteration, and is conuerted into malt, the making whereof, I will here set downe in such order, as my skill therein may extend vnto (for I am scarse a good malster) chiefelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to describe the same, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue shot so farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betwéene themselues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beséech thée) that lead thee from the description of the plentifull diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a seruile trade, or rather from a table delicatelie furnished, into a mustie malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherfore I praie thée be contented.

Malt.

Making of malt.

Our malt is made all the yeare long in some great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens houses, who commonlie make sufficient for their owne expenses onelie, the winter halfe is thought most méet for that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow dooth bud, is commonlie worst of all, neuerthelesse each one indeuoureth to make it of the best barleie, which is steeped in a cesterne, in greater or less quantitie, by the space of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie soked. This being doone, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and laieng it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it resteth so vntill it be readie to shoote at the root end, which maltsters call Comming. When it beginneth therefore to shoot in this maner, they saie it is come, and then foorthwith they spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the said floore (as it commeth) and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fiue times) by the space of one and twentie daies at the least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth foorth the blade, and by which ouersight or hurt of the stuffe it selfe the malt would be spoiled, and turne small commoditie to the bruer. When it hath gone or béene turned so long vpon the floore, they carie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue spread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried (yet must it be doone with soft fire) the swéeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but slackelie handled, it will bréed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the floure of the corne, and in

processe

processe of time will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of the graine but euen the verie rind or huske.

The best malt is tried by the hardnesse & colour, for if it looke fresh with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a péece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kirnell in sunder in the middest, then you may assure your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is dried at leisure with wood alone, or strawe alone, in other with wood and strawe togither, but of all the strawe dried, is the most excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, beside that the drinke is higher of colour, it dooth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vsed thereto, bicause of the smoake. Such also as vse both indifferentlie doo barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remooue all moisture that shuld procure the fume, and this malt is in the second place, & with the same likewise, that which is made with dried firze, broome, &c: whereas if they also be occupied gréene, they are in maner so preiudiciall to the corne, as is the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing whereof some grinde the same somewhat groselie, and in séething well the liquor that shall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which consisteth of sundrie graine, as wheate, and otes groond. But what haue I to doo with this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted. Neuerthelesse, sith I haue taken occasion to speake of bruing, I will exemplifie in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, bicause it is the vsuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid seruants, who procéed withall after this maner, as she hath oft informed me.

Hauing therefore groond eight bushels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is saued, she addeth vnto it halfe a bushell of wheat meale, and so much of otes small groond, and so tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot easilie discerne the one from the other, otherwise these later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The first liquor which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, she maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it softlie into the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) vntill hir second liquor be almost readie to boile. This doone she letteth hir mash run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the leastwise the greatest part of the moisture, which she perceiueth by the staie and soft issue thereof, and by this time hir second liquor in the furnace is ready to séeth, which is put also to the malt as the first woort also againe into the furnace wherevnto she addeth two pounds of the best English hops, and so letteth them seeth togither by the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie superfluous tartnesse. But before she putteth hir first woort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, she taketh out a vessel full, of eight or nine gallons, which she shutteth vp close, and suffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this she reserueth by it selfe vnto further vse, as shall appeare herafter, calling it Brackwoort or Charwoort, and as she saith it addeth also to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber or fine gold in hew vnto the eie. By this time also hir second woort is letrunne, and the first being taken out of the furnace and placed to coole, she returneth the middle woort vnto the furnace, where it is striken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and mashed the second time, whilest the third liquor is heat (for there are thrée liquors) and this last put into the furnace, when the second is mashed againe. When she hath mashed also the last liquor (and set the second to coole by the first) she letteth it runne, and then séetheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds as she séeth cause by the goodnesse or basenesse of the hops, & when it hath sodden in summer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also and reserueth it vnto mixture with the rest when time dooth serue therefore. Finallie when she setteth hir drinke togither, she addeth to hir brackwoort or charwoort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberries finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir woort with an handfull of wheat flowre, she procéedeth in such vsuall

Bruing of beere.

Charwoort.

vsuall order as common bruing requireth. Some in stéed of arras & baies adde so much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make thrée hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is méet for poore men as I am to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare Computatis computandis able to performe) may indure no déeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings which I buie, my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my vessell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of béere or more, notwithstanding the losse in seething, which some being loth to forgo doo not obserue the time, and therefore spéed thereafter in their successe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer. For it féedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished the drinke must be spent or else it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade also our bruers obserue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; and soile through which it passeth, for all waters are not of like goodnesse, sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other the fennie and morish is the worst, and the cléerest spring water next vnto it. In this busines therfore the skilfull workeman dooth redeeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and sickmens drinke) is neuer séene nor heard of. Howbeit as the beere well sodden in the bruing, and stale, is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or malueseie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our potknights call it: so our ale which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are thrée notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted therevnto, that they will not ceasse from morow vntill euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they defile themselues, and either fall quite vnder the boord, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still pinking with their narrow eies as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their aduersarie be digested that he may go to it afresh. Such flights also haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mixe it with rosen and salt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale so neere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you shall sée the rosen come foorth hanging on the knife. As for the force of salt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and so dooth he carrie off a drie dronken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

Cider. Perrie. In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie, and both are groond and pressed in presses made for the nonce. Certes these two are verie common in Sussex, Kent, Worcester, and other stéeds, where these sorts of fruits doo abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt (and not without cause if it be well handled) than the Gréekes did of their Ambrosia or Nectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods themselues did delite in. There is a kind of swish swash made also in Essex, and diuerse other places, with honicombs and water, which the homelie countrie wiues, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be loose bodied at large, or a little eased of the cough, otherwise it differeth so much frō the true metheglin, as chalke from cheese. Truelie it is nothing else but the washing of the combes, when the honie is wroong out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but little labour and

Metheglin.

Mead.

Hydromel.

and lesse cost in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied. Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, & somewhat more at large peraduenture than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractation, and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole processe of the same shall fullie be deliuered, & my promise to my frèend in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath bèene much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in these daies, for whereas of old we had breakefasts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare suppers generallie when it was time to go to rest (a toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a custome whereof Athenæus also speaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates speake but of twise at the most lib. 2. De rat. vict. in feb. ac.) Now these od repasts thanked be God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there some yoong hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himselfe with dinner & supper onelie. The Normans misliking the gormandise of Canutus, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table should be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either waxing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or suffering the cockle of old custome to ouergrow the good corne of their new constitution, they fell to such libertie, that in often fèeding they surmounted Canutus surnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but thrée or foure times in the daie, thesè spred their clothes fiue or six times, and in such wise as I before rehearsed. They brought in also the custome of long and statelie sitting at meat, whereby their feasts resembled those ancient pontificall bankets whereof Macrobius speaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for sumptuousnesse of fare, long sitting and curiositie shewed in the same, excéeded all other mens feasting, which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excesse and misgouernement of our bodies doo appéere, although it be a great expense of time, and worthie of reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especiallie at great méetings doo sit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise from the table to go to euening praier, and returne from thence to come time inough to supper. For my part I am persuaded that the purpose of the Normans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman order or Danish custome in fèeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. And indéed the Romans had such a custome, and likewise the Grecians, as may appeere by the words of Socrates, who said vnto the Atheniens, "Oriente sole consilium, occidente conuiuium est cogitandum," although a little something was allowed in the morning to yoong children which we now calla breakefast. Plato called the Sicilians monsters, for that they vsed to eat twise in the daie. Among the Persians onelie the king dined when the sunne was at the highest, and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when their stomachs craued it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if appetite serue refuse not to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and likewise the ancient Caspians. Yet Arhianus noteth it as a rare thing li. 4. cap. 16. that the Tyrhenians had taken vp an ill custome to fèed twise in a daie. Howbeit at the last they fell generallie to allow of suppers toward the setting of the sunne in all places, bicause they would haue their whole familie to go to meat togither, and wherevnto they would appoint their guests to come at a certèine length of the shadow, to be perceiued in their dials. And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plutarch saith) did fèed before that time, he incurred a note of reprehension as if he had beene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympos. 6. Their slaues in like sort were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, for then were they sure soone after to go to meat. In the scripture we read of manie suppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vsed in Christs time, but taken as a thing latelie sproong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occasioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himselfe to drinke before the ninth

Lesse time spent in eating than heretofore.

Canutus a glutton, but the Normans at the last excéeded him in that vice.

Long sitting reprehended.

* That is at three of the clocke at afternoone.

*ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too soone. Afterwards when gurmandise increased yet more amongst the Romans, and from them was dispersed vnto all nations vnder their subiection, it came to passe that six houres onlie were appointed to worke and consult in, and the other six of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verse saith:

Sex horæ tantùm rebus tribuantur agendis,
Viuere post illas, littera Zetha monet.

Wherevnto Maximus Planudes (except my memorie faile me) addeth this scholie after his maner, saieng that from morning vnto noone (which is six of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one dooth trauell about his necessarie affaires, that being doone, he betaketh himselfe to the refreshing of his bodie, which is noted and set downe by the Grèeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is described; for those which point 7, 8, 9 and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yéeld ξηθι, which in English signifieth so much as liue, as if they should meane, eat that thou maist liue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiser sort, these verses following doo more euidentlie declare:

Li. 4. epig. 8.

Prima salutantes, atque altera continet horas,
Exercet raucos tertia causidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua palestris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima est Eupheme meorum,
Temperat Ambrosias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus æthereo laxatur Nectare Cæsar,
Ingentíque tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: gressu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum nostra Thaleia Iouem.

Thus we sée how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to féed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good custome. I might here remember also their maner in pulling off their shooes when they sat downe to meat, whereof Martial saith:

Deposui soleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarmúq; liber, &c.

And Tullie also remembreth where he saith Seruum à pedibus ad te misi, which office grew of the said custome, as Seruus ad limina did of kéeping the doore, though in most houses both these were commonlie one mans office, also Ad pocula of attending on the cup. But bicause the good writers of our time haue obserued these phrases and such like with their causes and descriptions, in their infinite and seuerall treatises, I shall not need to discourse anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and students, doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before noone, and to supper at fiue, or betweene fiue and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelue at noone, and six at night especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone as they call it, and sup at seuen or eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuersities the scholers dine at ten. As for the poorest sort they generallie dine and sup when they may, so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a néedlesse matter. I might here take occasion also to set downe the varietie vsed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almost euerie nation had a seuerall fashion, some beginning of custome (as we doo in summer time) with salets at supper, and some ending with lettice, some making their entrie with egs, and shutting vp their tables

with

with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all sorts. Diuerse (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fish called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet also) with butter and egs vpon fish daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the most grosse food, and end with the most delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the best for his meniall seruants maketh his entrance at the best, so that he is sure therby to leaue the worst. We vse also our wines by degrees, so that the hotest commeth last to the table, but to stand vpon such toies would spend much time, and turne to small profit, wherfore I will deale with other things more necessarie for this turne.

OF THEIR APPARELL AND ATTIRE.

CHAP. VII.

AN Englishman, indeuoring sometime to write of our attire, made sundrie platformes for his purpose, supposing by some of them to find out one stedfast ground whereon to build the summe of his discourse. But in the end (like an oratour long without exercise) when he saw what a difficult peece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while togither, and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd popish hypocrite and vngratious priest) shewed himselfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, sith the phantasticall follie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long and be not laid aside, to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the fickle headed tailors, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expense of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enormitie, than describe anie certeintie of our attire: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the Barbarian sléeues, the mandilion worne to Collie weston ward, and the short French breches make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not sée anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England. And as these fashions are diuerse, so likewise it is a world to see the costlinesse and the curiositie: the excesse and the vanitie: the pompe and the brauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the ficklenesse and the follie that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attire. Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie sutes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left wherin to féed the later? how curious, how nice also are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie? and manie times when he dooth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue or vnder the eares round as by a woodden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto,

Andrew Boord.

Strange cute

Much cost vpon the bodie, and little vpon the soule.

Beards.

some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a pique de vant (O fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therfore if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquesse Ottons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be wesell becked, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bowdled hen, and so grim as a goose, if Cornelis of Chelmeresford saie true: manie old men doo weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage, doo weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workemanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorne their persons, as by their nicenesse in apparell, for which I saie most nations doo not vniustlie deride vs, as also for that we doo seeme to imitate all nations round about vs, wherein we be like to the Polypus or Chameleon; and therevnto bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much more than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women doo likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they doo now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuerthelesse are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shoo) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewiues onelie, is now become an habit for chast and sober matrones. What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpeeses on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleeues of sundrie colours? their galligascons to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuersh coloured nether stocks of silke, ierdseie, and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I haue met with some of these trulles in London so disguised, that it hath passed my skill to discerne whether they were men or women.

Excesse in women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed into monsters: and those good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releeue our necessities withall (as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into wantonnesse, for

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secundis)

not otherwise bestowed than in all excesse, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and wast them. I praie God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose errors were pride, excesse of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantlie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to florish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poore tenants, wherewith to mainteine the same. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Englishman was knowne abroad by his owne cloth, and contented himselfe at home with his fine carsie hosen, and a meane slop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of browne blue or puke, with some pretie furniture of veluet or furre, and a doublet of sad tawnie, or blacke veluet, or other comelie silke, without such cuts and gawrish colours as are worne in these daies, and neuer brought in but by the consent of the French, who thinke themselues the gaiest men, when they haue most diuersities of iagges and change of colours about them. Certes of all estates our merchants doo least alter their attire, and therefore are most to be commended: for albeit that which they weare be verie fine and costlie, yet in forme and colour it representeth a great peece of the ancient grauitie apperteining to citizens and burgesses, albeit the yoonger sort of their wiues both in attire and costlie housekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in deed in whome all kind of curiositie is to be found and seene, and in farre greater measure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a sort of hewes deuised for the nonce, wherewith to please phantasticall heads, as gooseturd greene, pease porridge tawnie, popingaie blue, lustie gallant, the diuell in the head (I should saie the hedge) and such like: but I passe them ouer thinking it sufficient to haue said thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be spoken of anie constancie thereof.

Ezech. 16.

Attire of merchants.

OF

OF THE HIGH COURT OF PARLEMENT, AND AUTHORITIE OF THE SAME.

CHAP. VIII.

IN speaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapiter precedent said somewhat of this high and most honorable court. Wherefore it shall not néed to remember ought héere that is there touched: I will onelie speake of other things therefore concerning the estate of assemblie, whereby the magnificence thereof shall be in some part better knowne vnto such as shall come after vs. This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time béene deposed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offendors of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion either dissanulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houses or parts, the higher or vpper hous econsisting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and bishop: the lower called the nether house of knights, squires, gentlemen, and burgesses of the commons, with whome also the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they sit in diuerse places, and these haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the rest in confirmation of all such acts as are to passe in the same. For without the consent of the thrée estates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laietie, sildome anie thing is said to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his consent and allowance. To be short, whatsoeuer the people of Rome did in their Centuriatis or Tribunitijs comitijs, the same is and may be doone by authoritie of our parlement house, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselfe, yet by his aduocate or atturneie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the space of fortie dais, before this assemblie be begun, the prince sendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, summoning them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth to the shiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to choose two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduise in the name of the shire, likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may choose their burgesses, which commonlie are men best skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of such benefits as they want, or to shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thorough the practises of ill members are practised and crept in among them: the first being chosen by the gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and burgesses of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furnished. The first daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper house, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, doo attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in person, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after praiers made, and causes shewed, wherefore some not present are inforced to be absent, each man taketh his place according to his degrée. The house it selfe is curiouslie furnished with tapisterie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall lords take vp the side of the house which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middest and a pretie distance from the prince, lie certeine sackes stuffed with wooll or haire, wheron the iudges of the realme, the master of the rols, and secretaries of estate doo sit. Howbeit these iudges haue no voice in the house, but onelie shew what their opinion is of such & such matters as come in question among the lords, if they be commanded so to doo: as the secretaries are to answer such letters or things passed in the councell, whereof they haue the custodie & knowledge. Finallie, the consent of this house is giuen by each man seuerallie, first for himselfe being present, then seuerallie for so manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, saieng onelie; Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number assembled in the lower house, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These therefore being called ouer

The parlement house diuideth the estate of the realme into nobilitie and the commons.

Time of summons.

Of the vpper house.

Places of the peeres.

Of the lower house. Speaker.

by name do choose a speaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they present vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name dooth answer vnto his oration, made at his first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choise vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requests vnto that honorable assemblie, first that the house may (as in times past) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: secondlie, that the congregates may frankelie shew their minds vpon such matters as are to come in question: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower house doo giue anie cause of offense during the continuance of this assemblie, that the same may inflict such punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said assemblie shall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt should arise among them of the lower house, that he in their name might haue frée accesse and recourse vnto his maiestie & lords of the higher house, to be further instructed and resolued in the same: fiftlie and last, he craueth pardon for himselfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houses, he forget or mistake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in such things as he did faile in without offense: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor dooth answer as apperteineth, and this is doone on the first daie, or peraduenture the second, if it could not be conuenientlie performed in the first.

Petitions of the speaker.

Clerke of the parlement.

Beside the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper house called the clerke of the parlement, whose office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in consultation in either house, is first put in writing in paper, which being read, he that listeth riseth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and so one after another so long as they shall thinke good; that doone they go to another, and so to the third, &c: the instrument still wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cause moueth for the amendment of the same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the vpper house the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parchment, which doone, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part doo conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of these words, "Are ye contented that it be enacted or no?" the clerke writeth vnderneath "Soit baille aux commons," and so when they sée time they send such billes approued to the commons by some of them that sit on the wooll sackes, who comming into the house, & demanding licence to speake, doo vse this kind of words or the like to the speaker, as sir Thomas Smith dooth deliuer and set them downe, whose onelie direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borowage as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrées of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his trauell. "Master speaker, my lords of the vpper house haue passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should be enacted by parlement such an act, and such an act (reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them) they praie you therefore to consider & shew your aduise vpon them." Which doone they go their waie, and the doore being shut after them, the speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of consultation vpon anie other bill, he presentlie demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c: which are solemnelie read, or their contents bréeflie shewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the nether house.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may sée and be séene of all men, and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerke, who readeth such bils as be first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke méet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bils be thrise and on diuerse daies read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be enacted or not; and in discourse vpon them, verie good order is vsed in the lower house, wherein he that will speake giueth notice thereof by standing vp bare headed. If manie stand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he speaketh first that was first seene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the speaker, without rehersall of his name whose speches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation these discourses

courses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that daie, so one man can not speake twise to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may speake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, seditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vsed in this assemblie, yet if anie happen to escape and be vttered, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assemblie and custome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they sit not except vpon some vrgent occasion, neither hath the speaker anie voice in that house, wherewith to moue or dissuade the furtherance or staie of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof breeflie to declare the contents. If anie bill passe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, "Les commons ont assentus:" so if the lords agree vpon anie bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this maner, "Les seigniours ont assentus" If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betwéene the vpper and nether houses, by certeine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, wherevpon if no finall agréement by the more part can be obteined, the bill is dashed and reiected, or (as the saieng is) cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne person, and after the bill twise read, then ingrossed and the third time read againe & discoursed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, whervnto if they agree he holdeth vp the bill & saith; "So manie as will haue this bill go forward saie Yea:" hervpon so manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or lesse on either side, so is the bill to staie or else go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices seeme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the rest sit still, and being told by the poll the greater part doo carrie away the matter. If something be allowed and in some part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committées to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and passeth or staieth as the voices yéeld therto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses haue agréed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his assent. Vpon the last daie therfore of the parlement or session, the prince commeth in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their paines, with promise of recompense as opportunitie & occasion shall serue therefore. This doone one readeth the title of euerie act passed in that session, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with these words, "Le roy veult." If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them "Le roy aduisera." And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thencefoorth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except such as concerne some priuat persons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the seale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vse. And this is the summe of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfaiture of life, member or lands of anie Englishman, where no law is ordeined for the same before hand, is auailable or can take place amongst vs. And so much in maner out of the third chapiter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir Thomas Smith: whervnto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which send knights, burgesses, and barons to the parlement house, and dooth insue as followeth.

THE

THE NAMES OF COUNTIES, CITIES, BOROUGHS, AND PORTS, SENDING KNIGHTS, CITIZENS, BURGESSES, AND BARONS TO THE PARLEMENT OF ENGLAND.

Bedford.

Knights.	2
The borough of Bedford.	2

Buckingham.

Knights.	2
The borough of Buckingham.	2
The borough of Wickombe.	2
The borough of Ailesburie.	2

Barcheshire.

Knights.	2
The borough of New Windsore.	2
The borough of Reading.	2
The borough of Wallingford.	2
The borough of Abington.	2

Cornewall.

Knights.	2
The borough of Launceston aliàs Newport.	2
The borough of Leskerd.	2
The borough of Lostwithiell.	2
The borough of Dunheuet.	2
The borough of Truro.	2
The borough of Bodmin.	2
The borough of Helston.	2
The borough of Saltash.	2
The borough of Camelford.	2
The borough of Portighsam aliàs Portlow.	2
The borough of Graunpount.	
The borough of Eastlow.	2
The borough of Prurie.	2
The borough of Tregonie.	2
The borough of Trebenna aliàs Bossinnie.	2
The borough of S. Ies.	2
The borough of Fowaie.	2
The borough of Germine.	2
The borough of Michell.	2
The borough of saint Maries.	2

Cumberland.

Knights.	2
The citie of Caerleill.	2

Cambridge.

Knights.	2
The borough of Cambridge.	2

Chester.

Knights.	2
The citie of Chester.	2

Darbie.

Knights.	2
The borough of Darbie.	2

Deuon.

Knights.	2
The citie of Excester.	2
The borough of Totnes.	2
The borough of Plimmouth.	2
The borough of Bardnestable.	2
The borough of Plimton.	2
The borough of Tauestocke.	2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdines.	2

Dorsetshire.

Knights.	2
The borough of Poole.	2
The borough of Dorchester.	2
The borough of Linne.	2
The borough of Melcombe.	2
The borough of Waiemouth.	2
The borough of Bureport.	2
The borough of Shaftesburie.	2
The borough of Warham.	2

Essex.

Knights.	2
The borough of Colchester.	2
The borough of Malden.	2

Yorkeshire.

Knights.	2
The citie of Yorke.	2
The borough of Kingston vpon Hull.	2
The borough of Knaresborough.	2
The borough of Skardborough.	2
The borough of Rippon.	2
The borough of Hudon.	2
The borough of Boroughbridge.	2
The borough of Thuske.	2
The borough of Aldebrough.	2
The borough of Beuerleie.	2

Glocestershire.

Knights.	2
The citie of Glocester.	2
The borough of Cirencester.	2

Huntingtonshire.

Knights.	2
The borough of Huntingdon.	2

Hertfordshire.

Knights.	2
The borough of saint Albons.	2

Herefordshire.

Knights.	2
The citie of Hereford.	2
The borough of Lempster.	2

Kent.

Knights.	2
The citie of Canturburie.	2
The citie of Rochester.	2
The borough of Maidstone.	2
The borough of Quinborough.	2

Lincolne.

Knights.	2
The citie of Lincolne.	2
The borough of Bostone.	2
The borough of great Grinesbie.	2
The borough of Stamford.	2
The borough of Grantham.	2

Leicestershire.

Knights.	2
The borough of Leicester.	2

Lancastershire.

Knights.	2
The borough of Lancaster.	2
The borough of Preston in Andernes.	2
The borough of Liuerpoole.	2
The borough of Newton.	2
The borough of Wigan.	2
The borough of Clithero.	2

Middlesex.

Knights.	2
The citie of London.	4
The citie of Westminster.	2

Monmouth.

Knights.	2
The borough of Monmouth.	1

Northhampton.

Knights.	2
The citie of Peterborough.	2
The borough of Northhampton.	2
The borough of Barkleie.	2
The borough of Higham Ferres.	1

Notingham.

Knights.	2
The borough of Notingham.	2
The borough of Estreatford.	2

Norffolke.

Knights.	2
The citie of Norwich.	2
The borough of Linne.	2
The borough of great Iernemouth.	2
The borough of Thetford.	2
The borough of castell Rising.	2

Northumberland.

Knights.	2
The borough of New castell vpon Tine	2
The borough of Morpeth.	2
The borough of Barwike.	2

Oxford.

Knights.	2
The citie of Oxford.	2
The borough of Bamburie.	2
The borough of Woodstocke.	2

Rutland.

Knights.	2

Surreie.

Knights.	2
The borough of Southwarke.	2
The borough of Blechingleigh.	2
The borough of Rigate.	2
The borough of Guildford.	2
The borough of Gatton.	2

Stafford.

Knights.	2
The citie of Lichfield.	2
The borough of Stratford.	2
The borough of New castell vnder Linne.	2
The borough of Tamworth.	2

Salop.

Knights.	2
The borough of Salop.	2
The borough of Bruges alias Bridgenorth.	2
The borough of Ludlow.	2
The borough of Wenlocke.	2

Southhampton.

Knights.	2
The citie of Winton.	2
The borough of Southampton.	2
The borough of Portesmouth.	2
The borough of Peterfield.	2
The borough of Stockebridge.	2
The borough of Christ church.	2

Suffolke.

Knights.	2
The borough of Ippeswich.	2

The

The borough of Dunwich.	2
The borough of Ortford.	2
The borough of Aldeborough.	2
The borough of Sudburie.	2
The borough of Eya.	2
Summerset.	
Knights.	2
The citie of Bristow.	2
The citie of Bath.	2
The citie of Welles.	2
The borough of Taunton.	2
The borough of Bridgewater.	2
The borough of Minehed.	2
Sussex.	
Knights.	2
The citie of Chichester.	2
The borough of Horsham.	2
The borough of Midhurst.	2
The borough of Lewes.	2
The borough of Shorham.	2
The borough of Brember.	2
The borough of Stening.	2
The borough of Eastgrenesteed.	2
The borough of Arundell.	2
Westmerland.	
Knights.	2
The borough of Appulbie.	2
Wilton.	
Knights.	2
The citie of New Sarum.	2
The borough of Wilton.	2
The borough of Dounton.	2
The borough of Hindon.	2
The borough of Heitesburie.	2
The borough of Westburie.	2
The borough of Caine.	2
The borough of Deuises.	2
The borough of Chipenham.	2
The borough of Malmesburie.	2
The borough of Cricklade.	2
The borough of Budwin.	2
The borough of Ludgesale.	2
The borough of Old Sarum.	2
The borough of Wotton Basset.	2
The borough of Marleborough.	2
Worcester.	
Knights.	2
The citie of Worcester.	2
The borough of Withée.	2
Warwike.	
Knights.	2
The citie of Couentrie.	2
The borough of Warwike.	2
Barons of the ports.	
Hastings.	2
Winchelseie.	2
Rie.	2
Rumneie.	2
Hithe.	2
Douer.	2
Sandwich.	2
Mountgomerie.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Mountgomerie.	1
Flint.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Flint.	1
Denbigh.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Denbigh.	1
Merionneth.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Hauerfordwest.	1
Carneruan.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Carneruan.	1
Angleseie.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Beaumares.	1
Carmarden.	
Knights.	1
The borough of new Carmarden.	1
Pembroke.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Pembroke.	1
Cairdigan.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Cairdigan.	1
Brechnoch.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Brecknoch.	1
Radnor.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Radnor.	1
Glamorgan.	
Knights.	1
The borough of Cardiffe.	1

¶ The

¶ *The summe of the foresaid number of the common house* videlicet, *of*

Knights.	90.
Citizens.	46.
Burgesses.	289.
Barons.	14.
	439.

OF THE LAWES OF ENGLAND SINCE HIR FIRST INHABITATION.

CHAP. IX.

THAT Samothes or Dis gaue the first lawes to the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fiftéenth of Nimbrote) the testimonie of Berosus is proofe sufficient. For he not onelie affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of more excellent wisdome, nor politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothes, as some other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can absolutelie denie, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolish such as were in vse before them. Samothes. Albion.

The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their dooings. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had béene torne with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these daies is able to determine. Brute. Mulmutius.

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his subiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made so ridiculous an end: in like sort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whose waies were more feared at the first, than those of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he prooued such a prince, as after his death there was in maner no subiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, seuere administration of iustice, and prouident framing of his lawes and constitutions, for the gouernment of his subiects. His people also, coueting to continue his name vnto posteritie, intituled those his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, so long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Saxons had once obteined the superioritie of the kingdom, the maiestie of those lawes fell for a time into such decaie, that although "Non penitùs cecidit, tamen potuit cecidisse videri," as Leland saith, and the decrées themselues had vtterlie perished in déed at the verie first brunt, had they not beene preserued in Wales, where they remained amongst the relikes of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the first, who obteining the souereigntie of that portion, indeuoured verie earnestlie to extinguish those of Mulmutius, and to establish his owne. The praise of Dunwallon.

But as the Saxons at their first arriuall did what they could to abolish the British lawes, so in processe of time they yéelded a little to relent, & not so much to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receiue and imbrace the same, especiallie at such time as the said Saxon princes entered into amitie with the British nobilitie, and after that began to ioine in matrimonie with the British ladies, as the British barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an especiall statute and decrée, wherof in another treatise I haue made mention at large. Héerof also it came to passe in the end, that they were contented to make a choise,

and insert no small numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by those of Athelbert the great, surnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the west Saxons, and diuerse other yet extant to be séene. Such also was the lateward estimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they caused those of Mulmutius (which Gildas sometime translated into Latine) to be first expounded vnto them, and in this perusall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might serue their turnes, they foorthwith reuiued the same, and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is most of all to be commended, who not onelie chose out the best, but gathered togither all such whatsoeuer the said Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they should lie no more in corners as forlorne bookes, and vnknowne to the learned of his kingdome, he caused them to be turned into the Saxon toong, wherein they continued long after his decease.

As for the Normans, who for a season neither regarded the British, nor cared for the Saxon statutes, they also at the first vtterlie misliked of them, till at the last, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no stranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make such equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without some care & trouble: they fell in with such a desire to sée by what rule the state of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing perused the same, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but also admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vsed as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almost intollerable burden of seruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the shoulders of the English, but also left vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes, whereof the most part are in vse to this daie as I said, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to distinguish them from others, that are in strength amongst vs.

Martia. After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Martia, whome Leland surnameth Proba; and after him Iohn Bale also, who in his Centuries dooth iustlie confesse himselfe to haue béene holpen by the said Leland, as I my selfe doo likewise for manie things conteined in this treatise. Shée was wife vnto Gutteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir husbands deceasse in the nonage of hir sonne, and séeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, she deuised sundrie and those verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir subiects when she was dead and gone, did name the Martian statutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I doo not read, howbeit (as I said before of the lawes of Mulmutius) so the same Alfred caused those of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerse commend also for hir great knowledge in the Gréeke toong) to be turned into his owne language, wherevpon it came to passe that they were dailie executed among his subiects, afterward allowed of (among the rest) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vse in these our daies, notwithstanding that we can not disseuer them also verie readilie from the other.

The seuenth alteration of lawes was practised by the Saxons, for I ouerpasse the vse of the ciuill ordinances vsed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the seuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of these later, which yet remaine in sound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the most part vnder the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beside these also I read of the Dane law, so that the people of middle England were ruled by the first, the west Saxons by the second; as Essex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and part of Herfordshire were by the third, of all the rest the most inequall and intollerable. And as in these daies what soeuer the prince in publike assemblie commanded vpon the necessitie of his subiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: so none of them had appointed anie certeine place, whereVnto his people might repaire at fixed times for iustice, but caused them to resort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper person they would often determine their causes, and so make

Martian law.
Saxon law.
Dane law.

shortest

shortest worke, or else commit the same to the hearing of other, and so dispatch them awaie. Neither had they any house appointed to assemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Westminster. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Habam, Alfred at Woodstock and Wannetting, Athelstane in Excester, Greckslade, Feuersham, & Thundersleie, Canutus at Winchester, &c: other in other places; whereof this may suffice.

Among other things also vsed in the time of the Saxons, it shall not be amisse to set downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with them from beyond the seas out of Scithia, and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it conteined not an ordinarie procéeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we sée practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted copie, latelie published by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuerthelesse, as the Scithians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in processe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne sight and vew in that behalfe. But what stand I herevpon?

The Ordalian (saith the aforesaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vsed two waies, wherof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was doone by fire, the partie accused should go a certeine number of pases, with an hot iron in his hand, or else bare footed vpon certeine plough shares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single Ordalium, sometimes of thrée, and then named treble Ordalium, and whosoeuer did beare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged guiltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was foorthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning. Ordalian law. Fire.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or strugling for life, he was foorthwith acquited as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were frée borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to shew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set foorth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king Iohn, who séeing the manifold subtilties in the same (by sundrie sorcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restreined) did extinguish it altogither as flat lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: "*Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron.* Then it followeth: *After accusation lawfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children*, that is to saie, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine Benedicite omnia opera, &c: *he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth:* Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & Water.

spiritui sancto. Hæc benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo. *In English:* Blesse thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, purenesse, humilitie, goodnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. *Then followeth the blessing of the fire.* Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamur igne claritatis tuæ. Et sicut igne illuminasti Mosen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, & sensus nostros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c. Lord God father almightie, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou art the maker of all lights. Blesse O Lord this light, that is alreadie sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our, &c. *This being ended let him say the* Pater noster, &c: *then these words:* Saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c. *That is,* O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

" *The praier.* Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt sit sanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifesta fiat, per eundem Dominum, &c. *In English:* Blesse we beséech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtterlie remoued, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Iesus, &c.

" *After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heateth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.*

The office of the masse.

" Iustus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

The Praier.

" Absolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum suorum nexibus, quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. *That is:* Pardon we beséech thée O Lord, the sinnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

" In illo tempore, cùm egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone, quid faciam vt vitam æternam percipiam? Iesus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In those daies when Iesus went foorth toward his iourneie, and one méeting him in the waie running, and knéeling vnto him, asked him

saieng: Good master what shall I doo that I may possesse eternall life? Iesus said vnto him; Whie callest thou me good? &c. *Then followeth the secret, and so foorth all of the rest of the masse. But before the partie dooth communicate, the priest shall vse these words vnto him:* Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum, & per veram christianitatem quam suscepisti, & per sanctas relliquias quæ in ista ecclesia sunt, & per baptismum quo te sacerdos regenerauit, vt non præsumas vllo modo communicare, neq; accedere ad altare, si hoc fecisti aut consensisti, &c. I adiure thée by the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost, by the true christendome which thou hast receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptisme wherewith the priest hath regenerated thée, that thou presume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou hast doone or consented vnto this, whereof thou art accused, &c. *Here let the priest suffer him to communicate, saieng*; Corpus hoc, & sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sit tibi ad probationem hodie. This bodie & this bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto thee a triall this daie. *The praier:* Perceptis Domine Deus noster sacris muneribus, supplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio sacramenti à proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis sententiam declaret, &c. Hauing receiued O Lord God these holie mysteries, we humblie beséech thée that the participation of this sacrament may rid vs of our guiltinesse, and in this thy seruant set foorth the truth. *Then shall follow* Kyrieleson, *the Letanie, and certeine Psalmes, and after all them* Oremus: Let vs praie. Deus qui per ignem signa magna ostendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibusdam pereuntibus eruisti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conspectum Mosis & minimè comburi permisisti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis plerísque succensis, tres pueros tuos illæsos eduxisti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum suis salute donasti, Deus qui in aduentu sancti spiritus tui, illustratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuisti: ostende nobis in hoc prauitatis nostræ examine virtutem eiusdem spiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem discernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquisitio agitur, conscius exhorrescat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæsus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam secreta effugiunt, fidei nostræ tua bonitate responde, & præsta vt quisquis purgandi se gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel absoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c. *In English thus:* O God, which in shewing great tokens by fire diddest deliuer Abraham thy seruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whilest other perished; O God which sufferedst the bush to burne in the sight of Moses, and yet not to consume; O God which deliueredst the thrée children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whilest diuerse were consumed; O God which by fire didst wrap the people of Sodome in their destruction, and yet sauedst Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the shining of thy brightnesse at the comming of the holie ghost in likenesse of fire, diddest separate the faithfull from such as beléeued not: shew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickednesse, the power of the same spirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire discerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whose cause is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in safetie, &c. O God from whome no secrets are hidden, let thy goodnesse answer to our faith, and grant that whosoeuer in this purgation, shall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offendor, &c. *After this the priest shall sprinkle the iron with holie water saieng:* The blessing of God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iust iudgement of God. *And foorthwith let him that is accused beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and sealed vp for the space of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw flesh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and sound, let him giue thanks to God.*" And thus much of the firie Ordalia, wherevnto that of the water hath so precise relation, that in setting foorth of the one, I haue also described the other, wherefore it shall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.

The cup yet in vse.

Water.

Hitherto also (as I thinke) sufficientlie of such lawes as were in vse before the conquest. Now it resteth that I should declare the order of those, that haue beene made and receiued since

since the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto doo produce thrée score and foure seuerall courts. But for asmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little skill to procéed in the same accordinglie, it shall suffice to set downe some generall discourse of such as are vsed in our daies, and so much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-saie.

Ciuill law. We haue therefore in England sundrie lawes, and first of all the ciuill, vsed in the chancerie, admeraltie, and diuerse other courts, in some of which, the seuere rigor of iustice is often so mitigated by conscience, that diuerse things are thereby made easie and tollerable, which otherwise would appeare to be méere iniurie and extremitie.

Canon law. We haue also a great part of the Canon law dailie practised among vs, especiallie in cases of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and such like, as are vsuallie to be séene in the consistories of our bishops and higher courts of the two archbishops, where the exercise of the same is verie hotlie followed. The third sort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & those alwaies so variable, & subiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerse iudgements doo passe vpon one maner of case, whereby the saieng of the poet,

"Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,"

Lawiers of England not alwaies constant in iudgment. may verie well be applied vnto such, as being vrged with these words; In such a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for sound law; doo answer nothing else, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, so that they saie farre otherwise. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon thrée lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Customarie law, and Prescription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an assise, or wager of battell, of which the last is little vsed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the first and last rehearsed. But to returne to my purpose.

Parlement law. The first is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the most part holden at Westminster néere London, is the highest of all other, & consisteth of three séuerall sorts of people, that is to saie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not summoned, but vpon vrgent occasion when the prince dooth see his time, and that by seuerall writs, dated commonlie full six wéekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher house by the lords spirituall and temporall, and in the lower house by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Powles, or if occasion so require in Westminster church, is a member) there speaking by the mouth of the knights of the shire and burgesses, remaine in the end to be confirmed by the prince, who commonlie resorteth thither of custome, vpon the first and last daies of this court, there to vnderstand what is doone, and giue his roiall consent to such statutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher house, and hauing taken his throne, the speaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to go betwéene the houses, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the said thrée estates, and then craueth the princes consent and finall confirmation to the same. The king hauing heard the summe and principall points of each estatute brieflie recited vnto him, answereth in French with great deliberation vnto such as he liketh ("Il nous plaist") but to the rest "Il ne plaist," whereby the latter are made void and frustrate. That also which his maiestie liketh of, is hereby authorised, confirmed, & euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like assemblie. The number of the commons assembled in the lower house, beside the cleargie, consisteth of ninetie knights. For each shire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greatest wisedome and reputation, chosen out of the bodie of the same for that onelie purpose, sauing that for Wales one onlie is supposed sufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewise fourtie and six citizens, 289 burgesses, and fouretéene barons, so that the whole assemblie of the laitie of the lower house, consisteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine persons, if the iust number be supplied. Of the lawes here made likewise some are penall and restraine the common law, and some againe are found to inlarge the same. The one sort of these

Number of congregates in the parlement.

also

also are for the most part taken strictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

The Common law standeth vpon sundrie maximes or principles, and yeares or termes, which doo conteine such cases as by great studie and solemne argument of the iudges sound practise confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the course of most ancient lawes made farre before the conquest, and thereto the deepest reach and foundations of reason, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes these cases are otherwise called plees or action, wherof there are two sorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and messengers also to determine those causes are our writs or breefes, whereof there are some originall and some iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant when they appeare proceed (if the case doo so require) by plaint or declaration, barre or answer, replication, reioinder, and so by rebut, surrebut to issue and triall if occasion so fall out, the one side affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confession or default, wherein if anie negligence or trespasse hath beene committed, either in processe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writ of errour to vndoo the same, but not in the same court where the former iudgement was giuen. Common law.

Customarie law consisteth of certeine laudable customes vsed in some priuat countrie, intended first to begin vpon good and reasonable considerations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where else in England. It was at the first deuised by the Romans, as appeareth by Cæsar in his cõmentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth still in England) should haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongst them. By this meanes also it came to passe, that whereas before time for the space of sixtie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the space of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax so feeble, and such discord fell out amongst themselues, that they were not able to mainteine warres with the Romans, nor raise anie iust armie against them. For as a riuer runing with one streame is swift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: so the lands and goods of the ancestors being dispersed amongst their issue males, of one strong there were raised sundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall strength to resist the aduersarie, became infeebled and brought almost to nothing. "Vis vnita (saith the philosopher) fortior est eadem dispersa," and one good pursse is better than manie euill, and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will seeke to mainteine his priuate estate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare. Customarie law.

Burrow kind, is where the yoongest is preferred before the eldest, which is the custome of manie countries of this region; also the woman to haue the third of hir husbands possessions, the husband that marieth an heire to haue such lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he suruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath beene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c: of such like to be learned elsewhere, and sometimes frequented generallie ouer all.

Prescription is a certeine custome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than customarie law, as where onelie a parish or some priuat person dooth prescribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans soile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwise than the common course and order of the law requireth, whereof let this suffice at this time, in steed of a larger discourse of our owne lawes, least I should seeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no skill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to doo with anie precise knowledge of the law of man, sith they are seuerall trades, and incident to diuerse persons? Prescription.

There are also sundrie vsuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word Terminus, wherein all controuersies are determined, that happen within the Quéenes dominions. These are commonlie holden at London, except Terme.

except vpon some great occasion they be transferred to other places. At what times also they are kept both for spirituall and temporall dealing, the table insuing shall easilie declare. Finallie how well they are followed by sutors, the great wealth of lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie expresse. For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the start, and after them the cleargie: so now all the wealth of the land dooth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome some one hauing practised little aboue thirteene or fourteene yeares is able to buie a purchase of so manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiser & warie hereafter. It is not long, since a sergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arrested vpon an extent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another standing by did greatlie maruell that he could not spare the gaines of one terme for the satisfaction of that dutie. The time hath beene that our lawiers did sit in Powles vpon stooles against the pillers and walles to get clients, but now some of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the lest. And one being demanded why he made so much of his trauell, answered, that it was but follie for him to go so farre, when he was assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a sute of late of some valure, and to be sure of counsell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whose names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, wherupon he staied for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe serued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall doore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, wherevpon they promised peremptorilie to speake earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he spake not aboue three or foure words, almost so soone vttered as a good morrow, and so went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counsellours did seeme to take of his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poore men can haue for their small fees in these daies, and the great murmurings that are on all sides vttered against their excessiue taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpose. Wherfore it shall suffice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is euen enough to cause them to looke with somewhat more conscience into their dealings, except they be dull and senselesse.

Deceipt.

Manie of our lawiers stoope not at small fees.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected sundrie courts, especiallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the ease of poore men dwelling in those parts, yet will the poorest (of all men commonlie most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndooing to trauell vp to London, thinking there soonest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our Welshmen doo exceed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one od poore Dauid of them giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) bicause he hath no change. When he commeth there also, he will make such importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometimes carie downe six or seuen writs with him in his pursse, wherewith to molest his neighbor, though the greatest quarrel be scarselie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, least in reuealing the superfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poore men are dailie abused and vtterlie vndoone,

Poore men contentious.

Promoters seeke matters to set lawiers on worke withall.

vndoone, by sundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and espie coales of contention, whereby the one side may reape commoditie, and the other spend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Essex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till Iohn of Ludlow, alias Mason came in place, vnto whome in comparison they two were but children: for this last in lesse than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else-where in other places) almost to extreame miserie (if beggerie be the vttermost) that before he had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the least) and finallie feeling that he had not sufficient wherwith to susteine himselfe and his familie, and also to satisfie that greedie rauenour, which still called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and pensiuenesse. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer sheepe shorne in Maie, so neere clipped of his fleece present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let awaie his land, bicause his cattell & stocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in steed of these enormities, a table shall follow of the termes conteining their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my freend Iohn Stow, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Westminster, and finallie the great expenses emploied vpon the same, should be no small cause of the staie and hinderance of the administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth out they prooue great occasions and the staie of much contention. The reasons of these are soone to be conceiued, for as the broken sleeue dooth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of delaie dooth driue those oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men desirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer sute; other would haue the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too short than too long by one returne a peece: so if there were smaller roomes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pawses before they did rashlie enter into plee. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which insueth after this manner.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.

A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

Hilarie terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Ianuarie (if it be not sundaie) otherwise the next daie after, and is finished the twelfe of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

Octabis Hilarij.	Crastino Purific.
Quind. Hilarij.	Octabis Purific.

¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentéene daies after Easter, endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath fiue returnes.

Quind. Pasch.	Mense.	Quinque Paschæ.
Tres Paschæ.	Paschæ.	Crast. Ascention.

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie sundaie, and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

Crast. Trinitatis.	Quind. Trinitatis.
Octabis Trinitatis.	Tres Trinitatis.

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not sundaie) and ending the eight and twentith of Nouember, it hath eight returnes.

Octabis Michael.	Tres Michael.	Crast. anima.	Octa Martini.
Quind. Michael.	Mense Michael.	Crast. Martini.	Quind. Martini.

Note also that the escheker, which is Fiscus ærarium publicum principis, openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vsuall termes as they are kept for the administration of our common lawes, wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accustomablie holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for somuch time as their execution indureth (which in comparison is scarselie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to answer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being sorie in the meane season, that the vse of the popish calendar is so much reteined in the same, and not rather the vsuall daies of the moneth placed in their roomes, sith most of them are fixed and palter not their place of standing. Howbeit some of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie so easilie, pretending facilitie and custome of vsage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to keepe a commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith.	Simon & Iu.	Edmund.	Conception of
S. Edward.	All Soules.	Katharine.	the virgin
S. Luke.	S. Martin.	S. Andrew.	Marie.

¶ It is to be remembred that the first daie following euerie of these feasts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the same first daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and seafaring causes kept in Southwarke, where iustice is ministred & execution doone continuallie according to the same.

The second daie following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the selfe daie in the afternoone, in the same place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenoone, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the said consistorie, and the same third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quéenes highnesse commissioners vpon appeales is likewise kept in the same place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

S. Hilarie.	S. Blase.	Ashwednes.	Perpet. & Fel.
S. Wolstan.	S. Scolastic.	S. Matthie.	S Gregorie.
Conuersion of S. Paule.	S. Valentine.	S. Chad.	Annũciation of our Ladie.

Note that the foure first daies of this terme be certeine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the daie of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept bicause the lawdaie of the other feast dooth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie be the next daie after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke that although Ashwednesdaie be put the seuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the course of Easter causeth it.

Easter

Easter terme.

The fiftéenth daie after Easter.

S. Alphege.	Gordian.
S. Marke.	S. Dunstan.
Inuention of the crosse.	Ascension daie.

¶ In this terme the first sitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftéenth daie after Easter, and so foorth after the feasts here noted, which next follow by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betwéene other feasts.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, doo come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the fiftéenth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie sundaie.	S. Butolph.	S. Swithune.
Corpus Christi.	S. Iohn.	S. Margaret.
Boniface bish.	S. Paule.	S. Anne.
S. Barnabie.	Translat. Thomas.	

Here note also that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitsuntide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after the idolatrous and papisticall feast daie called Corpus Christi, except Corpus Christi daie fall on some day aforenamed: which chanceth sometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the second session account foure daies or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other law daies follow in order, but so manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought méet.

It is also generallie to be obserued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not sundaie or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second daie following be sundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the said holie daie or feast.

OF PROUISION MADE FOR THE POORE.

CHAP. X.

THERE is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarilie to be relieued by the welthier sort, which otherwise would starue and come to vtter confusion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into thrée sorts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decaied householder, and the sicke person visited with grieuous and painefull diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotour that hath consumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were séeking worke and finding none) and finallie the roge and strumpet which are not possible to be diuided in sunder, but runne too and fro ouer all the realme, chéefelie kéeping the champaine soiles in summer to auoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds. Thrée sorts of poore.

For the first two sorts, that is to saie, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by casualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whome the word dooth bind vs to make some dailie prouision: there is order taken through out euerie parish in the realme, that weekelie col-

lection shall be made for their helpe and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie also is giuen vnto the iustices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for such as make default, to sée that the intent of the statute in this behalfe be trulie executed, according to the purpose and meaning of the same, so that these two sorts are sufficientlie prouided for: and such as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will doo that is godlie and well disposed) may well forbeare to rome and range about. But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so in stéed of courteous refreshing at home, are often corrected with sharpe execution, and whip of iustice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithstanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yéeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the deuotion of the parishes. I found not long since a note of these latter sort, the effect whereof insueth. Idle beggers are such either through other mens occasion, or through their owne default. By other mens occasion (as one waie for example) when some couetous man, such I meane as haue the cast or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to pester the land, espieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, dooth find such meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the same vnto his priuate gaines. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wise and better minded, doo either forsake the realme for altogether, and seeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moscouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no roome to be left for them at home, doo so behaue themselues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the second sort: yet the greater part commonlie hauing nothing to staie vpon are wilfull, and therevpon doo either proone idle beggers, or else continue starke théeues till the gallowes doo eat them vp, which is a lamentable case. Certes in some mans iudgements these things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies; thinking a necessarie brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermost, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any forren inuasion should be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake! then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to séeke remedie. The like occasion caused the Romans to deuise their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceased to practise disturbance till it was quite abolished. But to proceed with my purpose.

A thing often séene.

At whose hands shall the bloud of these men be required?

Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or méere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means, are in the beginning iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doo what they can to continue their miserie, and with such impediments as they haue to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such is their owne vngratious lewdnesse, and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiues, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies: and also laieng of ratsbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull and odious sores, and moone the harts of the goers by such places where they lie, to yerne at their miserie, and therevpon bestow large almesse vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible spéech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in ma-

ner coniure or adiure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouths of none: and yet the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheeflie to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet notwithstanding sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also they will be like seruing men or laborers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and séeke for ships which they neuer lost. But in fine, they are all théeues and caterpillers in the common-wealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but licke the sweat from the true labourers browes, & beereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked & detestable maner.

It is not yet full thréescore yeares since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge, for they are now supposed of one sex and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 persons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name Canting, but other pedlers French, a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke, a iust reward no doubt for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman also of late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rable. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth thrée & twentie sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them. Thomas Harman.

The seuerall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds.

1 Rufflers.
2 Vprightmen.
3 Hookers or Anglers.
4 Roges.
5 Wild roges.
6 Priggers or pransers.
7 Palliards.
8 Fraters.
9 Abrams.
10 Freshwater mariners, or whipiacks.
11 Dummerers.
12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Iarkemen or patricoes.

¶ *Of women kind*

1 Demanders for glimmar or fire.
2 Baudie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Doxes.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching cooes.

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must néeds be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them, as vpon théeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong children, burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people, I need not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of

of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be grèeuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person woorth fiue pounds in the quèenes books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, plaiers, minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, bèene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is & haue bèene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the quèenes maiestie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation excèed not twentie shillings, as I haue bèene informed. And thus much of the poore, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

OF SUNDRIE KINDS OF PUNISHMENTS APPOINTED FOR MALEFACTORS.

CHAP. XI.

IN cases of felonie, manslaghter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offendor is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vsed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vse, and yet so few grèeuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To vse torment also or question by paine and torture in these common cases with vs is greatlie abhorred, sith we are found alwaie to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, choosing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yeeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vsed in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons doo go so chèerefullie to their deths, for our nation is frèe, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as sir Thomas Smith saith lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vsed as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuallie beating, seruitude, and seruile torments. No, our gailers are guiltie of fellonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greatest and most grèeuous punishment vsed in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided neere hand and within their owne sight, euen for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespasse

be

be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their peeres, that is to saie, equals (for an inquest of yeomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence doo run after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason, fellonie, or anie other greeuous crime not confessed, the partie accused dooth yéeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inquest (as I haue said) and his péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vse) and being condemned of fellonie, manslaughter, &c: he is eftsoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, doone either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged aliue in chaines néere the place where the fact was committed (or else vpon compassion taken first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. We haue vse neither of the whéele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offendor hath his right hand commonlie striken off before or néere vnto the place where the act was doone, after which he is led foorth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellon is deriued of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and wicked one, a one of vntamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like sort in the word fellonie are manie gréeuous crimes conteined, as breach of prison An. 1 of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors An. 1. of Henrie the seuenth. Rape or stealing of women & maidens An. 3 of Henrie the eight. Conspiracie against the person of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the seuenth. Embesilling of goods committed by the master to the seruant, aboue the value of fourtie shillings An. 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horsses or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes egs An. 31. of Henrie the eight. Coniuring, sorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of crosses An. 33. of Hen. 8. Prophesieng vpon armes, cognisances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Casting of slanderous bils An. 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poison An. 1. of Edw. the sixt. Departure of a soldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the sixt. Diminution of coine, all offenses within case of premunire, embeselling of records, goods taken from dead men by their seruants, stealing of what soeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the sea, or of dwelling houses, letting out of ponds, cutting of pursses, stealing of déere by night, counterfeitors of coine, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuerse other needlesse to be remembred. If a woman poison hir husband she is burned aliue, if the seruant kill his master he is to be executed for petie treason, he that poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practise: in cases of murther all the accessaries are to suffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is punished by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the rewalting of the trées growing vpon the grounds of the offendors and losse of all his mooueables. Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of seditious words against the magistrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares, cariers of sheepe out of the land by the losse of their hands, such as kill by poison are either boiled or skalded to death in lead or séething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and dooing of open penance in shéets, in churches and market stéeds are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with some either as no punishment at all to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offendors, so I would wish adulterie and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betwéene

betwéene Lambeth and Westminster at the taile of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned therto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compasse of his iurisdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being too seuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the said Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eies or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appéereth of what estimation mariage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holie estate were so gréeuouslie rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauourablie with them, shooting rather at the punishments of such priests and clearkes as were maried, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie seueritie was shewed, except vpon such laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therefore so in adulterie and whoredome I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a shéet, though the weather be neuer so cold.

Manslaughter in time past was punished by the pursse, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the punishment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else-where I haue spoken more at large. Such as kill themselues are buried in the field with a stake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or sometimes burned, but théeues are hanged (as I said before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, sauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law or rather a custome at Halifax, that who soeuer dooth commit anie fellonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirtéene pence halfe penie, he is foorthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall vsuallie vpon the tuesdaies, thursdaies, & saturdaies) or else vpon the same daie that he is so conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is doone, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which dooth ride vp and downe in a slot, rabet, or regall betwéene two péeces of timber, that are framed and set vpright of fiue yardes in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax keied or fastened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastened by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) vnto the middest of which pin also there is a long rope fastened that commeth downe among the people, so that when the offendor hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost blocke, euerie man there present dooth either take hold of the rope (or putteth foorth his arme so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to sée true iustice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened dooth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distance. If it be so that the offendor be apprehended for an ox, oxen, shéepe, kine, horsse, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast or other of the same kind shall haue the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they being driuen doo draw out the pin wherby the offendor is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe.

Halifax law.

Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped, scolds are ducked vpon cucking-stooles in the water. Such fellons as stand mute and speake not at their arraignement are pressed to death by huge weights laid vpon a boord, that lieth ouer their brest, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs, and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods

Mute.

vnto

vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned should be confiscated to the prince. Théeues that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, for the first offense, if they haue stollen nothing else but oxen, shéepe, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie side, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue beene arraigned of fellonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I doo not read that this custome of sauing by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England, neither doo I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that law. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuised to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themselues to husbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue beene amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not suffer euen their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counsell house, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whensoeuer anie thing touching the state of the land was to be consulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the shore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwashed them. Finallie, such as hauing wals and banks néere vnto the sea, and doo suffer the same to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine ancient custome apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Cleargie.

Pirats.

And thus much in part of the administration of iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding that we doo not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers (such I meane as are not sildome séene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before reported. Certes there is no greater mischéefe doone in England than by robberies, the first by yoong shifting gentlemen, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by seruingmen, whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them bréeches, wherefore they are now and then constreined either to kéepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houses with the first sort, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to sée and view which horsses féed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard aduenture it hath béene knowne by their confession at the gallowes, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or sixtie stolne horsses at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselues in the meane season being taken about home for honest yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue been bewraied. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie townesman, he vttered also more horsses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable peniworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Iesus I stole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet such was his estimation, that each beleeued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indéed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which doo verie great mischeefe in all places where they become. For wheras the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fish that commeth to net with them, and yet I saie both they and the rest are trussed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein thrée hundred or four hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth

it vpon the report of the bishop of Lexouia) in the geniture of king Edward the sixt, how Henrie the eight, executing his laws verie seuerelie against such idle persons, I meane great théeues, pettie théeues and roges, did hang vp thréescore and twelue thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the rest: but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sort, hauing once serued or but séene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish townes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of theeues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man complaine and giue warning of slaughter or murther committed, the constable of the village wherevnto he commeth and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespasser may be, or is supposed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable after serch made to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the offendor is harbored and found. It is also prouided, that if anie parish in this businesse doo not hir dutie, but suffereth the théefe (for the auoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape the same parish, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that théeues haue beene let passe, bicause the couetous and greedie parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to prison, if it were far off, that when hue and crie haue béene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said; "God restore your losse, I haue other businesse at this time." And by such meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath swet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.

OF THE MANER OF BUILDING AND FURNITURE OF OUR HOUSES.

CHAP. XII.

THE greatest part of our building in the cities and good townes of England consisteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houses of the communaltie (except here & there in the West countrie townes) are made of stone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerse other places be builded so good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houses of the Britons were slightlie set vp with a few posts & many radels, with stable and all offices vnder one roofe, the like whereof almost is to be séene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in speaking of building to make a distinction betwéene the plaine and wooddie soiles: for as in these, our houses are commonlie strong and well timbered, so that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, six, or nine inches betwéene stud and stud; so in the open and champaine countries they are inforced for want of stuffe to vse no studs at all, but onlie franke posts, raisins, beames, prickeposts, groundsels, summers (or dormants) transoms, and such principals, with here and there a griding, whervnto they fasten their splints or radels, and then cast it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwise would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made

the Spaniards in quéene Maries daies to woonder, but chéeflie when they saw what large diet was vsed in manie of these so homelie cottages, in so much that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this maner: "These English (quoth he) haue their houses made of sticks and durt, but they fare commonlie so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such course cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like sort as euerie countrie house is thus apparelled on the out side, so is it inwardlie diuided into sundrie roomes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwise with straw, sedge, or reed, except some quarrie of slate be néere hand, from whence they haue for their monie so much as may suffice them.

The claie wherewith our houses are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of these the first dooth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the second is called lome, but the third eftsoones changeth colour so soone as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke also we haue our excellent Asbestos or white lime, made in most places, wherewith being quenched we strike ouer our claie workes and stone wals, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houses: otherwise in steed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is so scant that in some places it is sold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red stone, as in Wales, and else where other stones and shels of oisters and like fish found vpon the sea coast, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eschew water whereby it is dissolued, and neuerthelesse desire oile wherewith it is easilie mixed, as I haue seene by experience. Within their doores also such as are of abilitie doo oft make their floores and parget of fine alabaster burned, which they call plaster of Paris, whereof in some places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable against the rage of fire.

In plastering likewise of our fairest houses ouer our heads, we vse to laie first a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or sometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made fast here and there with saplaths for falling downe) and finallie couer all with the aforesaid plaster, which beside the delectable whitenesse of the stuffe it selfe, is laied on so euen and smoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be doone with more exactnesse. The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherin either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seeled with oke of our owne, or wainescot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close than otherwise they would be. As for stooues we haue not hitherto vsed them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diuerse houses of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in as in Germanie and else where, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and néed shall require. This also hath béene common in England, contrarie to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be séene (for example in most stréets of London) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardlie béene verie simple and plaine to sight, which inwardlie haue beene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Hereby moreouer it is come to passe, that the fronts of our stréets haue not béene so vniforme and orderlie builded as those of forreine cities, where (to saie truth) the vtterside of their mansions and dwellings haue oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and vneasie within, as experience dooth confirme. Of old time our countrie houses in steed of glasse did vse much lattise and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwise. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithstanding vsed some glasse also since the time of Benedict Biscop the moonke that brought the feat of glasing first into this land) did make panels of horne in stéed of glasse, & fix them in woodden calmes. But as horne in windows is now quite laid downe in euerie place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse vse, bicause

glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a verie little so good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obscure mention of the specular stone also to haue béene found and applied to this vse in England, but in such doubtfull sort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuerthelesse certeine it is that antiquitie vsed it before glasse was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glasse was first found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this present, although it be directlie beside my purposed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & néere to the foot of mount Carmell there is a moore or marris, wherout riseth a brooke called somtime Belus, and falleth into the sea néere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie ascribed vnto Baall, and also honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Israell. It came to passe also as a certeine merchant sailed that way loden with Nitrum, the passengers went to land for to repose themselues, and to take in some store of fresh water into their vessell. Being also on the shore they kindled a fire, and made prouision for their dinner, but bicause they wanted treuets or stones whereon to set their kettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great péeces of Nitrum with him, which serued their turne for that present. To be short, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauel that laie vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie saw this, they made no small accompt of their successe, and foorthwith began to practise the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the said stuffe did also insue. Certes for the time this historie may well be true: for I read of glasse in Iob, but for the rest I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glased with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be séene in Sudleie castell) and in diuerse other places with fine christall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, wherof also some fragments haue béene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onelie the clearest glasse is most estéemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, which would be so good as the best, if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground stand altogither by stréets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland soiles dispersed here and there, each one vpon the seuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor bruehouse annexed vnto them vnder the same roofe (as in manie places beyond the sea & some of the north parts of our countrie) but all separate from the first, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not so farre distant in sunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is doone in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger should attach him.

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet and for the most part of strong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations. Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are cõmonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both; their roomes large and comelie, and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron dooth often match in our daies with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did florish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptista, and Serlo. Neuerthelesse, their estimation more than their gréedie and seruile couetousnesse, ioined with a lingering humour causeth them often to be reiected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise of the lowest sort in most places of our south countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houses it is not rare to sée abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe dooth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fiue or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts doo far excéed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other; so in time past, the costlie furniture staied there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well) dooth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioise rather, to sée how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and whilest I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to most excessiue prices, & what commoditie so euer is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communaltie by such as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obtein & atchiue such furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance; & other three things too too much increased. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, wheras in their yoong daies there were not aboue two or thrée, if so manie in most vplandish townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture some great personages) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

Thrée things greatlie amended in England.

Chimnies.

The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a shéet vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had within seuen yeares after his mariage purchased a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture: which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes (said they) were thought méet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie shéet aboue them it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to kéepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides.

Hard lodging.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessell, as of trёene platters into pewter, and wodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of trёene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure péeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarse able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vttermost by the yeare. Such also was their pouertie, that if some one od farmer or husbandman had béene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst six or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to shew what store he had, did cast downe his purse, and therein a noble or six shillings in siluer vnto them (for few such men then cared for gold bicause it was not so readie

Furniture of household.

This was in the time of generall idlenesse.

readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date tree thinke his gaines verie small toward the end of his terme, if he haue not six or seuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupbord, with so much more in od vessell going about the house, three or foure featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a siluer salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neast) and a dozzen of spoones to furnish vp the sute. This also he taketh to be his owne cleere, for what stocke of monie soeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often seene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the same, when he renueth his lease, which is commonlie eight or six yeares before the old be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuersion, and so defeat him out right) that it shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shauen it from his chin. And as they commend these, so (beside the decaie of housekeeping whereby the poore haue beene relieued) they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhansing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppression of copiholders, whose lords seeke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie deuising new meanes, and seeking vp all the old how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seuen times increasing their fines, driuing them also for euerie trifle to loose and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and is mainteined) to the end they may fleece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it was "Sors pro sorte," that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beside that which is aboue the principall properlie called "Vsura," we chalenge "Fœnus," that is commoditie of soile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it selfe. In time past also one of the hundred was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in Latine "Vsura, Ex sextante;" three, to wit "Ex quadrante;" then to foure, to wit "Ex triente;" then to fiue, which is "Ex quincunce;" then to six, called "Ex semisse," &c: as the accompt of the "Assis" ariseth, and comming at the last vnto "Vsura ex asse," it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it "Centesima," for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elsewhere. See Cicero against Verres, Demosthenes against Aphobus, and Athenæus lib. 13. in fine: and when thou hast read them well, helpe I praie thee in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take "Centũ pro cento," for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they seeme (as it were) to eat them vp and deale with bondmen, so that if the leassee be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am sorie to report it, much more greeued to vnderstand of the practise; but most sorowfull of all to vnderstand that men of great port and countenance are so farre from suffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themselues become grasiers, butchers, tanners, sheepmasters, woodmen, and "denique quid non," thereby to inrich themselues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plausible shew, but when necessitie shall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter sequele.

By the yeare.

OF CITIES AND TOWNES IN ENGLAND.

CAP. XIII.

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the south part of this Ile, and so manie great cities vnder their iurisdiction: so in these our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them also vnder the ecclesiasticall regiment of some one bishop or archbishop, who in spirituall cases haue the charge and ouersight of the same. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be bishopriks & archbishopriks. For notwithstanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, doo séeme to extend the aforesaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of these couples are to be accounted, but as one entier citie and sée of the bishop, sith one bishoprike can haue relation but vnto one sée, and the said see be situate but in one place, after which the bishop dooth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient histories, that the cities of this southerlie portion haue beene of excéeding greatnesse and beautie, whereof some were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in these our times are quite decaied, and the places where they stood worne out of all remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remaine are maruellouslie altered, insomuch that whereas at the first they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison than poore & simple villages. Antoninus the most diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other these ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland supposeth (wherin they went by Colchester) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betwéene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles east of London, and likewise Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their first founder Magus, the sonne of Samothes, & second king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not "A profunditate," onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus should stand in holes and low grounds: which is to be disprooued in diuerse cities in the maine, as also here with vs. Of these moreouer sir Thomas Eliot supposeth Neomagus to haue stood somewhere about Chester; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie same that we doo now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the shore. And as these and sundrie other now perished tooke their denomination of this prince, so there are diuerse causes, which mooue me to coniecture, that Salisburie dooth rather take the first name of Sarron the sonne of the said Magus, than of Cæsar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as some of our writers doo imagine) or else at the least wise of Salisburge of the maine, from whence some Saxons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikelie, sith before the comming of the Saxons, the king of the Suessionenses had a great part of this Iland in subiection, as Cæsar saith; and in another place that such of Belgie as stale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence they came, I meane such as stood vpon the coast, as he himselfe dooth witnesse. But sith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not stand now vpon the proofe of this matter, least I should séeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in such wise to deteine the heads of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise peraduenture would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To procéed therefore. As soone after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furnished with hir conuenient numbers, whereof some at this present with their ancient names, doo still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but the least of these were comparable to the greatest of those which stand in our time, for sith that in those daies the most part of the Iland was reserued vnto pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but

Six and twentie cities in England.

Sitomagus.

Nouiomagus.

Neomagus.

Niomagus.

Salisburie of Sarron.

Sarronium.

Sarronsburg.

Greater cities in times past when husbandmen also were citizens.

(but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in Spaine) or at the lestwise stood not so thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chéefelie after the comming of the Saxons, and after them the Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne mansion house, and thereto imparted the greatest portion of his lands vnto sundrie tenants, to hold the same of him by coppie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in some especiall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increased. If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of them so neare as to me is possible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.

The cause of the increase of villages.

1 London otherwise called
- Trenouanton.
- Cair Lud.
- Londinum or Longidinium.
- Augusta of the legion Augusta that soiourned there, when the Romans ruled here.

2 Yorke otherwise called
- Cairbranke.
- Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
- Eorwijc or Eoforwijc.
- Yeworwijc.
- Eboracum.
- Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there sometime.

Leguitius placeth Yorke in Scotland de eclipsibus.

A legion conteined sixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.

3 Canturburie
- Duroruerno aliàs Dururuenno.
- Dorobernia.
- Cantwarbirie.

4 Colchester.
- Cair Colon.
- Cair Colden.
- Cair Colkin of Coilus.
- Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
- Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans.
- Coloncester. (Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75. Tacitus. Ptolome.)
- Camulodunum. (Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75. Tacitus. Ptolome.)

5 Lincolne.
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood about it.
- Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6 Warwijc had sometime 9 parish churches.
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line or Cair Leon.
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair Vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7 Chestervpon Vske was a famous vniuersitie in the time of Arthur.
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legecester.
- Ciuitas legionum.

8 Carleill.
- Cair Lueill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.
- Cair Doill.

9 S. Albanes.
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamcester.
- Cair Wattelin, of the street wheron it stood.

10 Winchester.
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11 Cisceter.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kery.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirnecester.
- Churnecester.

12 Silcester.
- * Cair Segent.
- Selecester.

* Cair Segent stood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reding.

13 Bath.

13 Bath.
- Cair Badon.
- Thermæ.
- Aquæ solis.

14 Shaftesbyry.
- Cair Paladour.
- Septonia.

15 Worcester.
- Wigornia.
- Cair Gworangon.
- Brangonia.
- Cair Frangon.
- Woorkecester.

16 Chichester.
- Cair Key or Kair Kis.
- Cair Chic.

17 Bristow.
- Cair Odernant Badon.
- Oder.
- Cair Bren.
- Venta Belgarum.
- Brightstow.

18 Rochester.
- Durobreuis, corruptlie
  - Durobrouis.
  - Dubobrus.
  - Durobrius.
- Rofcester.
- Roffa.

19 Portchester.
- Cair Peris.
- Cair Porcis.

20 Cairmarden.
- Cair Maridunum.
- Cair Merdine.
- Maridunum.
- Cair Marlin.
- Cair Fridhin.

21 Glocester.
- Cair Clowy.
- Cair Glow.
- Claudiocestria.

22 Leircester.
- Cair Beir.
- Cair Leir.
- Cair Lirion.
- Wirall, teste. Matth. West. 895.

23 Cambridge.
- Grantabric.
- Cair Graunt.

- 24 Cair Vrnach, peraduenture Burgh castell.
- 25 Cair Cucurat.
- 26 Cair Draiton, now a slender village.
- 27 Cair Celennon.
- 28 Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewise) it stood somewhere vpon the Nene in Huntingdon shire, but now vnknowne, sith it was twise raced to the ground, first by the Saxons, then by the Danes, so that the ruines thereof are in these daies not extant to be séene. And in like sort I am ignorant where most of them stood, that are noted with the star. I find in like sort mention of a noble citie called Alcluid ouer and beside these afore mentioned, sometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie destroied by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It stood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betwéene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the west, and was sometime march betwéene the Britons and the Picts, and likewise the Picts and the Scots; neuerthelesse, the castell (as I heare) dooth yet remaine, and hath béene since well repared by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, so that it is not an hard matter by these few words to find where Alcluid stood. I could here, if leisure serued, and hast of the printer not require dispatch, deliuer the ancient names of sundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time past was called Stadtford, and therfore (as I gesse) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebanton now Kimbalton. But if anie man be desirous to sée more of them, let him resort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the second, and there he shall be further satisfied of his desire in this behalfe.

When Albane was martyred Asclepiodotus was legat in Britaine.

It should séeme when these ancient cities flourished, that the same towne, which we now call saint Albons, did most of all excell: but chéefelie in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it selfe, but rather preferred before it, bicause it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the most part of the Iland was also in those daies. Good notice hereof also is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whose writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maiestie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto posteritie, and the former estate of Verlamcester not lie altogither

(as it hath doone hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of such as might haue deserued better of their successours, by leauing the description thereof in a booke by it selfe, sith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are lost and perished. Tacitus in the foureteenth booke of his historie maketh mention of it, shewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miserablie distressed, "Eadem clades" (saith he) "municipio Verolamio fuit." And here vpon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municip, as I before haue noted. Ptolome speaking of it, dooth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing Sullomaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullomaca stood neere to Barnet, if it were not the verie same. Of the old compasse of the walles of Verolamium there is now small knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it selfe you shall partlie vnderstand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what "Municipium Romanorum" is: for there is great difference betweene that and "Colonia Romanorum," sith "Colonia aliò traducitur a ciuitate Roma," but "Municipes aliundè in ciuitatem veniunt, suisq; iuribus & legibus viuunt:" moreouer their soile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the stedfast freendship and protection of the Romans, as did somtime the Ceretes who were the first people which euer obteined that priuilege. The British Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble seruice in the warres deserued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole freedome of Romans, whereby they were made Municipes, and became more free in truth than their Colonies could be. To conclude therefore, Municipium is a citie infranchised and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a Colonie is a companie sent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to possesse either a citie newlie builded, or to replenish the same from whence hir former citizens haue beene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.

Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in sunder.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being desirous to inlarge that house, it came into his mind to search about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to see if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garnish his building taken in hand. To be short, he had no sooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, peeces of antike worke, thresholds, doore frames, and sundrie other peeces of fine masonrie for windowes and such like, verie conuenient for his purpose. Of these also some were of porphyrite stone, some of diuerse kinds of marble, touch, and alabaster, beside manie curious deuises of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himselfe an happie man, and his successe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Besides these also he found sundrie pillers of brasse, and sockets of latton, alabaster and touch, all which he laid aside by great heaps, determining in the end (I saie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie, but God so preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him succeeded one Eadmerus, who followed the doings of Eldred to the vttermost: and therefore not onlie perused what he had left with great diligence, but also caused his pioners to search yet further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other peeces of excellent workemanship, but came at the last to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie superstitiouslie and religiouslie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of necessitie. These images were of sundrie mettals, and some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie couered, all which ornaments Edmerus tooke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vse in his building, but also destroied an innumerable sort of other idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and substances could doo no seruise. He tooke vp also sundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruses of stone and wood most artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in such quantitie, besides infinite store of fine houshold stuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had beene brought thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In proceeding further, he tooke vp diuerse pots of gold, siluer, brasse, glasse and earth,

whereof

whereof some were filled with the ashes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Massingham in Norffolke, of six or eight gallons a péece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into péeces, and melting the mettall, he reserued it in like sort for the garnishing of his church.

He found likewise in a stone wall two old bookes, whereof one conteined the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdome of saint Albane, both of them written in old Brittish letters, which either bicause no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not woorth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, sauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workemanship, the like whereof hath no whers else béene séene in anie ruines within the compasse of this Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stuffe. This soundeth like a lie.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Verlume (afterward called Vere and the Mure) did and dooth so still (whatsoeuer Gildas talketh hereof, whose books may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie small by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it kéepeth in maner the old course, and runneth betwéene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmehirst crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are medow beneath the abbaie, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, wheras at this present it is verie slow, and of no such deapth as of ancient times it hath beene. But heare what mine author saith further of the same. As those aforsaid workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shels, péeces of rustie anchors, and keeles of great vessels, wherevpon some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, wherof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which laie then (as some men thinke) vnwalled, but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old wals standing in that place, which appeared to haue béene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be séene running along by the old chappell hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell stréet or there about, for so the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie "Stagnum enaximum" for "Stagnum maximum") at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alfrijc the seuenth abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessiue charges drained it so narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (sauing that he reserued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vsuall course, which he held vp with high bankes) bicause there was alwaies contention betwéene the moonks and the kings seruants, which fished on that water vnto the kings behoofe.

In these daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one stréet, which yet is called Fishpoole stréet, wherof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as séeke rather to yéeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas should seeme to mistake this riuer.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their

true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is soone found by the bishoprikes, sith euerie sée hath such prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vse Regale ius within hir owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to sundrie ancient townes in England, especiallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these:

London.	Norwich.	Bath.	Oxford.
Yorke.	Lincolne.	Lichfield.	Peterborow.
Canturburie.	Worcester.	Bristow.	Landaffe.
Winchester.	Glocester.	Rochester.	S. Dauids.
Cairleill.	Hereford.	Chester.	Bangor.
Durham.	Salisburie.	Chichester.	S. Asaph.
Elie.	Excester.		

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed) than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glassenburie, Abbandon, Ramseie, Elie, and such like) and whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. Leland in sundrie places complaineth likewise of the decaie of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some six, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well more at their first comming, yet since the first two hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they haue gone so fast againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. Ranulph the moonke of Chester telleth of generall surueie made in the fourth, sixtéenth, & nineteenth of the reigne of William Conquerour, surnamed the Bastard, wherein it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerse other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu or recompense of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forrest. For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime written as it séemeth by an vndershiriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parish churches, and but 60216 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he dooth séeme to vse. Howbeit if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforesaid number, if it be throughlie scanned.

Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto most of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the gréedie desire of such as would liue alone and onelie to themselues. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Hecatompolis, bicause it conteined an hundred cities, but now it is so vnfurnished that it may hardlie be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decaied in processe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our daies both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not verie readilie be found. In time past in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue beene two and fiftie parish churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.

But

But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable and grèeuous an inconuenience, growing (as I said) by incroching and ioining of house to house, and laieng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houses either altogither pulled downe or suffered to decaie by litle and litle, although sometime a poore man peraduenture dooth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, sufferèth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himselfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground assigned vnto him whereon to kèepe a cow, or wherein to set cabbages, radishes, parsneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liueth as by their principall food, sith they can doo no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore estate God wot! Howbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopyards, and sheads for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may sée in castell Hedingham, and diuerse other places. But to procéed.

It is so, that our soile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houses of the first lie vniformelie builded in euerie towne togither with stréets and lanes, wheras in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and most great market townes, there are commonlie thrée hundred or foure hundred families or mansions, & two thousand communicants, or peraduenture more: so in the other, whether they be woodland or champaine, we find not often aboue fortie, fiftie, or thrée score households, and two or thrée hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part neuerthelesse are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, sith the ground of the parish is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of one, two or thrée, whereby the rest are compelled either to be hired seruants vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

There are some (saith Leland) which are not so fauourable when they haue gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the vse of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogither, saieng that if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggers to the towne, therby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas these pitifull men sée not that they themselues hereby doo laie the greatest log vpon their neighbors necks. For sith the prince dooth commonlie loose nothing of his duties accustomable to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine must answer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saieng; I am charged alreadie with a light horsse, I am to answer in this sort and after that maner. And it is not yet altogither out of knowledge, that where the king had seuen pounds thirteene shillings at a taske gathered of fiftie wealthie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure housholds doo beare all the aforesaid paiment, or else Leland is deceiued in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he especiallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormittie, both in the hart of the land and likewise vpon the coasts. Certes a great number compleine of the increase of pouertie, laieng the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increase of people, or want of wars that should consume them, affirming that the land was neuer so full, &c: but few men doo sée the verie root from whence it dooth procéed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they florished, and therefore prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of thrée score in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if néed required) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders that haue béene in this Iland: but sith it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will

commend

commend sundrie of the monasticall votaries, especiallie moonkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, néere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent an other, appéered herin too too much. For being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought off great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodelhouses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vntò them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

Shires.	*Market townes.*	*Parishes.*
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Surrie.	6	140
Sussex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northhampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southhampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

OF CASTELS AND HOLDS.

CHAP. XIV.

IT hath béene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels néere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Neuertheles it séemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogither vnnéedfull. This also is apparent by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue béene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of Old Salisburie I speake not, of Anwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vtterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a bréeder of tyrants. Pyrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens,

Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frēendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentlenesse. Caietanus in his commonwealth hath finallie no liking of them, as appēereth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be nēedfull?

There haue bēene in times past great store of castels and places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them listed vpon their owne demeasnes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploied their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the mēeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gainesaie manie of those procēedings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he caused more than eleuēn hundred of their said castels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restreined. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained haue decaied, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselues, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remooued: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all mainteined within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better kēeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repared most of such as were alreadie standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing shaken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from quēene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes neece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safelie to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small spēed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vtterlie put off their hastie purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eie toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is doone! albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much brieflie for my purpose at this present. For I nēed not to make anie long discourse of castels, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with stone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he maie trauaise his ground, choose his plot, and vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduantage & commoditie. Isocrates also saith that towres, walles, bulworkes, soldiers, and

The best kéepers of kingdomes.

and plentie of armour, are not the best kéepers of kingdomes; but freends, loue of subiects, & obedience vnto martiall discipline, which they want that shew themselues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for those tales that go of Beston castell, how it shall saue all England on a daie, and likewise the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that said in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fiftith yeare of his reigne:

If I were in my castell of Bungeie,
Vpon the water of Waueneie,
I wold not set a button by the king of Cockneie,

I repute them but as toies, the first méere vaine, the second fondlie vttered if anie such thing were said, as manie other words are and haue béene spoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with small losse not heard of among the common sort. Certes the castell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforesaid prince, the same yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and castell of Leircester, also the castels of Treske and Malesar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewise to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like sort take occasion to speake of sundrie strong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I passe ouer to talke of any such néedlesse discourses. This neuerthelesse concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one néere vnto Cambridge now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to saie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may easilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewise is verie large and strong. The second is to be séene in the edge of Shropshire about two miles from Colme, betwéene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewie otherwise named Themis, wherevnto there is no accesse but at one place. The Welshmen call it Cair Carador, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Ostorius, at such time as he fled to Cartimanda quéene of the Brigants for succour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may sée in Tacitus.

The Wandles in time past were called Windles.

OF PALACES BELONGING TO THE PRINCE.

CHAP. XV.

IT lieth not in me to set down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie description of hir graces court, sith my calling is and hath béene such, as that I haue scarselie presumed to peepe in at hir gates, much lesse then haue I aduentured to search out and know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behauiour is to be séene within them. Yet thus much will I saie generallie of all the houses and honours perteining to hir maiestie, that they are builded either of square stone or bricke, or else of both. And thervnto although their capacitie and hugenesse be not so monstrous, as the like of diuerse forren princes are to be seene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conuenience of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of situation, which is not the least thing to be considered of in building. Those that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient kind of workemanship vsed in this land: but such as he erected after his owne deuise (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Iustinian the lawgiuer) doo represent another maner of paterne, which as they are supposed to excell all the rest that he found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president vnto those that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes masonrie did neuer

King Hen. 8. not inferior to Adrian and Iustinian.

better flourish in England than in his time. And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set vp excell in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred farre aboue all the rest. The names of those which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reserued to hir maiesties onelie vse at pleasure are these: for of such as are giuen awaie I speake not, neither of those that are vtterlie decaied, as Bainards castell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whose wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the first; neither of the tower roiall there also, &c: sith I sée no cause wherefore I should remember them and manie of the like, of whose verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of such I saie therfore as I erst mentioned, we haue first of all White hall at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large & principall of all the rest) was first a lodging of the Archbishops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Woolseie, and finallie inlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight. By east of this standeth Durham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but conuerted also by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerset place I speake not, yet if the first beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerset) had liued, I doubt not but it should haue beene well finished and brought to a sumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that house & from vs all, so it prooued the staie of such proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to passe that it standeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and house of munition, and therevnto a place for the safekéeping of offendors, than a palace roiall for a king or quéene to soiourne in. Yet in times past I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the site of his palace in such wise, that it stretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in so much that it approched néere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought some of the ruines of his house are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouses in that tract of ground in our times. S. Iames sometime a nonrie, was builded also by the same prince. Hir grace hath also Oteland, Ashridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enuéeld, Eltham, Langleie, Richmond builded by Henrie the fift, Hampton court (begun sometime by cardinall Woolseie, and finished by hir father) and therevnto Woodstocke, erected by king Henrie the first, in which the quéenes maiestie delighteth greatlie to soiourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of a parcell of hir captiuitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

White hall. S. James. Oteland. Ashridge. Hatfield. Enuéeld. Richmond. Hampton. Woodstocke.

For strength Windlesor or Winsor is supposed to be the chéefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, or before him by Aruiragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him diuerse of his successours haue bestowed excéeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the quéenes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be emploied vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, which is more for pleasure than for either profit or safegard. Such also hath béene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie béene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelie.

Windsor.

Greenewich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Glocester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the sixt, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie inlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

Greenewich.

Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the said streame, somtime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, wherevnto it was also conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was

Dartford. Eltham.

builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these moreouer diuerse other. But what shall I néed to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the queenes maiestie hath? sith all is hirs, and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniuried by hir vniust officers or their substitutes, euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where shee continueth during pleasure, and till shee returne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

Of the court. The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowmed and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the interteinement of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall therevnto, much lesse one excelling it in anie maner of wise. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same) make a large discourse of such honorable ports, of such graue councellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set foorth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costlinesse of attire, there séemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the preheminence. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speaches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of. Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Gréeke and Latine toongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am persuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which industrie God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting!

English courtiers the best learned & the worst liuers.

Beside these things I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and auoid idlenesse, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of silke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine toong, whilest the yoongest sort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, prickesong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation sake, when they haue leisure, and are frée from attendance vpon the quéenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldest sort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside sundrie other artificiall practises perteining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I listed to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should séeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuerthelesse this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in something wherby they kéepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a bréefe rehearsall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause such are commonlie

monlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?

I might finallie describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and therevnto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the seuerall peeces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie seruing all the houshold, that (as I suppose) Cyniras, Cresus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be seene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such needlesse discourses, resoluing my selfe, that euen in this also, as in all the rest, the excéeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God dooth wonderfullie appéere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epistle "Ad aulicum quendam," saith thus: "An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio est, qui illic suis artibus humana licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi scelerum schola est, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vspiam est perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemētiæ, quicquid effrænatæ superbiæ, & rapacis auariciæ, quicquid obscenæ libidinis, fædissimæ impudicitiæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum pessimorum, tōtum illic aceruatur cumulatissimè, vbi stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi sunt, vbi fastus & tumor, ira, liuor, fædáque cupido cum socijs suis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutúmque omniū ínenarrabile naufragium, &c." In such great princes courts (I saie) it is a world to sée what lewd behauiour is vsed among diuerse of those that resort vnto the same, and what whoredome, swearing, ribaldrie, atheisme, dicing, carding, carowsing, drunkennesse, gluttonie, quareling, and such like inconueniences doo dailie take hold, and sometimes euen among those, in whose estates the like behauiour is least conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which say that the thing increaseth and groweth in the courts of princes sauing vertue, which in such places dooth languish and dailie vade away) all which enormities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, or else so qualified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces household, that seldome are anie of these things apparantlie séene there, without due reprehension, and such seuere correction as belongeth to those trespasses. Finallie to auoid idlenesse, and preuent sundrie transgressions, otherwise likelie to be committed and doone, such order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same: whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the sudden, shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publike schoole of the vniuersities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth, than into a princes palace, if you conferre the same with those of other nations. Would to God all honorable personages would take example of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and shew their conformitie vnto these hir so good beginnings! which if they would, then should manie grieuous offenses (wherewith God is highlie displeased) be cut off and restreined, which now doo reigne excéedinglie, in most noble and gentlemens houses, wherof they sée no paterne within hir graces gates.

I might speake here of the great traines and troopes of seruing men also, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their seuerall liueries, and with differences of cognisances on their sléeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could also set downe what a goodlie sight it is to sée them muster in the court, which being filled with them dooth yéeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the pecocks taile in the full beautie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diuersitie of pleasant floures. But I passe ouer the rehearsall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and séeke to be more curious in these points than I professe to be. Traines of attendants.

The discipline of firme peace also that is mainteined within a certeine compasse of the

princes palace, is such, as is nothing inferiour to that we sée dailie practised in the best gouerned holds & fortresses. And such is the seuere punishment of those that strike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they are sure to loose their right hands at a stroke, and that in verie solemne maner, the forme whereof I will set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Striking within the court and palace of the prince.

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing is conuicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the time come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithall a great beetle, staple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the offendor vnto the said blocke, vntill the whole circumstance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the scullarie likewise for the time being, dooth prouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the searing irons are to be made readie against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Upon him also dooth the sergeant or chiefe farrour attend with those irons, whose office is to deliuer them to the said surgeon when he shall be redie by searing to vse the same. The groome of the salarie for the time being or his deputie is furthermore appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offendor be bound vp and fullie dressed. And as these things are thus prouided, so the sergeant surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and seare the stumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The sergeant of the cellar is at hand also with a cup of red wine, and likewise the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread to giue vnto the said partie after the execution doone, and the stumpe seared, as the sergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with seared cloths, and finallie the maister cooke or his deputie with a sharpe dressing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the sergeant of the larder, who dooth hold it vpright in his hand, vntill the execution be performed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of punishment ordeined for those that strike within the princes palace, or limits of the same. Which should first haue beene executed on sir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great sute to saue his right hand for the further seruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yeelded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no small benefit of the offendor, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the prince. The like priuilege almost is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of punishment great difference doo appeere. For he that bralleth or quarelleth in either of them, is by and by suspended "Ab ingressu ecclesiæ," vntill he be absolued: as he is also that striketh with the fist, or laieth violent hands vpon anie whome so euer. But if he happen to smite with staffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, & the same be sufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beside excommunication, he is sure to loose one of his eares without all hope of release. But if he be such a one as hath beene twise condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the chéeke, and by the letter F, which is seared déepe into his flesh, he is from thencefoorth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deserue to be alsolued. To strike a clearke also (that is to saie) a minister, is plaine excommunication, and the offendor not to be absolued but by the prince or his especiall cõmission. Such also is the generall estate of the excõmunicate in euerie respect, that he can yéeld no testimonie in anie matter so long as he so standeth. No bargaine or sale that he maketh is auaileable in law, neither anie of his acts whatsoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as an outlaw & a man altogither out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of fellonie.

OF ARMOUR AND MUNITION.

CHAP. XVI.

HOW well or how stronglie our countrie hath béene furnished in times past with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my selfe to make rehersall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of quéen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue some manifest notice. Vpon the first I néed not stand, for few will denie it. For the second I haue heard, that when one of the greatest péeres of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnelie vtter in no obscure place, that it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, bicause it wanted armor, his words were then not so rashlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacie was dissembled, and semblance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gratious quéene vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so prouidentlie called to remembrance, and such spéedie reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconuenience, that our countrie was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine (beside great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enimies could get vnderstanding of anie such prouision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open fréends being now become our secret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some heauie exploit against vs and our countrie, did therevpon change their purposes, whereby England obteined rest, that otherwise might haue béene sure of sharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spanish word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at the least wise hindered sundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the chéefe force of England consisted in their long bowes. But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in déed doo practise to shoot compasse for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer yéeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were woont to doo at euerie time of néed. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tailes and crie; Shoote English, and all bicause our strong shooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the bréech of such a varlet should haue beene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to sée who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decaied among vs one waie, so our countrie men wex skilfull in sundrie other points, as in shooting in small péeces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the seuerall vses whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine riuets, shirts of maile, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise is kept in one seuerall place of euerie towne, appointed by the consent of the whole parish, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well kéeping of the same, or finallie to sée those that are inrolled to exercise each one his seuerall weapon, at the charge of the townesmen of each parish according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set foorth thrée or foure soldiors, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. No there is not so much wanting as their verie liueries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie hast required: so that if this good order may continue, it shall be vnpossible for the sudden enimie to find vs vnprouided.

As

As for able men for seruice, thanked be God, we are not without good store, for by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not so narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vnbilled and vncalled. What store of munition and armour the quéenes maiestie hath in hir storehouses, it lieth not in me to yéeld account, sith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should neuer recouer the store of ordinance there left and lost: that same is at this time prooued false, sith euen some of the same persons doo now confesse, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his widenesse is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poiseth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath thrée inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fiftéene hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thousand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon six thousand pounds, and six inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon seauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the mouth.

Basiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and thrée quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scores it doth flée at point blanke, how much pouder is to be had to the same, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

The names of the greatest ordinance.		*Weight of the shot.*	*Scores of cariage.*	*Pounds of pouder.*	*Height of bullet.*
Robinet.		1 li.	0	½	1
Falconet.		2 li.	14	2	1¼
Falcon.		2 ½	16	2½	2¼
Minion.		4 ½	17	4½	3
Sacre.		5	18	5	3¼
Demie Culuerijn.	hath	9	20	9	4
Culuerijn.		18	25	18	5¼
Demie canon.		30	38	28	6¼
Canon.		60	20	44	7¾
E. Canon.		42	20	20	6¾
Basiliske.		60	21	60	8¼

I might here take iust occasion to speake of the princes armories. But what shall it néed? sith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caster of his ordinance, which could not be drawen to the siege of Constantinople, but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two thousand men; he had two other there also whose shot poised aboue two talents in weight, made by the same Orban. But to procéed. As for the armories of some of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a part) they are so well furnished, that within some one barons custodie I haue séene

thrée

three score or a hundred corslets at once, beside caliuers, hand-guns, bowes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaskes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie sight wherof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of some of them doo then (trow you) if I should be inforced to vse one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are such, as no man hath anie great cause to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leisure to haue them in a readinesse, and therefore both high and lowe in England

Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.

I would write here also of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to doo with glistering armour? what sound acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muses? or how should a man write anie thing to the purpose of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuerthelesse will I adde of things at home, that seldome shall you sée anie of my countriemen aboue eightéene or twentie yéeres old to go without a dagger at the least at his backe or by his side, although they be aged burgesses or magistrates of anie citie, who in appearance are most exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie swords or rapiers with their daggers, as dooth euerie common seruing man also that followeth his lord and master. Some desperate cutters we haue in like sort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a sheath alwaies about them, wherewith in euerie dronken fraie they are knowen to worke much mischiefe; their swords & daggers also are of a great length, and longer than the like vsed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue béene taken for the intollerable length of these weapons; so I sée as yet small redresse: but where the cause thereof doth rest, in sooth for my part I wote not. I might here speake of the excessiue staues which diuerse that trauell by the waie doo carrie vpon their shoulders, whereof some are twelue or thirtéene foote long, beside the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie suspected of honest men to be theeues and robbers, or at the leastwise scarse true men which beare them; so by reason of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest traueller is now inforced to ride with a case of dags at his sadle bow, or with some pretie short snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defense before he come within the danger of these weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his sword, or some such weapon, with vs; except the minister, who cõmonlie weareth none at all, vnlesse it be a dagger or hanger at his side. Seldome also are they or anie other waifaring men robbed without the consent of the chamberleine, tapster, or ostler where they bait & lie, who féeling at their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their sadles, or otherwise see their store in drawing of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some one or other attendant dailie in the yard or house, or dwelling hard by vpon such matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is asked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it please him to haue another ghest to beare him companie at supper, who rideth the same waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is séene that the new ghest shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and kéepe him from suspicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the passenger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in wait for him, or else come galloping apace after, wherby they will be sure, if he ride not the stronger, to be fingering with his purse. And these are some of the policies of such shrews or close booted gentlemen as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and which are most commonlie practised in the winter season about the feast of Christmas, when seruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie spending in such wise whatsoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till some of them sharplie set vpon their cheuisances, be trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appéereth that some sort of youth will oft haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.

Malè musis cum Marte.

I might

I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare vsed in and before the time of Cesar, when as the cheefe brunt of our fight was in Essedis or wagons; but this I also passe ouer, noting neuerthelesse out of Propertius, that our said wagons were gorgeous and gallie painted, which he setteth downe in these foure verses insuing, Arethusæ ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.

Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,
Te modò munito Sericus hostis equo,
Hiberníque Getæ, pictóque Brittannia curru,
Vstus & Eoa discolor Indus aqua.

OF THE NAUIE OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XVII.

THERE is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I consider their spéedie building, or great number of ships which some one kingdome or region possessed at one instant; it giueth me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet such a nauie was to be séene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ships bare leafe & saile within fiue and fortie daies. In the second warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and séene to saile on the sea fullie furnished in sixe weekes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth séeme to be false, and vnpossible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one skirmish on the sea the Romans lost seauen hundred vessels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of ores on a side, and the Carthaginenses fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogither correspondent to our ships and gallies made in these daies: yet the capacitie of most of them did not onelie match, but farre excéed them; so that if one of their biremes onlie conteined so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seauen rowes of ores walking on a side? But least I should séeme to speake more of these forren things than the course of the historie doth permit without licence to digresse: giue me leaue (I beséech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present nauie in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleasant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the nauie of Xerxes, of which ech meane vessell (as appéereth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them thrée hundred. These were called triremes, and were indéede gallies that had thrée rowes of ores on euerie side; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied so well to the gallie as ship, as to the conuersant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, six, seauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fifteene rowes of ores on a side; iudge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuised by Aristotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Nesichthon of Salamina; the gallie of six rowes by Xenagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Nesigiton brought vp; Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftéene; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphon of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more seruing for pleasure and to gaze vpon, than

than anie vse in the wars for which they should be deuised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo Philopater builded, conteining 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held also foure thousand ores, foure hundred mariners, and three thousand souldiers, so that in the said vessell were seauen thousand and foure hundred persons: a report incredible, if truth and good testimonie did not confirme the same. I must needs confesse therefore, that the ancient vessels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuerthelesse if you regard the forme, and the assurance from perill of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimblenesse of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessell is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptest to shift and brooke the seas: as might be seene by the great Henrie, the hugest vessell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, sith time hath ingendred more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.

The nauie of England may be diuided into three sortes, of which the one serueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their liuing by fishing on the sea. How manie of the first order are mainteined within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse: yet sith it may be parted into the nauie roiall and common fleete, I thinke good to speake of those that belong vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant sort of ships than the quéenes maiestie of England at this present, and those generallie are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with thrée or foure of those of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes so conuenientlie made, to brooke so well one sea as another lieng vpon the shore in anie part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimblenesse and swiftnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Gréeke word *Almiras* a capiteine on the sea, for so saith Zonaras "in Basilio Macedone & Basilio Porphyriogenito," though other fetch it from *Ad mare* the Latine words, another sort from *Amyras* the Saracen magistrate, or from some French deriuation: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them ouer. The quéenes highnesse hath at this present (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furnished, to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside thrée gallies, of whose particular names and furnitures (so far foorth as I can come by them) it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

The names of so manie ships belonging to hir maiestie as I could come by at this present.

The Bonaduenture.	Tiger.	Foresight.	Genet.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Antlope.	Swift sute.	Barke of Bullen.
White Beare.	Hope.	Aid.	Achates.
Philip and Marie.	Lion.	Handmaid.	Falcon.
Triumph.	Victorie.	Dread nought.	George.
Bull.	Marie Rose.	Swallow.	Reuenge.

It is said, that as kings and princes haue in the yoong daies of the world, and long since framed themselues to erect euerie yeare a citie in some one place or other of their kingdoms (and no small woonder that Sardanapalus should begin & finish two, to wit, Anchialus and

Tharsus in one daie) so hir grace dooth yearelie build one ship or other to the better defense of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no assured certeintie, so it shall suffice to haue said so much of these things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they should all be driuen to seruice at one instant (which God forbid) she should haue a power by sea of about nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable companie, beside the supplie of other vessels apperteining to hir subiects to furnish vp hir voiage.

Beside these hir grace hath other in hand also, of whome hereafter as their turnes doo come about, I will not let to leaue some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable gallies: the Speed well, the Trie right, and the Blacke gallie, with the sight whereof and rest of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to saie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cause (I saie) sith by their meanes hir coasts are kept in quiet, and sundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwise would inuade vs. The number of those that serue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whose vse is dailie seene, as occasion serueth, in time of the warres, is to mee vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ships that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fisherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iust account, sith they are hardlie to come by. Of these also there are some of the queenes maiesties subiects that haue two or three, some foure or six, and (as I heard of late) one man whose name I suppresse for modesties sake, hath bene knowne long since to haue had sixteene or seuenteene, and employed them wholie to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commoditie and gaine. I might take occasion to tell of the notable and difficult voiages made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their dailie successe there: but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men shall vnderstand somewhat of the great masses of treasure dailie employed vpon our nauie, how there are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that being apparelled and made readie to sale, are not woorth one thousand pounds, or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presentlie be sold. What shall we thinke then of the greater, but especiallie of the nauie roiall, of which some one vessell is woorth two of the other, as the shipwrights haue often told me? It is possible that some couetous person hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or suppose monie so employed to be nothing profitable to the queenes coffers: as a good husband said once when he hard there should be prouision made for armor, wishing the queenes monie to be rather laid out to some speedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, bicause the realme (saith he) is in case good enough, and so peraduenture he thought. But if as by store of armour for the defense of the countrie, he had likewise vnderstanded that the good keeping of the sea, is the safegard of our land, he would haue altered his censure, and soone giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times past, when our nation made small account of nauigation, how soone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & last of all the Danes inuade this Iland? whose crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen against their wils, to prouide for ships from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes distressed. But most of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a short processe of time after the conquest of this Iland, and good consideration had for the well keeping of the same, they supposed nothing more commodious for the defense of the countrie, than the maintenance of a strong nauie, which they speedilie prouided, mainteined, and thereby reaped in the end their wished securitie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I doo not read that we had anie ships at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are some to be seene at this present in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betweene them. Of the same also Solinus speaketh, so far as I remember: neuertheless it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie

were

were framed of the said wickers, and that the Britons did vse to fast all the whiles they went to the sea in them: but whether it were doone for policie or superstition, as yet I doo not read. The Britons fasted all the while they were at the sea in these ships.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had some ships also, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was the first prince that euer throughlie began to know this necessitie of a nauie, and vse the seruice thereof in the defense of his countrie. After him also other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: indeuoured more and more to store themselues at the full with ships of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1,600 alias 3600 saile, which he diuided into foure parts, and sent them to abide vpon foure sundrie coasts of the land to keepe the same from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is Etheldred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, should find a ship furnished to serue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I said before, when all their nauie was at the greatest, it was not comparable for force and sure building, to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the same that is to be séene now in these our daies. For the iourneies also of our ships, you shall vnderstand, that a well builded vessell will run or saile commonlie thrée hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a wéeke, or peraduenture some will go 2200 leagues in six wéekes and an halfe. And suerlie, if their lading be readie against they come thither, there will be of them that will be here, at the west Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene wéekes from Colchester; although the said Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. This also I vnderstand by report of some trauellers, that if anie of our vessels happen to make a voiage to Hispaniola or new Spaine, called in time past Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth betwéene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies sailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight wéekes, which is a goodlie matter, beside the safetie and quietnesse in the passage. But more of this elsewhere.

OF FAIRES AND MARKETS.

CHAP. XVIII.

THERE are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their wéekelie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of prouision for houshold is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby as it cõmeth to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities: so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to séeke for the highest prices, which commonlie are néere vnto great cities, where round and spéediest vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue béene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller, Neither are the magistrats for the most part (as men loth to displease their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should bée. For in most of these markets neither assises of bread nor orders for goodnesse and swéetnesse of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto; but ech one suffered to sell or set vp what and how himselfe listeth: & this is one euident cause of dearth and scarsitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith it is rare to sée in anie countrie towne (as I said) the assise of bread well kept according to the statute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie

with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whome the law of nations doo commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon some round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the same, there is such headie ale & béere in most of them, as for the mightinesse thereof among such as séeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled cõscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse life, and dangerous estate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie to the strongest ale, as to the next physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus sucke their shee woolfe or shéepheards wife Lupa, with such eger and sharpe deuotion, as these men hale at hufcap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find that in corne great abuse is dailie suffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, especiallie the poore artificer and householder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the wéeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicause bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne doo not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be serued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well I will saie yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmasse time poore men must make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretense of seed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, bicause one wheat often sowen without change of séed, will soone decaie and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promising there if they happen to be espied (which God wot is verie seldome) to send so much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this shift serue not (neither dooth the fox vse alwaies one tracke for feare of a snare) they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of hufcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged surmise, which being doone, they will féed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can doo any good for himselfe so it is, if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this time, & reserue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders stumble vpon blind créekes at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so doone and yet doo vnder other mens wings, the case is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to serue a meane gentlemans house with corne, who hath cast vp all his tillage, bicause he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can sow his land, as the rich grasier often dooth also vpon the like deuise, bicause grasing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; Forsooth here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to saie the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me see it, what shall I giue you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, and if you bring in twentie seme more in the weeke daie to such an Inne or sollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it and giue you pence or more in euerie bushell for six wéekes day of paiment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, so that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now a daies sell by the bushell,

Suborned bodgers.

Bodgers licenced.

bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell as the bodger will doo in a quarter. Naie the poore man cannot oft get anie of the farmer at home, bicause he prouideth altogither to serue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his house than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sléepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone but néeds must ioine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our fréends abroad, but also manie of our aduersaries and countriemen the papists are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth) but sith I sée it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for néed of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Hencefoorth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, for marring the market, but by the bushell or two, or an horsseload at the most, therby to be séene to keepe the crosse, either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne waxeth deere, but it will be déerer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, whereby they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doo vse commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes daie, and for wheat as it is sold in séed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flée southward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Ianuarie, & such other apish toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselues to be scant good christians, but what care they so they may come by monie? Herevpon also will they thresh out thrée parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in the fourth vnthréshed, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or peraduenture till it must and putrifie. Certes it is not deintie to sée mustie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring foorth when they can kéepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somwhat to abate the price, so a plague is not seldome ingendred thereby among the poorer sort that of necessitie must buie the same, wherby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will séeme to haue but small store left in their barnes: for else they will gird their sheues by the band, and stacke it vp of new in lesse roome, to the end it may not onlie séeme lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some fréends house, against an other or the third daie, & not bring it foorth till they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be déerer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a bushell than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to sée their owne errours: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world also to sée how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take vp egs, butter, chéese, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretense of their commissions, & suffer their wiues to sell the same in another, or to

pulters,

pulters of London. If these chapmen be absent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonablie sold, and therevnto the crosses sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarslie woorth eighteene pence the gallon, that now is worth three shillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue shillings. Wherby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue: for one of them doo cõmonlie vse to out bid another. And whilest our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer looke to see this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.

I could saie more, but this is euen inough, & more peraduenture than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is though some thinke it no trespasse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall measure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a seuerall bushell, and the lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaie so prouide, that one and the same bushell shall be either too big or too little at their next comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that what by their mending at one time and empairing the same at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iust measures to be had in anie steed. It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vnconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buie withall, the like is also in weights and yet all sealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be mooued in this land. Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the greedinesse of the appointed receiuers thereof) fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Wherby some peece of monie must needs passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to loose thy lease, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie and no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs indeuoureth to fleece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be looked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the same into lofts and sollars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie, or clearke of the said market to make sale therof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to set vp their corne in houses and chambers, I am persuaded that the prices of our graine would soone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one should keepe his next market with his graine, and not to run six, eight, ten, foureteene, or twentie miles from home to sell his corne, where he dooth find the highest price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurnished, I doo not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after haruest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed & trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie seene: bicause each one hideth and hoordeth what he may vpon purpose either that it will be deerer, or that he shall haue some priuie veine by bodgers, who doo accustomablie so deale, that the sea dooth load awaie no small part thereof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home,

and

and more likelie yet to be, except some remedie be found. But what doo I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as feeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuerthelesse I speake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold necessarie for mans vse, and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the weeke insuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the least, so there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than Lowse faire or the common kirkemesses beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, Bristow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which or at leastwise the greatest part of them (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my taske in their recitall) I haue set downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borowed the same from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

OF PARKES AND WARRENS.

CHAP. XIX.

IN euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouision of that flesh apperteine to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or neere vnto the same. I would gladlie haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so doo, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow deere is cherished and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increase, by reason that the blacke skins of those beasts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcases, and this is the onelie cause whie the graie are lesse esteemed. Neere vnto London their quickest merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no such speedie vtterance of rabbets and sucklings in their season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to growe vp to their full greatnesse with their owners. Our parkes are generallie inclosed with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great store cherished in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the said defense, and safe-keeping of the fallow deere from ranging about the countrie. Howbeit in times past diuerse haue been fensed in with stone walles (especiallie in the times of the Romans, who first brought fallow deere into this land, as some coniecture) albeit those inclosures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauisham, Towner, and Woodstocke, beside other in the west countrie, and one also at Bolton. Among other things also to be seene in that towne, there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate; and therto it is doubted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beasts or not. Plinie deemeth them to be wild, Martial is also of the same opinion, where he saith, "Imbelles damæ quid nisi prædâ sumus?" And so in time past the like controuersie was about bees, which the lawiers call "Feras," tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. instit. But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them "Medias inter feras & placidas aues." But whither am I so suddenlie digressed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find also the circuit of these inclosures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and sometimes more or lesse. Wherby it is to be seene

what store of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, sith they commonlie giue awaie their flesh, neuer taking penie for the same, except the ordinarie fée and parts of the déere giuen vnto the kéeper by a custome, who beside three shillings foure pence, or fiue shillings in monie, hath the skin, head, vmbles, chine, and shoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is scarselie equall dealing; for venison in England is neither bought nor sold, as in other countries, but mainteined onelie for the pleasure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by selling yeerelie hir husbands venison to the cookes (as another of no lesse name will not sticke to ride to the market to sée hir butter sold) but not performed without infinite scoffes and mockes, euen of the poorest pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earle to feele his oxen, sheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to sell his wooll vnto the clothier, or to kéepe a tan-house, or deale with such like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or grasiers; for which such, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniustlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themselues to husbandrie. And euen the same enormitie tooke place sometime among the Romans, and entred so farre as into the verie senate, of whome some one had two or thrée ships going vpon the sea, pretending prouision for their houses; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhabit and restraine them. Liuie also telleth of another law which passed likewise against the senators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no senator, or he that had beene father to anie senator should possesse anie ship or vessell aboue the capacitie of thrée hundred amphoras, which was supposed sufficient for the cariage and recariage of such necessities as should apperteine vnto his house: sith further trading with merchandizes and commodities dooth declare but a base and couetous mind, not altogither void of enuie, that anie man should liue but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himselfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and must néeds proue in time the confusion of that countrie wherein such enormities are exercised. Where in times past, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell séene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious procreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serue the prince in his affaires: now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and sauage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some owners still desirous to inlarge those grounds, as either for the bréed and feeding of cattell, doo not let dailie to take in more, not sparing the verie commons whervpon manie towneships now and then doo liue, affirming that we haue alreadie too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too soone doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndooing (they saie) of the common wealth.

Tillage and mankind diminished by parkes.

Certes if it be not one curse of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in such sort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shrowds of wild beasts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most kéepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall. But if a man may presentlie giue a ghesse at the vniuersalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumstance, he shall saie at the last, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon déere and conies alreadie, which séemeth verie much if it be not dulie considered of.

The decaie of the people is the destruction of a kingdome.

King Henrie the eight, one of the noblest princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was constreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent store of souldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed) that such supplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto those that interteine them, as may chéeflie be seene in Valens the emperor, our Vortiger,

Vortiger, and no small number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when seauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thousand men to the field against another, or two of them 100000 against the third, and those taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decaie, which grew beside this occasion now mentioned, also by laieng house to house, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the brèed of people not a little thereby diminished. The auarice of landlords by increasing of rents and fines also did so wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would arise, supposing a short end in the warres to be better than a long and miserable life in peace.

Priuileges and faculties also are another great cause of the ruine of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature dooth permit all men to liue in their best maner, and whatsoeuer trade they be exercised in, there commeth some priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they must nèeds shift soile, and sèeke vnto other countries. By these also the greatest commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbase, corrupt, and yet raise the prices of things at their owne pleasures. Example of this last I can giue also in bookes, which (after the first impression of anie one booke) are for the most part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it so well as the first, then would men striue which of them should doo it best; and so it falleth out in all other trades. It is an easie matter to prooue that England was neuer lesse furnished with people than at this present; for if the old records of euerie manour be sought, and search made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men: it will soone appèere, that in sòme one manour seuentèen, eightèene, or twentie houses are shrunke. I know what I saie by mine owne experience: notwithstanding that some one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpose. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminished, though some one be a little increased here and there; of townes pulled downe for sheepe-walks, and no more but the lordships now standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could saie somewhat: but then I should swarue yet further from my purpose, wherevnto I now returne.

Wèe had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie also to the seruitude of our nation, making men of the best sort furthermore to become kèepers of their game, whilest they liued in the meane time vpon the spoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit sort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie.* Neither was anie parke supposed in these times to be statelie enough, that conteined not at the least eight or ten hidelands, that is, so manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue bèene alwaies called in some places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was sufficient in old time to mainteine an honest yeoman.*

King Iohn trauelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, because he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his consent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which some belonged to his barons, but the greatest part to the abbats and prelats of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how these inclosures were the chèefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he sware with an oth that he would not suffer wild beasts to fèed vpon the fat of his soile, and sèe the people perish for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that should defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was so ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming most slanderouslie how he did it rather of purpose to spoile the corne and grasse of the commons and catholikes that held against him of both estates, and by so doing to impouerish and bring the north part of the realme to destruction, because they refused to go with him into Scotland. If the said prince were aliue in these daies, wherein Andrew Boord saith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne

person) and saw how much ground they consume, I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the most of them open that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not néed in time, for the owners of a great sort of them begin now to smell out, that such parcels might be emploied to their more gaine, and therefore some of them doo grow to be disparked.

Next of all we haue the franke chase, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or such like: the chase alwaie open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Enuéeld & Maluerne chases. And as it is the cause of the seisure of the franchise of a parke not to kéepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chase if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespasse, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chase, parke, or frée warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subiect either to carnilate, that is, build stone houses, imbattell, haue the querke of the sea, or kéepe the assise of bread, ale, or wine, or set vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne soile, without his warrant and grant. The beasts of the chase were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the woolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, so in stéed of the woolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beast cõmonlie hunted in the east countries, and fed vpon as excellent venison, although with vs I know not anie that féed thereon or çare for it at all. Certes it should seeme, that forrests and franke chases haue alwaies béene had, and religiouslie preserued in this Iland for the solace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were inclosed more than at this present, or otherwise fensed than by vsuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preseruation of such venerie and vert of all sorts as were nourished in the same. Neither are anie of the ancient laws prescribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; sith time hath so dealt with them that they are perished and lost. Canutus therefore seeing the dailie spoile that was made almost in all places of his game, did at the last make sundrie sanctions and decrées, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow déere were better looked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in these daies diuerse forrests in England and Wales, of which, some belong to the king, and some to his subiects, as Waltham forrest, Windlesor, Pickering, Fecknam, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingswood, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leircester, Lée, Rokingham, Selwood, New forrest, Wichwood, Hatfeeld, Sauernake, Westbirie, Blacamore Peke, Deane, Penrise, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time lesse deuourers of the people than these latter, sith beside much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, wheras in parks and warrens we haue nothing else than either the keepers & wareners lodge, or at least the manor place of the chéef lord & owner of the soile. I find also by good record, that all Essex hath in time past wholie béene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination in good sooth I doo not read. This neuerthelesse remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Essex standing in the limits of the aforesaid countie doth take hir name thereof. For in the Celtike toong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian spéech dooth not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called Walds, and likewise their Druides were named Walie or Waldie, bicause they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of Wald and end, as if I should say, The end of the wooddie soile; for being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it written in old euidences Waldæne, with a diphthong. And to saie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune

or

or Don is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first deriuation liketh me better, and the highest part of the towne is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word gipping, which signifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be applied therevnto, sith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the sides of two hils, wherof the lesser runneth quite through the middest of the same. I might here for further confirmation of these things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the vse of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that signifieth a woodie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie store of trées, as may be seene in Cotswold, Porkewold, &c. Beside this I could saie more of our forrests, and the aforesaid inclosures also, & therein to prooue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancaster hath likewise beene forrest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that whosoeuer did take anie wild beast within the kings forrest should lose an eare; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his péeres at Woodstocke, wherevpon great trouble insued vnder king Iohn and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it shall suffice to haue said so much as is set downe alreadie.

Gipping, of going vp to anie place.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of obliuion, I will giue out those laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (wherof peraduenture some lawiers haue no knowledge) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reason of corruption, and want also of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored) I will note another breefe law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester, afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; "Ic will that elc one," &c: I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne fée or dominion; but ech man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beasts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forfet so much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the statute made by the aforesaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; & ratified by the Bastard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in such rude order and Latine as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into English, if it might haue sounded to anie benefit of the vnskilfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de foresta.

"HÆ sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni nostri Angliæ ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

1. "Sint tam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent saluas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia constituti, ad iustitiam distribuēdam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs forrestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forestæ appellandos censemus. Pegeed.

2. "Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend nuncupant, Dani verò yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant. Lespegend. Nunc fortè Fringald.

3. "In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo vt tales se intromittant: mediocrésq; tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant. Ealdermen.

Tineman. 4. " Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minutorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum seruilia opera subibunt.

5. " Si talis minutus seruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnésq; hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.

Michni. 6. " Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cuspidem, vnum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.

7. " Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.

* [Sic.] 8. " Minutorum quilibet, vnum * lanceam, vnam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.

9. " Sint omnes tam primarij, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab Hundred law. omnibus prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli Warscot. dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warscot Angli dicunt, & forincesis querelis.

10. " Sint mediocrium & minutorum causæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quàm ciuilium per prouidam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & decisæ: primariorum verò enormia si quæ fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.

11. " Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem potestatem (salua semper nobis nostra præsentia) quatérq; in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt. Muchehunt dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eántque Ofgangfordell. ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia. iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inuestigari.

Pegen. 12. " Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo crimen suum non sit inter maiora, habeat Forathe. fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

13. " Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit sit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia vt non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * * sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium iudicàuerint.

14. " Quicúnq; coram primarios homines meos forestæ in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non sit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perHalfehang. didit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos, quos Dani vocant Halfehang, alias Halsehang.

15. " Si quis vim aliquam primarijs forestæ meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.

16. " Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus sit mortis.

17. " Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet secundum pretium sui Pere & Pite. ipsus, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos.

Gethbrech. 18. " Si pacem quis fregerit, ante mediocres forestæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem solidis.

19. " Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari solet.

20. " Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.

Ealderman. 21. " Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & serui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémq; erit causarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestæ, & ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ nostræ regalis excepta) ita pusillum & exiguum est, quòd vix ea respicit nostra constitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, sit criminis forestæ reus.

22. " Si

22. " Si liber aliquis feram forestæ ad cursum impulerit, siue casu, siue præhabita voluntate, ita vt cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si seruus careat corio.

23. " Si verò harum aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter & persoluat, sitque pretij sui reus contra regem.

24. " Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: si verò seruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frendlesman vocant. Staggon or Stagge. Frendlesman.

25. " Si verò occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si sit illiberalis careat libertate, si seruus vita.

26. " Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.

27. " Sunt aliæ (præter feras forestæ) bestiæ, quæ dum inter septa & sepes forestæ continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quàm plurima animalia, quæ quāquam infra septa forestæ viuunt, & oneri & curæ mediocrium subiacent forestæ, tamen nequaquā censeri possunt, qualia sunt bubali, vaccæ, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec forestæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio sit regalis chaceæ, & mitiùs emendetur. Aper verò quanquam forestæ sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est assuetus. Bubali olim in Anglia.

28. " Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum forestæ nemo manum apponat, quòd si quis fecerit reus sit fractionis regalis chaceæ.

29. " Si quis verò ilicem aut arborē aliquam, quæ victum feris suppeditat sciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti solidis. Ilices aliquandò in Britānia nisi intelligatur de quercu.

30. " Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem siue viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chacea tamen; & deuitent omnes meam, vbicúnq; eam habere voluero.

31. " Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli Greihounds appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiscissio eorum facta fuerit coram primario forestæ licebit, aut sine genuiscissione dum remoti sunt à limitibus forestæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propiùs venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si verò infra septa forestæ reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & decem solidos regi. Greihounds.

32. " Velteres verò quos Langeran appellant, quia manifestè constat in ijs nihil esse periculi, cuilibet licebit sine genuiscissione eos custodire. Idem de canibus quos Ramhundt vocant. Velter. Langeran. Ramhundt.

33. " Quòdsi casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiq; vagātur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quòdsi intra septa forestæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quòd secundum legem Werinorum. 1. Churingorum, est ducentorum solidorum. Pretium hominis mediocris.

34. " Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretiū hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morsa fuerit, reus sit maximi criminis." Pretium liberi hominis.

And these are the constitutions of Canutus concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that tooke the same in hand. Howbeit as I find it so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

OF GARDENS AND ORCHARDS.

CHAP. XIX.

AFTER such time as Calis was woone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and therevpon not onlie left off their former painfulnesse and frugalitie, but in like sort gaue themselues to liue in excesse and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongst vs. Such strangers also as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishnesse, and espieng that this idlenesse of ours might redound to their great profit, foorthwith imploied their endeuours to bring in the supplie of such things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we supposed, by such means from them, we thought it méere madnesse to spend either time or cost about the same here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in those daies reposed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercised both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall desire that mankind hath to estéeme of things farre sought, bicause they be rare and costlie, and the irkesome contempt of things néere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no small swaie also in this behalfe amongst vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, ascribing I wot not what great forces and solemne estimation vnto them, vntill they also haue waxen old, after which they haue béene so little regarded, if not more despised amongst vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could set downe manie, & in manie things, but sith my purpose is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it shall suffice that I touch them onelie, and shew our inconstancie in the same, so farre as shall séeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all such grounds as are wrought with the spade by mans hand, for so the case requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie elsewhere sufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath beene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue séene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all or else verie little to speake of growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also as grow yéerelie out of the ground, of seed, haue béene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in processe of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the seuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was litle or no vse of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or supposed as food more meet for hogs & sauage beasts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie resumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes, turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes, but also fed vpon as deintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision yearelie for new séeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither doo they now staie with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the verangenes, mushroms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischiefous operation the Lord in some measure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time past were plentifull in this land, afterwards also their maintenance did cease, and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raised by them? onelie poles are accounted to be their greatest charge. But sith men haue learned of late to sow ashen keies in ashyards by themselues, that inconuenience in short time

time will be redressed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it selfe to prooue no small benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things else, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue ourselues to idlenesse, were glad to haue them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houses, how woonderfullie is their beautie increased, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth *Terrena sydera*, saieng:

" Pingit & in varios terrestria sydera flores,"

and varietie of curious and costlie workmanship, but also with rare and medicinable hearbes sought vp in the land within these fortie yeares: so that in comparison of this present, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laistowes to such as did possesse them. How art also helpeth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for so curious and cunning are our gardeners now in these daies, that they presume to doo in maner what they list with nature, and moderate hir course in things as if they were hir superiours. It is a world also to sée, how manie strange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they doo not grow for vs, bicause that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous sauours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, bicause they are his good gifts, and created to doo man helpe and seruice. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these floures, which now also doo begin to wax so well acquainted with our soiles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to cherish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions néerer hand: insomuch that I haue séene in some one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names within fortie yéeres passed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of iust complaint, for that we extoll their vses so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatsoeuer is needfull and most conuenient for them that dwell therein. How doo men extoll the vse of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground dooth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found & knowne to bée so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vsed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in sundrie other, as the Salsa parilla, Mochoacan, &c: but I forbeare so to doo, because I couet to be brëefe. And trulie the estimation and credit that we yéeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vse of our owne simples hath bene so long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vse of our simples here at home dooth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our féet, whose forces if we knew, & could applie them to our necessities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their case behoueth. Alas what haue we to doo with such Arabian & Grecian stuffe as is dailie brought from those parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by skill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vse forren

wares

wares when our owne maie serue the turne is more follie; but to despise our owne and magnifie aboue measure the vse of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie of all: for it sauoureth of ignorance, or at the leastwise of negligence, and therefore woorthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the most present cures for euerie disease, of their owne nation, there is small regard of compound medicins, & lesse of forren drugs, because they neither know them nor can vse them, but worke woonders euen with their owne simples. With them also the difference of the clime dooth shew hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in short time with application of one simple, &c: if a Spaniard or English man stand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer space in their cures, and now and then also to vse some addition of two or three simples at the most, whose forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer sought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries. And euen so did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuor to deale in his cures of sundrie diseases, wherein he not onelie vsed such simples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but also examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could atteine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of those most learnedlie, as would easilie be séene, if those his bookes were extant. For the space also of 600 yéeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in those parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he speaketh after this maner: "Non placent remedia tam longè nascentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, âlioquin non venderent; si placet etiam superstitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse constare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis sui tandem pudeat." For my part I doubt not, if the vse of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the vertues of our simples here at home would haue béene far better knowne, and so well vnto vs, as those of India are to the practisioners of those partes, and therevnto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euen those which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile bicause of their abundance, are not without some vniuersall and especiall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most néedfull are the most plentifull, and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to search out the vse of such simples as our soile dooth yéeld and bring foorth, but also to procure such as grow elsewhere, vpō purpose so to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time through some alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewise turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this deuise, is Carolus Clusius, the noble herbarist, whose industrie hath woonderfullie stirred them vp vnto thīs good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come néere to Clusius, much lesse gone further in the finding and true descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one seuen yéeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens, for hereby they shall not onlie be had at hand and preserued, but also their formes made more familiar to be discerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue béene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, so dooth it with our orchards, which were neuer furnished with so good fruit, nor with such varietie as at this present. For beside that we haue

haue most delicate apples, plummes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c: and those of sundrie sorts, planted within fortie yéeres passed, in comparison of which most of the old trées are nothing woorth: so haue we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, corne-trees in noble mens orchards. I haue seene capers, orenges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beside other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifullie indued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glorie! and not as instruments and prouocations vnto further excesse and vanitie, wherewith his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits doo turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and punishment, which he hath bestowed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

We haue in like sort such workemen as are not onelie excellent in graffing the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one trée bringeth foorth sundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of diuers colours and tasts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir course, as if hir whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of sowre sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, bereuing also some of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the sauour of muske, ambre, or swéet spices at their pleasures. Diuerse also haue written at large of these seuerall practises, and some of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remooue or ad superfluous or necessarie moisture to the trées, with other things belonging to their preseruation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians doo commonlie shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which to me dooth seeme right strange. And euen so doo our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are strengthened against noisome blasts, and preserued from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yéerelie taken vp, and either reserued in the house, or hauing the rosse pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in safetie. What choise they make also in their waters, and wherewith some of them doo now and then keepe them moist, it is a world to sée; insomuch that the apothecaries shops maie séeme to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in sundrie wise: naie the kitchin it selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that euen the verie dishwater is not without some vse amongest our finest plants. Whereby and sundrie other circumstances not here to bée remembred, I am persuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Hesperides were in times past so greatlie accounted of because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to haue such an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein the old exceeded. Plinie and other speake of a rose that had thrée score leaues growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be beléeued, and no great matter though I were not; howbeit such a one was to be séene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or stallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndoone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a litle of my garden, which is but small, and the whole Area thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath béene my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie néere thrée hundred of one sort and other conteined therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Nonesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and sundrie other apperteining to diuerse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not séeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?

OF WATERS GENERALLIE.

CHAP. XXI.

THERE is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make lesse report than of our waters. For albeit our soile abound with water in all places, and that in the most ample maner: yet can I not find by some experience that almost anie one of our riuers hath such od and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are said to be indued withall. Virtruuius writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whose water séemeth as it were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerse become drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The like force is found In amne Licesio, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find some traueller or other sléeping for drunkennesse, by drinking of that liquor. Néere also vnto Ephesus are certeine welles, which taste like sharpe vineger, and therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke and euill at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a spring of such force (as Strabo saith) that the water thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choise, dooth colour wooll with such a glosse, that the die thereof contendeth with scarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the same. The Cydims in Tarsus of Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so batheth himselfe therein, shall find great ease of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (saith Pomponius the Cosmographer) are two springs, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other sadnesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is taken to be a souereigne medicine against the other, to the great admiration of such as haue beholden it. At Susis in Persia there is a spring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to cast all his téeth: but if he onlie wash his mouth withall, it maketh them fast, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, wherof if a beast drinke, he foorthwith casteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Also a lake in Assyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap doo light thereon so fast as birdlime, by means wherof verie manie doo perish and are taken that light vpon the same: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be set on fire by casualtie or otherwise, it will neuer be quenched but by casting on of dust, as Caietanus dooth report. Another at Halicarnassus called Salmacis, which is noted to make such men effeminate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes it maie be (saith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than superfluous wealth, and inconstancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all nature, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue strange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like wherof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the blessing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongst vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholesome, and most commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongst vs, but all wholesome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fish: so we know by experience, that diuerse turne ash, some other elme, and oken stakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard stone, in long continuance of time, which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this present wherevpon to rest for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerse welles, wherevnto our old writers ascribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courses, as of one vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth euerie daie twise a large mile and more; and yet is the surge of that water alwaies seuen foot from the salt sea: whereby it should séeme that the head of the spring is mooueable. But alas I doo not easilie beleeue it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is néere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing sea into hir chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the sea

goeth

goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth vp the water with such violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an absurd report. They ad also, that if all the people of the countrie stood neere to the same, with their faces toward the lake, in such maner that the dashing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they should haue no power to go from thence, but mawgre their resistance be drawne into that gulfe and perish; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should suffer no such inconuenience though they stood neuer so néere. Manie other such like toies I could set downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie should I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my selfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Choul dooth make in his description of Pilots lake, "In monte Pilati in Gallia," or Boccatius of the Scaphigiolo in the Appenine hils, or Fœlix Malliolus of Pilats lake "In monte fracto" (where Iacobus de Voragino bishop of Gene, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam doo also make mention) sith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man should staine his paper with such friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuised at the first by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their superstitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie néere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein such as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle the same vpon themselues: and so manie as stood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and crauing pardon for their sinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiuenesse and remission of their trespasses. And so it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods nor liking of the augures) dooth write in his first De legibus (except my memorie faile me) "aspersione aquæ labem tolli corpoream; & castimoniam corporis præstari," which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further also (if I would) make relation of diuerse welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and sundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposition of such as hunted after other gaine, so it shall suffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our shéepe, though it please Cardan to auouch otherwise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes of their infections when they drinke, as I elsewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we haue a spring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the house of the lord Audleie, which is of such force, that it looseth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beside that is verie delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare also of two welles néere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no sope, and yet so situat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

OF WOODS AND MARISHES.

CHAP. XXII.

IT should séeme by ancient records, and the testimonie of sundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue sometimes béene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the said commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in such wise that a man shall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be néere vnto townes, gentlemens houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, hazels, or ashes about their dwellings for their defense from the rough winds, and keeping of the stormie weather from annoiance of the same. This scarsitie at the first grew (as it is thought)

Great abundance of wood sometime in England.

thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderstand the like to be doone of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compasse therby to come by ground whereon to sow their graines) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as in preferring of pasture for their shéepe and greater cattell, doo make small account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue sundrie examples declared in our histories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the swart of the earth to be so thin, that no tree of anie greatnesse, other than shrubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to feed them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd, staie vpright, and cherish the same in the blustering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or yéeld their rootes dówne right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to procéed. Although I must needs confesse that there is good store of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our ancestors haue séene heretofore, when statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of mesuages and mansions almost in euerie place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you consider the present charge with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of sallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet sée the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie through Persian delicacie crept in among vs altogither of straw, which is a sore alteration. In those the courage of the owner was a sufficient defense to kéepe the house in safetie, but now the assurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts must defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house; so it was reputed a far better medicine to kéepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood, & ouerthroweth a manlie courage.

Of the curiousnesse of these piles I speake not, sith our workemen are growne generallie to such an excellencie of deuise in the frames now made, that they farre passe the finest of the old. And such is their husbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the same stuffe which in time past was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vse but the fire, dooth now come in the fronts and best part of the worke. Wherby the common saieng is likewise in these daies verified in our mansion houses, which earst was said onelie of the timber for ships, that no oke can grow so crooked but it falleth out to some vse, & that necessarie in the nauie. It is a world to sée moreouer how diuerse men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in spending of their goods by that trade, doo dailie imagine new deuises of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and those more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the procéeding also of their workes, how they set vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they restreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purses neuer shut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

" Destruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis"

saith the poet. So that if a man should well consider of all the od crotchets in such a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of those affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he should not well be able to deale in anie other. But such commonlie are our workemasters,

workemasters, that they haue beside this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little lesse businesse in the commonwealth, or finallie no small dealings otherwise incident vnto them, wherby gaine ariseth, and some trouble oft among withall. Which causeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts so well of so manie sundrie men, whereas diuerse other of greater forecast in apparance can seldome shift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpose.

We haue manie woods, forrests, and parks, which cherish trées abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almost no hedge that hath not some store of the greatest sort, beside infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and springs, that are mainteined of purpose for the building and prouision of such owners as doo possesse the same. Howbeit as euerie soile dooth not beare all kinds of wood, so there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forrest, that is not mixed with diuerse, as oke, ash, hasell, hawthorne, birch, béech, hardbeame, hull, sorfe, quicken aspe, poplers, wild cherie, and such like, wherof oke hath alwaies the preheminence, as most méet for building and the nauie, whervnto it is reserued. This tree bringeth foorth also a profitable kind of mast, whereby such as dwell néere vnto the aforesaid places doo cherish and bring vp innumerable heards of swine. In time of plentie of this mast, our red and fallow déere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common pultrie also if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance dooth prooue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these egs which these latter doo bring foorth (beside blackenesse in color and bitternesse of tast) haue not seldome beene found to bréed diuerse diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the fadame, as I haue oft séene: but it shall not néed at this time to enter into anie such discourse, onlie this I wish, that our sole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be hasted on by extraordinarie slights, as with ash, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it séemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well doone: so if you respect the sadnes thereof, it dooth prooue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Neuerthelesse we haue good lawes for redresse of this enormitie, but it cõmeth to passe in these as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a litle while, till they find that following of sute in law against the offendors is somwhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admission of gifts and rewards to winke at things past, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then doo they tender licences, and offer large dispensations vnto him that shall aske the same, thereby to doo what him listeth in his trade for an yearelie pension, whereby the bribour now groweth to some certeine reuenues, & the tanner to so great libertie that his lether is much worse than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifest illusion of the good subiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke-growing in England the parke oke is the softest, and far more spalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Essex, that growing in Bardfield parke is the finest for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I seene of their workes made of that oke so fine and faire, as most of the wainescot that is brought hither out of Danske, for our wainescot is not made in England. Yet diuerse haue assaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with so good successe as they haue hoped, bicause the ab or iuice will not so soone be remoued and cleane drawne out, which some attribute to want of time in the salt water. Neuerthelesse in building, so well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer so much hath beene spent in a hundred years before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almost is a builder, and he that hath bought any small parcell of ground, be it neuer so little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old house (if anie were there standing) and set vp a new after his owne deuise. But wherevnto will this curiositie come?

The like haue I séene where hens doo féed vpon the tender blades of garlike.

Of elme we haue great store in euerie high waie and elsewhere, yet haue I not séene thereof

thereof anie togither in woods or forrests, but where they haue béene first planted and then suffered to spread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of béech and hasell in manie places, especiallie in Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, where they are greatlie cherished, & conuerted to sundrie vses by such as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I saw, those in the south side of Douer court, in Essex néere Harwich are the most notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almost apt for nothing else but nauie timber, great ordinance, and béetels: and such thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vsed in the said behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trées in whatsoeuer parcell else of this land, without cuphar, shaking, or cleauing, as I find.

Ash commeth vp euerie where of it selfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so are we not without the plane, the vgh, the sorfe, the chestnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and such like. And although that we inioy them not in so great plentie now in most places, as in times past, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we sufficient of them all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especiallie of vgh; as may be séene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and some stéeds of Kent also, as I haue béene informed.

The firre, frankincense, and pine, we doo not altogither want, especiallie the firre, whereof we haue some store in Chatleie moore in Darbishire, Shropshire, Andernesse, and a mosse néere Manchester, not far from Leircesters house: although that in time past not onelie all Lancastershire, but a great part of the coast betwéene Chester and the Solme were well stored. As for the frankincense and pine, they haue béene planted onelie in colleges and cloisters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather saie that we want them altogither: for except they grew naturallie, and not by force, I sée no cause whie they should be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue also the aspe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The seuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vse for bolles, treies, troughs, dishes, &c. Also the alder, whose barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therfore much vsed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hosen. I might here take occasion to speake of the great sales yéerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin destroied within these few yéers: but I giue ouer to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go so fast to decaie in the next hundred yeere of Grace, as they haue doone and are like to doo in this, sometimes for increase of sheepwalks, and some maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a well burnished gentleman * that hath borne threescore at once in one paire of galigascons to shew his strength and brauerie) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, broome, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, hassacks, flags, straw, sedge, réed, rush, and also seacole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, whereunto some of them euen now haue gotten readie passage, and taken vp their innes in the greatest merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able inough to make sufficient prouision for the redresse of this error & enormitie likelie to insue. But such is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie laws are made, so they will kéepe none; or if they be vrged to make answer, they will rather séeke some crooked construction of them to the increase of their priuat gaine, than yéeld themselues to be guided by the same for a commonwealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end whatsoeuer the law saith we will haue our willes, whereby the wholesome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councellors as it were derided, the common wealth impouerished, & a few onelie inriched by this peruerse dealing. Thus manie thousand persons doo suffer hinderance by this their lewd behauiour. Hereby the wholesome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magistrate in consultation about the common wealth vtterlie neglected. I would wish that I might liue no longer than to sée foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of discipline in the church: the couetous dealing of most of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding

* This gentleman caught such an heate with this sore loade that he was faine to go to Rome for physicke, yet it could not saue his life, but hée must néeds die homewards.

holding of faires and markets vpon the sundaie to be abolished and referred to the wednesdaies: and that euerie man, in whatsoeuer part of the champaine soile enioieth fortie acres of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by frée deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with oke mast, hasell, béech, and sufficient prouision be made that it may be cherished and kept. But I feare me that I should then liue too long, and so long, that I should either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not such things but they may easilie be brought to passe.

Certes euerie small occasion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle sufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto pasture. As for the taking downe of houses, a small fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who in restreint of superfluous grasing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech estate might kéepe, and what numbers of acres should suffice for that and other purposes. Neither was wood euer better cherished or mansion houses mainteined, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yéerelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might prooue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stuffe for the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like hereof is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praie you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common nauie, I passe it ouer, as hauing elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what doo I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some countries are alreadie driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report: within these fortie yéeres we shall haue little great timber growing aboue fortie yéeres old; for it is commonlie seene that those yoong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yéeres fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marises and fennie bogges we haue manie in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers doo specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yeere, so are a number of them which lie lowe and néere to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience dooth teach. Yet this I find of manie moores, that in times past they haue béene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may sée the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the déeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Merioneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of firre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marises with long spits, which they dash here and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie doone in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firre trées which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, applie them to their vses. The like doo they in Shropshire with the like, which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies floud: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due sadnesse, are now turned into moorie plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betwéene the new loose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie

Marises and fennes.

awaie by ditching and draines (a thing soone doone if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might soone leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was somtime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Cair Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogither about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Mennith and Orcoit, that is, the wooddie hilles and forrests. But how much wood is now to be séene in those places, let him that hath béene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath béene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deale with the same.

OF BATHS AND HOT WELLES.

CHAP. XXIII.

AS almightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little inriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appéereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Halliewell; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is néere vnto Buxston, a towne in Darbishire, situat in the high Peke, not passing sixtéene miles from Manchester, or Markechesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be séene; of which thrée are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hotest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indéed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added therevnto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other: And albeit that it maketh not so great spéed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer with all lesse greeuous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengthening the affeebled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious oppilations, and qualifieng of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) procéedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue béene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnplesant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are thrée welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plentie of water without anie notable diminution of the spring is dailie caried into sundrie parties of the realme, & droonke by such as haue néed to occupie the same. Of the other two, one is reserued for such as be comelie personages and void of lothsome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clensed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholesomer. Manie diseases also are cured in the same, as the palsie, dimnesse of sight, dulnesse of hearing, but especiallie the collike and the stone, old sores and gréene wounds;

so

so that I suppose there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more spéedie force in these behalfes, than the vse of this simple liquor is to such as doo frequent it. The said water hath a naturall propertie also following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or sticke of ash, oke, &c: doo fall into the same, within a short space, such store of fine sand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reserued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will seeme to become an hard stone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue séene by experience. At the first entrance it is verie cold, but after a season it warmeth the goer in, casting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet susteined anie manner of impeachment through the coldnesse of the same. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitsuntide, by a man who had wounded himselfe, & comming by the same water, thought onelie to wash the blood from his hand therewith, and so to go home and séeke for helpe by surgerie: finallie finding the paine well asswaged, & the wound faire clensed, he departed, and misliking his vsuall medicins, he eftsoones came againe, and so often indéed vnto the said water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practise. By this meanes also he became a counsellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they should trie the vertue of this spring, who finding ease also, gaue out such commendation of the said water, that now at this present their fame is fullie equall, and the resort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beside this, the cures of such diseases as their forces do extend vnto, is much more speedie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie also not smallie to be considered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from saint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) saint Needs, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two springs are knowne to be, of which the one is verie sweet and fresh, the other brackish & salt; this is good for scabs and leaperie (as it is said) the other for dimnesse of sight. Verie manie also doo make their repaire vnto them for sundrie diseases, some returning whole, and some nothing at all amended, bicause their cure is without the reach and working of those waters. Neuer went people so fast from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to these wels, and those neere Rugbie, both places being discouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found also about Ratcliffe néere London, euen at the same season. But sith rumors are now spred almost of euerie spring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I surcease to speake at all of anie other, till further experience doo trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but most of these alredie mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred also, though confusedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in processe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of sundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath woonderfullie béene missed.

The last place of our baths, is a citie in Summersetshire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be séene and vsed. At the first it was called Cair Bledud, and not Cair Bledune, as some would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient castell at Malmesburie, which the Saxons named Yngleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Thermæ, other Aquæ solis, or Scamannia, or Acmancester, but now it hight generallie Bath in English, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it selfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerse notable antiquities ingraued in stone, to be séene in the wals thereof; and first of all betweene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

The first is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue seene of Antius the Romane. The second betweene the south and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a serpent, and so dooth this. Thirdlie there standeth a man on foot with a sword in his one hand, and a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are moreouer two naked images,

whereof the one imbraceth the other, beside sundrie antike heads, with ruffeled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but so defaced that no man liuing can read them at this present. There is moreouer the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two serpents, and an other inscription, and all these betwéene the south and the west gates, as I haue said before.

Now, betweene the west and north gate are two inscriptions, of which some words are euident to be read, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also the image of a naked man, and a stone in like sort, which hath "Cupidines & labruscas intercurrentes," and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie florished both aboue and beneath. Finallie (sauing that I saw afterward the image of a naked man grasping a serpent in each hand) there was an inscription of a toome or buriall, wherein these words did plainelie appeare, "Vixit annos xxx:" but so defusedlie written, that letters stood for whole words, and two or thrée letters combined into one. Certes I will not saie whether these were set into the places where they now stand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, and placed afterward in those wals, in their necessarie reparations. But howsoeuer the matter standeth, this is to be gathered by our histories, that Bladud first builded that citie there, and peraduenture might also kindle the sulphurous veines, of purpose to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occasion the springs thereabout did in processe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for sundrie kinds of diseases. Indeed the later Pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the chéefe goddesse and gouernesse of these waters, bicause of Chap. 25. the néerenesse of hir temple vnto the same. Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir said temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer consume into dead sparkles; but so soone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard stone: all which I take to be nothing else than the effect of the aforesaid fire, of the sulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doo come. That these baths or waters are deriued from such, the marchasites, which the Grecians call Pyritis, per antonomasiam (for being smit with the iron, it yéeldeth more sparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore seemeth to deserue the name aboue the rest) and besides these other stones mixed with some copper, and dailie found vpon the mounteins thereabouts will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner also the father of English physicke, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs doo draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it should be salt peter, bicause he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beléeue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of the citie, which standeth in a pleasant bottome, inuironed on euerie side with great hils, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that euerie house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettall being the more plentious and lesse of value vnto them, bicause it is not had far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolued, and their founders, if place did serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselues, wherof in the title of this chapiter I protested to intreat.

The Pyritis is found almost in euerie veine of mettall in great plentie, diuersities and colour, and somtimes mixed with that mettall of whose excrements it consisteth.

There are two springs of water (as Leland saith) in the west south west part of the towne, Crosse bath. whereof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leaprie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine dooth ought annoie them.

Common bath. The common bath, or as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches,

arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone: but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little stréet, and ioine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald bishop of Bath made his house néere vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

Kings bath.

The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who being of the gentrie for the most part, doo resort thither indifferentlie, but not in such lasciuious sort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale, and honestie performe. There went a sluce out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vsed for baths, but now I doo not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

Hot houses in some countries little better than brodels.

Colour of the water of the baths.

Taste of the water.

As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a déepe blew, and réeketh much after the maner of a seething pot, commonlie yéelding somwhat a sulpherous taste, and verie vnpleasant sauour. The water also that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dyke into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge: but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone, and midnight: for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become so hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while susteine their force and vehement working. They purge themselues furthermore from all such filth as the diseased doo leaue in each of them, wherfore we doo forbeare the rash entrance into them at that time: and so much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more gréeuouslie affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in déed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes therefore they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the kéeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or should leaue) frée passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

Fall or issue of the water.

Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.

What cost of late hath béene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with sundrie curious péeces of workemanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrées. But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God dooth giue these his good gifts frélie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the customs vsed in these baths, what number of physicians dailie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to interteine them) dooth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither doo drinke oftimes of that medicinable liquor: but then I should excéed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it ouer to others, hoping that some man yer long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun,

begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I doo not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much lesse of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers that resort vnto the same.

OF ANTIQUITIES FOUND.

CHAP. XXIV.

HAUING taken some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselues, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland maie in some cases more manifestlie appeare. For such was their possession of this Iland on this side of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their subiection, but all the whole countrie from east to west, from the Tine to the British sea, so that there was no region void of their gouernance: notwithstanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his issue, they did permit the successors of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongest them, though vnder a certeine tribute, as else-where I haue declared. The chéefe cause that vrgeth me to speake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chronologie shall happen to come abroad) to set downe the liuelie portraitures of euerie emperour ingrauen in the same: also the faces of Pompeie, Crassus, the seuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerse other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpose, beside the monuments and liuelie images of sundrie philosophers, and kings of this Iland, since the time of Edward the Confessor. Whereof although presentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obteine them all, if friendship at the leastwise procured for monie shall be able to preuaile. But as it hath doone hitherto, so the charges to be emploied vpon these brasen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impression of that treatise: whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall soone proue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe. Whereof yet I force not greatlie, sith by this means I haue reaped some commoditie vnto my selfe, by searching of the histories, which often minister store of examples readie to be vsed in my function, as occasion shall mooue me. But to procéed with my purpose.

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as Cæsar confesseth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vsed in his time, in stead likewise of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I saie) to haue the certeine view of anie of these, so after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue such imperiall monies or coines, as for the paiment of their legions was dailie brought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is easie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and siluer, as of copper, brasse, and other mettall, much like stéele, almost of euerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it still represent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take heed how we yéeld our selues to the regiment of strangers. Of the store of these monies, found vpon the Kentish coast, I haue alreadie made mention in the description of Richborow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the British Albion, and there shewed also how simple fishermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in making profers and holes to bréed in, haue scraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In speaking also of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of these coines haue bene gathered there: wherfore I shall not néed here to repeat the same againe. Howbeit this is certeine, that the most part of all these antiquities, to be found within

within the land, & distant from the shore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decaied, or in inclosed burrowes, where their legions accustomed sometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What store hath béene séene of them in the citie of London, which they called Augusta, of the legion that soiourned there, & likewise in Yorke named also Victrix, of the legion Victoria, or Altera Roma (because of the beautie and fine building of the same) I my selfe can partlie witnesse, that haue séene, & often had of them, if better testimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colchester, where those of Claudius, Adrian, Traian, Vespasian, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: also of Cantorburie, Andredeschester (now decaied) Rochester, then called Durobreuum, Winchester, and diuerse other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie sake I doo passe ouer in silence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where most are found in deed, is néere vnto Carleon and Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kenchester, thrée miles aboue Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaster, Bramdon, Dodington, where a spurre and péece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, besides much of the said Roman coine, Binchester, Camalet, Lacocke vpon Auon, and Lincolne, Dorchester, Warwike, and Chester, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It seemeth that Ancaster hath beene a great thing, for manie square & colored pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by such as dig and plow in the fields about the same. And amongst these, one Vresbie or Rosebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long since a stone like a trough, couered with another stone, wherein was great foison of the aforesaid coines. The like also was séene not yet fortie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an husbandman had far better lucke at Harleston, two miles from the aforesaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but also an huge brasse pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and set with all kind of costlie stones: he tooke vp also chaines much like vnto beads of siluer, all which, as being (if a man might ghesse anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he presented to quéene Katharine then lieng at Peterborow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agone, though so defaced with mouldinesse, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into péeces, much lesse read them by reason of their blindnesse.

In the beginning of the same kings daies also at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harnessed with pure gold, and a great massie pomell with a crosse hilt for a sword of the same mettall, beside studs and harnesse for spurs, and the huge long spurs of like stuffe, whereof one doctor Ruthall got a part into his hands. The boroughs or buries, wherof I spake before, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane souldiers did vse to lie when they kept in the open fields as chosen places, from whence they might haue easie accesse vnto their aduersaries, if anie outrage were wrought or rebellion mooued against them. And as these were the vsuall aboads for those able legions that serued dailie in the wars, so had they other certeine habitations for the old and forworne souldiers, whereby diuerse cities grew in time to be replenished with Romane colonies, as Cairleon, Colchester, Chester, and such other, of which, Colchester bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddesse of Victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth "Aram sempiternæ dominationis," a perpetuall monument of that our British seruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they were generallie walled about with stone wals, and so large in compasse that some did conteine thirtie, fourtie, three score, or eightie acres of ground within their limits: they had also diuerse gates or ports vnto each of them, and of these not a few remaine to be seene in our time, as one for example not far from great Chesterford in Essex, néere to the limits of Cambridgshire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compasse of the verie wall with the places where the gates stood is easie to be discerned: the like also is to be séene at a place within two miles south of Burton, called the Borow hils. In these therefore and such like, and likewise at Euolsburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and sundrie other places, especiallie vpon the shore and coasts of Kent, as Douer, Rie,

Rie, Romneie, Lid, &c: is much of their coine also to be found, and some péeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hegs pence, Feirie groats, Jewes monie, & by other foolish names not woorthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vsed these holds as rescues for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like also did the Saxons against the Danes, by which occasions (and now and then by carieng of their stones to helpe forward other buildings néere at hand) manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwise might haue continued for a longer time, and so your honour would saie, if you should happen to peruse the thickenesse and maner of building of those said wals and borowes. It is not long since a siluer saucer of verie ancient making was found néere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbirie hils, and eared vp by a plough, but of such massie greatnesse, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I should stand in these things vntill I had said all that might be spoken of them, both by experience and testimonie of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerse yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the aeader: wherefore so much onelie shall serue the turne for this time as I haue said alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, especiallie of coine, whereof I purposed chiefelie to intreat.

Sterbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

OF THE COINES OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXV.

THE Saxon coine before the conquest is in maner vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I suppose that one shilling of siluer in those daies did counterpeise our common ounce, though afterward it came to passe that it arose to twentie pence, and so continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who first brought it to thrée shillings and foure pence, & afterward our siluer coine vnto brasse & copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges, which diuerse waies oppressed him. And as I gather such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in Latine Solidus, so I read more manifestlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this also currant among the Saxons of our Ile, so well in gold as in siluer, at such time as 240 of their penies made vp a iust pound, fiue pence went to the shilling, and foure shillings to the ounce. But to procéed with my purpose. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his sonne began to restore the aforesaid coine againe vnto fine siluer: so quéene Marie his successour did continue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in hir time the Spanish monie was verie cõmon in England, by reason of hir mariage with Philip king of Spaine.

Copper monie.

Siluer restored.

After hir decease the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and now our most gratious quéene, souereigne and princesse, did finish the matter wholie, vtterly abolishing the vse of copper and brasen coine, and conuerting the same into guns and great ordinance, she restored sundrie coines of fine siluer, as péeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, péeces of two pence, of thrée pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of six pence vsuallie named the testone, and shilling of twelue pence, whereon she hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall superscription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained since the time of king Edward the third, or béene coined by such other princes as haue reigned since his deceasse, without anie abasing or diminution of the finesse of that mettall. Therof also we haue yet remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the salut, the angell, and their smaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though these in my time are not so common to be séene. I haue also beheld the souereigne of twentie shillings, and the peece of thirtie shillings, I haue heard likewise of péeces of fortie shillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and those onelie at the commandement of kings, yearelie to bestow where their maiesties thought good in lieu

Old gold.

of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requisit that I should remember them here amongst our currant monies.

The new gold is taken for such as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the finesse of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be restored for ought that I can see: and yet is it such as hath béene coined since by his successors princes of this realme, in value and goodnesse equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one dooth couet chiefelie to gather vp our old finer gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie seene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in those kinds of our coine. Our peeces now currant are of ten shillings, fiue shillings, and two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of sundrie stamps and names, as halfe souereigns (equall in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times so much siluer) quarters of souereigns (otherwise called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in good sooth I know them not, as one scarselie acquainted with any siluer at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with any store of gold. New gold

The first currant shilling or siluer péeces of twelue pence stamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentith yeare of his reigne, & those of fiue shillings, and of two shillings and six pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the sixt: but the od péeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princesse quéene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greatest siluer monies if you respect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well discusse of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the first in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest péeces of siluer round-wise, which before were square, and woont to beare a double crosse with a crest, in such sort that the penie might easilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which shift onelie the people came by small monies, as halfe pence and fardings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the single, double, and the double double, the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the short: the portigue, a péece verie solemnelie kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abased with washing, or absolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemish crownes, onlie currant among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of siluer coines, as the soules turnois, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke dooth two shillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the dalders, and such often times brought ouer, but neuerthelesse exchanged as bullion, according to their finenesse and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by such as haue authoritie.

In old time we had sundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houses before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Ramseie, S. Edmundsburie, Canturburie, Glassenburie, Peterborow, and such like, sundrie exemplificats of the grants whereof are yet to be seene in writing, especiallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: wherevnto it appeereth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they trusted themselues best with the ouersight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerse of their owne, although they afterward permitted some for small péeces of siluer vnto sundrie of the houses aforesaid. In my time diuerse mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Bristow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale withall. There is also coinage of tin holden yearelie at two seuerall times, that is to saie, Midsummer and Michaelmas in the west countrie; which at the first hearing I supposed to haue béene of monie of the said mettall, and granted by priuilege from some prince vnto the towns of Hailestone,

Hailestone, Trurie, and Lostwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is allowed the ordinarie customes of that mettall: and such blocks of tin as haue passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especiall stampe, whereby it is knowne that the custome due for the same hath ordinarilie béene answered. It should séeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingstone vpon Thames (sometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vsuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in earing of the ground about that towne in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue béene ripped vp by plowes, and diuerse coines of brasse, siluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Woolseie, one such huge pot was discouered full as it were of new siluer latelie coined; another with plates of siluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of siluer and such broken stuffe redie (as it should appeere) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this suffice to countenance out my coniecture. Of coins currant before the comming of the Romans I haue elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Essences did barter ware for ware, so the Britons vsed brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in steed of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Bisantines also did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (saith he) rough peeces of brasse and iron in stéed of coine, wherewith they purchased their wines.

THE

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14 *Of our accompt of time and hir parts.*
15 *Of principall faires and markets.*
16 *Of our innes and thorowfaires.*

OF CATTELL KEPT FOR PROFIT.

CHAP. I.

THERE is no kind of tame cattell vsually to be séene in these parts of the world, wherof we haue not some, and that great store in England; as horsses, oxen, shéepe, goats, swine, and far surmounting the like in other countries, as may be prooued with ease. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horsses more decent and pleasant in pase, kine more commodious for the pale, shéepe more profitable for wooll, swine more wholesome of flesh, and goates more gainefull to their kéepers, than here with vs in England? But to speke of them peculiarlie, I suppose that our kine are so abundant in yéeld of milke, wherof we make our butter & chéese, as the like anie where else, and so apt for the plough in diuerse places as either our horsses or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they séeme to come short of that commoditie which is looked for in other countries, to wit, in that they bring foorth most commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines also gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath beene valued at twentie shillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground arise to be yet déerer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleasure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikshire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studleie, which in six yéeres had sixtéene calfes, that is, foure at once in thrée caluings and twise twins, which vnto manie may séeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are such as the like are Oxen.
not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatnesse of bodie and swéetnesse of flesh: or else would not the Romane writers haue preferred them before those of Liguria. In most places our grasiers are now growen to be so cunning, that if they doo but sée an ox or bullocke, and come to the féeling of him, they will giue a ghesse at his weight, and how manie score or stone of flesh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the sale, and what he may haue for the skin and tallow; which is a point of skill not commonlie practised heretofore. Some such grasiers also are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold

about them: and in their absence their wiues will not let to supplie those turnes with no lesse skill than their husbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, sith he through this means can seldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like sort the flesh of our oxen and kine is sold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yoong ware rather by weight, especiallie for the stéere and heighfer, sith the finer béefe is the lightest, wheras the flesh of buls and old kine, &c: is of sadder substance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the scale. Their hornes also are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except those which are to be séene among the Pæones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our bréed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped also by art. For when they be verie yoong, manie grasiers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardnesse of that substance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatnesse. Certes, it is not strange in England, to sée oxen whose hornes haue the length of a yard or thrée foot betweene the tips, and they themselues thereto so tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent stature is scarse equall vnto them. Neuerthelesse it is much to be lamented that our generall bréed of cattell is not better looked vnto: for the greatest occupiers weane least store, bicause they can buie them (as they saie) far better cheape than to raise and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath risen from foure nobles to foure marks by this means, which notwithstanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring foorth more than one calfe a péece, as I heare they doo in other countries.

Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 8.

Horsses.

Our horsses moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatnesse as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easinesse of their pase, it is hard to saie where their like are to be had. Our land dooth yéeld no asses, and therefore we want the generation also of mules and somers; and therefore the most part of our cariage is made by these, which remaining stoned, are either reserued for the cart, or appointed to beare such burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horsses (for we vse them indifferentlie) are cómmonlie so strong that fiue or six of them (at the most) will draw thrée thousand weight of the greatest tale with ease for a long iourneie, although it be not a load of common vsage, which consisteth onelie of two thousand, or fiftie foot of timber, fortie bushels of white salt, or six and thirtie of baie, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elsewhere remembred. Such as are kept also for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, wherby it commeth to passe, that when the quéenes maiestie dooth remooue from anie one place to another, there are vsuallie 400 carewares, which amount to the summe of 2400 horsses, appointed out of the cóuntries adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied safelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby also the ancient vse of somers and sumpter horsses is in maner vtterlie relinquished, which causeth the traines of our princes in their progresses to shew far lesse than those of the kings of other nations.

Geldings.

Such as serue for the saddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie déere among vs, especiallie if they be well coloured, iustlie limmed, and haue thereto an easie ambling pase. For our countriemen, séeking their ease in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chieflie in their excellent pases, which besides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horsses of our soile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleasant and delectable in his eares, in that the noise of their well proportioned pase dooth yéeld comfortable sound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceipt vsed anie where than among our horssekeepers, horssecorsers, and hostelers: for such is the subtill knauerie of a great sort of them (without exception of anie of them be it spoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honest meaning man shall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by some false tricke or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horsses and colts is bought and sold,

and

and wherevnto such as haue néed resort yearelie to buie and make their necessarie prouision of them, as Rippon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Harborow, and diuerse other. But as most drouers are verie diligent to bring great store of these vnto those places; so manie of them are too too lewd in abusing such as buie them. For they haue a custome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iourneie of the market, to driue them till they sweat, & for the space of eight or twelue houres, which being doone they turne them all ouer the backs into some water, where they stand for a season, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make sale of their infected ware, and such as by this meanes doo fall into manie diseases and maladies. Of such outlandish horsses as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I speake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courser of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemish roile, and Scotish nag, bicause that further spéech of them commeth not within the compasse of this treatise, and for whose breed and maintenance (especiallie of the greatest sort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble studderie and for a time had verie good successe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of bastard races, whereby his good purpose came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the best horsses in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compasse of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherin the king of that nation had vsuallie a studderie of 30000 mares and 300 stallions, as Strabo dooth remember Lib. 16. But to leaue this, let vs sée what may be said of sheepe.

Our shéepe are verie excellent, sith for sweetnesse of flesh they passe all other. And so much are our woolles to be preferred before those of Milesia and other places, that if Iason had knowne the value of them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he would neuer haue gone to Colchis to looke for anie there. For as Dionysius Alexandrinus saith in his De situ orbis, it may by spinning be made comparable to the spiders web. What fooles then are our countrimen, in that they séeke to bereue themselues of this commoditie, by practising dailie how to transfer the same to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams & ewes to bréed & increase among them? The first example hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth, who not vnderstanding the botome of the sute of sundrie traitorous merchants, that sought a present gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few shipped verie manie: a thing commonlie practised in other commodities also, whereby the prince and hir land are not seldome times defrauded. But such is our nature, and so blind are we in déed, that we sée no inconuenience before we féele it: and for a present gaine we regard not what damage may insue to our posteritie. Hereto some other man would ad also the desire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not woorth thrée pence, is more estéemed than a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far excédeth that value. In time past the vse of this commoditie consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath béene imploied vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie. It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithstanding the sharpenesse of our lawes to the contrarie) dooth yet confirme it: that although our rams & weathers doo go thither from vs neuer so well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they cast there their heads, and from thencefoorth they remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cherished in England, than standeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or prosperitie of diuerse townes, whereof some are wholie conuerted to their féeding: yet such a profitable sweetnesse is their fléece, such necessitie in their flesh, and so great a benefit in the manuring of barren soile with their doong and pisse, that their superfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I speake not of our great shéepemasters of whom some one

Shéepe.

Shéepe without hornes.

man hath 20000) but hath more or lesse of this cattell féeding on his fallowes and short grounds, which yéeld the finer fléece, as Virgil (following Varro) well espied Georg. 3. where he saith:

" Si tibi lanicium curæ, primum aspera sylua,
Lappæque tribulíque absint, fuge pabula læta."

Neuerthelesse the shéepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our swine with the measels though neuer so generallie) and manie men are now and then great losers by the same: but after the calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and kéepe their new stocks sound for seauen yeares togither, the former losse will easilie be recompensed with double commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our shéepe, howbeit this is but his coniecture: for we know that our shéepe are infected by going to the water, and take the same as a sure and certeine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their liuers and lights being alredie distempered through excessiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to séeke vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the maine, wherin a man shall generallie find more fine and wholesome water than in England; and therefore it is impossible that our shéepe should decaie by tasting of the same. Wherfore the hinderance by rot is rather to be ascribed to the vnseasonablenes & moisture of the weather in summer, also their licking in of mildewes, gossamire, rowtie fogs, & ranke grasse, full of superfluous iuice: but specíallie (I saie) to ouer moist wether, whereby the continuall raine pearsing into their hollow felles, soketh foorthwith into their flesh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being also infected their first shew of sickenesse is their desire to drinke, so that our waters are not vnto them " Causa ægritudinis," but " Signum morbi," what so euer Cardan doo mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduenture no small babes) which are growne to be so good husbands, that they can make account of euerie ten kine to be cléerelie woorth twentie pounds in cõmon and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue shéepe be dailie added to the same. But as I wote not how true this surmise is, bicause it is no part of my trade, so I am sure hereof, that some housewiues can and doo ad dailie a lesse proportion of ewes milke vnto the chéese of so manie kine, whereby their cheese dooth the longer abide moist, and eateth more brickle and mellow than otherwise it would.

Goats. Goats we haue plentie, and of sundrie colours in the west parts of England; especiallie in and towards Wales, and amongst the rockie hilles, by whome the owners doo reape no small aduantage: some also are cherished elsewhere in diuerse stéeds for the benefit of such as are diseased with sundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, chéese, and bodies of their yoong kids are iudged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and néere. Certes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in estimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the stomach, remooueth oppilations and stoppings of the liuer, and looseth the bellie. Some place also next vnto it the milke of the ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can shew no reason; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fulsome, sweet, and such in tast, as except such as are vsed vnto it no man will gladlie yéeld to liue and féed withall.

Swine. As for swine, there is no place that hath greater store, nor more wholesome in eating, than are these here in England, which neuerthelesse doo neuer anie good till they come to the table. Of these some we eat greene for porke, and other dried vp into bakon to haue it of more continuance. Lard we make some though verie little, because it is chargeable: neither haue we such vse thereof as is to be séene in France and other countries, sith we doo either bake our meat with swéet suet of beefe or mutton, and bast all our meat with sweet or salt butter, or suffer the fattest to bast it selfe by leisure. In champaine countries they are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to attend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth them togither by his noise and crie, and leadeth them foorth to féed abroad in the fields. In some places also women doo scowre and wet their cloths with their doong, as other

other doo with hemlocks and netles: but such is the sauor of the cloths touched withall, that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than such as are scowred with the reffuse sope, than the which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie sauor.

Of our tame bores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vsuallie knowne to strangers (as I take it) otherwise would not the swart Rutters and French cookes, at the losse of Calis (where they found great store of this prouision almost in euerie house) haue attempted with ridiculous successe to rost, bake, broile, & frie the same for their masters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long since, did send ouer an hogshead of brawne readie sowsed to a catholike gentleman of France, who supposing it to be fish, reserued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he so well liked of the prouision it selfe, that he wrote ouer verie earnestlie & with offer of great recompense for more of the same fish against the yeare insuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue beene flesh, he would not haue touched it (I dare saie) for a thousand crownes without the popes dispensation. A frēend of mine also dwelling sometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did set brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earnestlie, supposing it to be a kind of fish not common in those parties: but when the goodman of the house brought in the head in pastime among them, to shew what they had eaten, they rose from the table, hied them home in hast, ech of them procuring himselfe to vomit, some by oile, and some by other meanes, till (as they supposed) they had clensed their stomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great pēece of seruice at the table, from Nouember vntill Februarie be ended; but chēeflie in the Christmasse time. With the same also we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and because it is somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of malueseie, bastard, or muscadell, is vsuallie droonke after it, where either of them are conuenientlie to be had: otherwise the meaner sort content themselues with their owne drinke, which at that season is generallie verie strong, and stronger indēed than in all the yeare beside. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, set vp for the purpose by the space of a whole yere or two, especiallie in gentlemens houses (for the husbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vse aboue thrēe or foure moneths, or halfe a yēere at the most) in which time he is dieted with otes and peason, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneasie coat, till his fat be hardened sufficientlie for their purpose: afterward he is killed, scalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the rest is nothing so fat, and therefore it beareth the name of sowse onelie, and is commonlie reserued for the seruing man and hind, except it please the owner to haue anie part therof baked, which are then handled of custome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are first drawne with lard, and then sodden; being sodden they are sowsed in claret wine and vineger a certeine space, and afterward baked in pasties, and eaten of manie in stēed of the wild bore, and trulie it is verie good meat: the pestles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby prooue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the shoulders are named shilds, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, so that these aforesaid pēeces deserue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beast are commonlie cast awaie because of their ranknesse, and so were likewise his stones; till a foolish fantasie got hold of late amongst some delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dresse them also with great cost for a deintie dish, and bring them to the boord as a seruice among other of like sort, though not without note of their desire to the prouocation of fleshlie lust, which by this their fond curiositie is not a little reuealed. When the bore is thus cut out, ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulrushes, ozier pēeles, tape, inkle, or such like, and then sodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be so tender that a man may thrust a brused rush or soft straw cleane through the fat: which being doone, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to coole: afterward putting it into close vessels, they powre either good small ale or bēere mingled with veriuice and salt thereto till it be couered, and so let it lie (now and then altering and chang-

Bores.

Brawne of the bore.

Baked hog.

ing the sowsing drinke least it should wax sowre) till occasion serue to spend it out of the waie. Some vse to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and séeth them, and sowse the whole, as they doo that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more easie of digestion. But of brawne thus much; and so much may seeme sufficient.

OF WILD AND TAME FOULES.

CHAP. II.

ORDER requireth that I speake somewhat of the foules also of England, which I may easilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas such is my small skill in foules, that to say the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well distinguish one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the sunne, which hath alreadie in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for so manie kinds as our Iland dooth bring foorth, and much more would haue, if those of the higher soile might be spared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which set onlie for the pot & purse. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Iohns daies, insomuch that going in progresse about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to solace himself, or exercise his falcons. Wherfore being at Bristow in the Christmas insuing, he restreined all maner of hawking or taking of wild-foule throughout England for a season, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie replenished againe. But what stand I vpon this impertinent discourse? Of such therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bitter, the wild & tame swan, the bustard, the herron, curlew, snite, wildgoose, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plouer of both sorts, lapwing, teele, wigeon, mallard, sheldrake, shoueler, pewet, seamew, barnacle, quaile (who onelie with man are subiect to the falling sickenesse) the notte, the oliet or olife, the dunbird, woodcocke, partrich and feasant, besides diuerse other, whose names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taste of their flesh, wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as these serue not at all seasons, so in their seuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie should séeme at anie time furnisht. But of all these the production of none is more maruellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whose place of generation we haue sought oft times so farre as the Orchades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the same neerer home, and not onelie vpon the coasts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I should say how either these or some such other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie serueth, and the circumstances doo minister occasion) in the Thames mouth, I doo not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet such a thing hath there béene seene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a short tender shrub standing néere vnto the shore, from whence when their time came, they fell downe, either into the salt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and perished, as Pena the French herbarian hath also noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue séene here by experience, I haue alreadie so touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it should be but time spent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the description of Man or Manaw for more of these barnacles, as also in the eleuenth chapter of the description of Scotland, & I doo not doubt but you shall in some respect be satisfied in the generation of these foules. As for egrets, pawpers, and such like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the sea, as if all the foule of our countrie could not suffice to satisfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are such (for the most part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, géese, duckes, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reason of their multitudes, and number of houses dailie erected for their increase (which the bowres of the countrie call in scorne almes houses, and dens of theeues, and such like) wherof

wherof there is great plentie in euerie farmers yard. They are kept there also to be sold either for readie monie in the open markets, or else to be spent at home in good companie amongst their neighbors without reprehension or fines. Neither are we so miserable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the especiall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or sup with a quarter of a hen, or to make so great a repast with a cocks combe, as they doo in some other countries: but if occasion serue, the whole carcasses of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and such like doo oft go to wracke, beside béefe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euerie feast are taken for necessarie dishes amongest the communaltie of England.

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practise brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indish peacocks is a newer deuise: and certeinlie not vsed amisse, sith the rankenesse of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the strong taste of the flesh in sundrie wise amended. If I should say that ganders grow also to be gelded, I suppose that some will laugh me to scorne, neither haue I tasted at anie time of such a foule so serued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vsed in the countrie, where their géese are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a gooseheard, a toie also no lesse to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, so is it strange to me to sée or heare of géese to be led to the field like shéepe: yet so it is, & their gooseheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goslings togither, the noise whereof commeth no sooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and hasten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the house be stirring, it is ridiculous to sée how they will peepe vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this sort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept so much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke soiles their doong dooth so qualifie the batablenesse of the soile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and sundrie other diseases, although some of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules producted by the industrie of man, as betwéene the fesant cocke and doonghill hen, or betwéene the fesant and the ringdooue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but sith I haue no more knowledge of these, than what I haue gotten by mine eare, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan speaking of the second sort, dooth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewise intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughes, rookes, kites, iaies, ringtailes, starlings, woodspikes, woodnawes, rauens, &c: but sith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture most of all in England (by reason of our negligence) I shall not néed to spend anie time in the rehearsall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cherished of purpose to catch vp the woormes that bréed in our soiles (as Polydor supposeth) sith there are no vplandish townes but haue (or should haue) nets of their owne in store to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewise made for their vtter destruction, as also the spoile of other rauenous fouls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whose valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuise brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the destruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them also for the rootage out of their wild beasts, sauing that they spared their greatest beares, especiallie the white, whose skins are by custome & priuilege reserued to couer those planchers wherevpon their priests doo stand at Masse, least he should take some vnkind cold in such a long péece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he shall haue pardon inough for that so religious an act, to last if he will till doomes day doo approch; and manie thousands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that these noisome creatures are nourished amongst vs to deuoure our wormes, which doo not abound much more in

England

England than elsewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that some looke for a discourse also of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thrushes, blackebirds, mauises, ruddocks, redstarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingsfishers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bulfinshes, goldfinshes, washtailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I should then spend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I speake of our costlie and curious auiaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obseruation of their natures: but I cease also to go anie further in these things, hauing (as I thinke) said inough alreadie of these that I haue named.

OF FISH VSUALLIE TAKEN VPON OUR COASTS.

CHAP. III.

I HAUE in my description of waters, as occasion hath serued, intreated of the names of some of the seuerall fishes which are commonlie to bée found in our riuers. Neuerthelesse as euerie water hath a sundrie mixture, and therefore is not stored with euerie kind: so there is almost no house, euen of the meanest bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reseruation of water vnstored with some of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, eeles, or such like as will liue and bréed togither. Certes it is not possible for me to deliuer the names of all such kinds of fishes as our riuers are found to beare: yet least I should séeme iniurious to the reader, in not deliuering so manie of them as haue béene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to set them downe as they doo come to mind. Besides the salmons therefore, which are not to be takén from the middest of September to the middest of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greatest riuers, as their yoong store are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midsummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, powt, cheuin, pike, goodgeon, smelt, perch, menan, shrimpes, creuises, lampreies, and such like, whose preseruation is prouided for by verie sharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but also in plashes or lakes and ponds, which otherwise would bring small profit to the owners, and doo much harme by continuall maintenance of idle persons, who would spend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all these there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the same water, than the pike and éele, which commonlie deuoure such fish or frie and spawne as they may get and come by. Neuerthelesse the pike is fréend vnto the tench, as to his leach & surgeon. For when the fishmonger hath opened his side and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that present, he laieth the same againe into the proper place, and sowing vp the wound, he restoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer cease to sucke and licke his greeued place, till they haue restored him to health, and made him readie to come againe to the stall, when his turne shall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and some other of our riuer fishes are sold by inches of cleane fish, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needlesse: also how the pike as he ageth receiueth diuerse names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a iacke, from a iacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and last of all to a luce; also that a salmon is the first yeare a grauellin, and commonlie so big as an herring, the second a salmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a salmon: but this is in like sort vnnecessarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie riuers sides if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the grasse downewards, vpon the earth, in such sort as the water may touch it as it passeth by, you shall haue a brood of éeles, it would seeme a wonder; and yet it is beleeued with no lesse assurance of some, than that an horse haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in short time stirre and become a liuing creature. But sith the certeintie of these things is rather prooued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it passe at this time.

time. Neuerthelesse this is generallie obserued in the maintenance of frie so well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of spawne we vse to throw in faggots made of willow and sallow, and now and then of bushes for want of the other, whereby such spawne as falleth into the same is preserued and kept from the pike, perch, éele and other fish, of which the carpe also will féed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the store and increase of proper kind. Some vse in euerie fift or seauenth yeere to laie their great ponds drie for all the summer time, to the end they may gather grasse, and a thin swart for the fish to feed vpon; and afterwards store them with bréeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue spawned, they draw out the bréeders, leauing not aboue foure or six behind, euen in the greatest ponds, by meanes whereof the rest doo prosper the better: and this obseruation is most vsed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fish) it prospereth euerie where, I meane so well in ponds as riuers, and also in motes and pittes, as I doo know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our fresh fish, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto such of the salt water as are taken vpon our coasts. As our foules therefore haue their seasons, so likewise haue all our sorts of sea fish: whereby it commeth to passe that none, or at the leastwise verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuerthelesse, the seas that inuiron our coasts, are of all other most plentifull: for as by reason of their depth they are a great succour, so our low shores minister great plentie of food vnto the fish that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Ianuarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fish, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we féed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muskles, &c. In April and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In Iune and Iulie, with conger. In August and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths insuing with the same, as also thornbacke and reigh of all sorts; all which are the most vsuall, and wherewith our common sort are best of all refreshed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the seasons, nor yet with the fish it selfe: and therefore if I should take vpon me to describe or speake of either of them absolutelie, I should enterprise more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It shall suffice therefore to declare what sorts of fishes I haue most often séene, to the end I may not altogither passe ouer this chapter without the rehersall of something, although the whole summe of that which I haue to saie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full discourse hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fishes therefore as I find fiue sorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and shelled: so the flat are diuided into the smooth, scaled and tailed. Of the first are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or sea flounder, dorreie, dab, &c. Of the second the soles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, maidens, kingsons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the most part either dried and carried into other countries, or sodden, sowsed, & eaten here at home, whilest the lesser be fried or buttered; soone after they be taken as prouision not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Vnder the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an vglie fish to sight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dressed: the whiting (an old waiter or seruitor in the court) the rochet, sea breame, pirle, hake, sea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, sprat, and such like. And these are they whereof I haue best knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coasts. Vnder this kind also are all the great fish conteined, as the seale, the dolphin, the porpoise, the thirlepole, whale, and whatsoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer so great and huge. Of the long sort are congers, eeles, garefish, and such other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I seene anie more of this sort than the Polypus called in English, the lobstar, crafish or creuis, and the crab. As for the little crafishes they are not taken in the sea, but plentifullie in our fresh riuers in banks, and vnder stones, where they kéepe themselues in most secret maner, and oft by likenesse of colour with the stones among which they lie, deceiue euen the skilfull takers of them, except they

Flat fish.

Round fish.

Long fish.

Legged fish.

vse great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maison rustique, doubted whether these lobstars be fish or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as dooth the frog, and these also not to be eaten, for that they be strong and verie hard of digestion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here speake of sundrie other fishes now and then taken also vpon our coasts: but sith my mind is onelie to touch either all such as are vsuallie gotten, or so manie of them onelie as I can well rehearse vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the shellie sort, we haue plentie of oisters, whose valure in old time for their swéetnesse was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and these we haue in like maner of diuerse quantities, and no lesse varietie also of our muskles and cockles. We haue in like sort no small store of great whelkes, scalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the sea coast in their seuerall seasons. And albeit our oisters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to saie, Maie, Iune, Iulie, and August, which are void of the letter R: yet in some places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our sea fish as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuersitie of kinds: yet so much haue I yéelded to doo, hoping hereafter to saie somewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it shall please God that I may liue and haue leasure once againe to peruse this treatise, and so make vp a perfect péece of worke, of that which as you now sée is verie slenderlie attempted and begun.

OF SAUAGE BEASTS AND VERMINES.

CHAP. IV.

IT is none of the least blessings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noisome beasts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & such like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in safetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the most part abroad in the field without anie herdman or kéeper.

This is cheefelie spoken of the south and southwest parts of the Iland. For wheras we that dwell on this side of the Twed, may safelie boast of our securitie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, sith they haue greeuous woolfes and cruell foxes, beside some other of like disposition continuallie conuersant among them, to the generall hinderance of their husbandmen, and no small damage vnto the inhabiters of those quarters. The happie and fortunate want of these beasts in England is vniuersallie ascribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be clensed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welshmen (who were then pestered with these rauenous creatures aboue measure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of woolfes skinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & pursue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of thrée hundred woolfes, whose carcases being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeshire, and that by meanes thereof within the compasse and terme of foure yeares, none of those noisome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time also we read not that anie woolfe hath béene séene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue béene diuerse brought ouer from beyond the seas for gréedinesse of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gasing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to see them being strange beasts in their eies, and sildome knowne (as I haue said) in England.

Woolfes.

Tribute of Woolfes skins.

Lions

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and those with maines of no lesse force than they of Mauritania were sometimes reported to be; but how and when they were destroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like sort no lesse plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by pursute either on horssebacke or foot in armor; notwithstanding that manie times they were dangerouslie assailed by them. But both these sauage cretures are now not heard of, or at the least wise the later scarselie known in the south parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwise the generation of those & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of set purpose replenish the countrie with them for his pleasure and pastime in hunting, I can in no wise beléeue.

Of foxes we haue some but no great store, and also badgers in our sandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, broome, and plentie of shrubs are to shrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to féed vpon at will. Otherwise in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we sildom heare of anie, bicause the moisture and toughnesse of the soile is such, as will not suffer them to draw and make their borrowes déepe. Certes if I may frée lie saie what I thinke, I suppose that these two kinds (I meane foxes and badgers) are rather preserued by gentlemen to hunt and haue pastime withall at their owne pleasures, than otherwise suffered to liue, as not able to be destroied bicause of their great numbers. For such is the scantitie of them here in England, in comparison of the plentie that is to be seene in other countries, and so earnestlie are the inhabitants bent to root them out, that except it had béene to beare thus with the recreations of their superiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwise haue béene chosen, but that they should haue béene vtterlie destroied by manie yeares agone. Foxes. Badgers.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the miniuer, the weasell, stote, fulmart, squirrill, fitchew, and such like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word Mustela: also of the otter, and likewise of the beuer, whose hinder féet and taile onlie are supposed to be fish. Certes the taile of this beast is like vnto a thin whetstone, as the bodie vnto a monsterous rat: the beast also it selfe is of such force in the téeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or shere thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth also the stillest riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather sticks wherewith to build their nests, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they so prouide most commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the same. It is also reported that their said tailes are a delicate dish, and their stones of such medicinable force, that (as Vertomannus saith) foure men smelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the nose through their attractiue force, procéeding from a vehement sauour wherewith they are indued: there is greatest plentie of them in Persia, chéefelie about Balascham, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without some forgerie by such as prouide them. And of all these here remembred, as the first sorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: so these latter, especiallie the otter (for to saie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teifie in Wales) is not wanting or to séeke in manie, but most streams and riuers of this Ile: but it shall suffice in this sort to haue named them as I doo finallie the marterne, a beast of the chase, although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the lesse. Beuers. Marterns.

Other pernicious beasts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow déere, whose colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongst the hurtfull sort. Which although that of themselues they are not offensiue at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therfore iustlie reprooued of many; as are in like sort our huge flocks of shéepe, whereon the greatest part of our soile is emploied almost in euerie place, and yet our mutton, wooll, and felles neuer the better

cheape. The yoong males which our fallow deere doo bring foorth, are commonlie named according to their seuerall ages: for the first yéere it is a fawne, the second a puckot, the third a serell, the fourth a soare, the fift a bucke of the first head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yéers old: and from hencefoorth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yéers is not so certeine, but that the best woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in some grounds a bucke of the first head will be so well headed as another in a high rowtie soile will be in the fourth. It is also much to be maruelled at, that whereas they doo yéerelie mew and cast their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they doo grife or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red déere, I find that the yoong male is called in the first yéere a calfe, in the second a broket, the third a spaie, the fourth a stagon or stag, the fift a great stag, the sixt an hart, and so foorth vnto his death. And with him in degrée of venerie are accounted the hare, bore, and woolfe. The fallow déere as bucks and does, are nourished in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except some gentleman or other (for his pleasure) doo make an inclosure for them.

Stags. Of these also the stag is accounted for the most noble game, the fallow déere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent store; and last of all the hare, not the least in estimation, because the hunting of that seelie beast is mother to all the terms, blasts, and artificiall deuises that hunters doo vse. All which (notwithstanding our custome) are pastimes more méet for ladies and gentlewomen to exercise (whatsoeuer Franciscus Patritius saith to the contrarie in his institution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whose hunting should practise their armes in tasting of their manhood, and dealing with such beasts as eftsoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardest rather than their horsses féet, which manie times may carrie them with dishonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times past, as it may yet appéere by the histories of their times, especiallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the bore, and the beare, but most willinglie lions, because of the honorable estimation of that beast; insomuch that at one time he caused an od or chosen lion (for force and beautie) to be let foorth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much businesse, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beast. Herevnto beside that which we read of the vsuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, woolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the first of England, who disdaining (as he termed them) to follow or pursue cowards, cherished of set purpose sundrie kinds of wild beasts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodstocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard stone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with some one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raise vpon him: but chéeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the bore, which are both verie dangerous exercises, especiallie that with the lion, except some policie be found wherwith to trouble his eiesight in anie manner of wise. For though the bore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his flesh and skin against the trées, to sharpen his teeth, and defile himselfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the sport somewhat more easie, especiallie where two stand so neere togither, that the one (if néed be) may helpe and be a succour to the other. Neither would he cease for all this to follow his pastime, either on horssebacke or on foot, as occasion serued, much like the yoonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild bores and bulles to haue béene about Blackleie néere Manchester, whither the said prince would now and then resort also for his solace in that behalfe, as also to come by those excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, especiallie the bulles, as I haue said alreadie.

King Henrie the fift in his beginning thought it a méere scofferie to pursue anie fallow déere with hounds or greihounds, but supposed himselfe alwaies to haue doone a sufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and so killed them with his hands in the vpshot of that exercise and end of his recreation. Certes herein he resembled Polymnestor Milesius, of whome it is written, how he ran so swiftlie, that he would and did verie often

ouertake hares for his pleasure, which I can hardlie beleeue: and therefore much lesse that one Lidas did run so lightlie and swiftlie after like game, that as he passed ouer the sand, he left not so much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like sort with the hart (as I doo read) but this I thinke was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and swifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red deere is a right princelie pastime. In diuerse forren countries they cause their red and fallow déere to draw the plough, as we doo our oxen and horsses. In some places also they milke their hinds as we doo here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrensis to haue beene séene and vsed in Wales, where he did eat cheese made of hinds milke, at such time as Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie preached the croisad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans house, whose wife of purpose kept a deirie of the same. As for the plowing with vres (which I suppose to be vnlikelie) because they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alkes a thing commonlie vsed in the east countries; here is no place to speake of it, since we want these kind of beasts, neither is it my purpose to intreat at large of other things than are to be seene in England. Wherfore I will omit to saie anie more of wild and sauage beasts at this time, thinking my selfe to haue spoken alreadie sufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Hinds haue béene milked.

OF HAWKES AND RAUENOUS FOULES.

CHAP. V.

I CAN not make (as yet) anie iust report how manie sorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of those that are vsuallie had among vs are disclosed with in this land, I thinke it more easie and lesse difficult to set downe. First of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience dooth euidentlie confirme, and diuerse of our rockes whereon they bréed, if speach did serue, could well declare the same. But the most excellent aierie of all is not much from Chester, at a castell called Dinas Bren, sometime builded by Brennus, as our writers doo remember. Certes this castell is no great thing, but yet a pile sometime verie strong and inaccessible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It standeth vpon an hard rocke, in the side whereof an eagle bréedeth euerie yeare. This also is notable in the ouerthrow of hir nest (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither must be sure of two large baskets, and so prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may sit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwise the eagle would kill him, and teare the flesh from his bones with hir sharpe talons though his apparell were neuer so good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne doo shew anie difference of sexe, I meane betwéene the male and female, so we haue great store of them. And néere to the places where they bréed, the commons complaine of great harme to be doone by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yoong lambe or kid vnto their neasts, therwith to féed their yoong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuersitie of kind betwéene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vsed the word erne in most places for the eagle. We haue also the lanner and the lanneret: the tersell and the gosehawke: the musket and the sparhawke: the iacke and the hobbie: and finallie some (though verie few) marlions. And these are all the hawkes that I doo heare as yet to be bred within this Iland. Howbeit as these are not wanting with vs, so are they not verie plentifull: wherefore such as delite in hawking doo make their chiefe purueiance & prouision for the same out of Danske, Germanie, and the Eastcountries, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at excessiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are sold for almost right naught, and vsuallie brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we doo the

aforesaid

aforesaid foules) almost of euerie man. It is said that the sparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that she taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one seelie foule, dooth let it go to make some shift for it selfe. But hereof as I stand in some doubt, so this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the sparhawke is enimie to yoong children, as is also the ape; but of the pecocke she is maruellouslie afraid & so appalled, that all courage & stomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the sight thereof. But to proceed with the rest. Of other rauenous birds we haue also verie great plentie, as the bussard, the kite, the ringtaile, dunkite, & such as often annoie our countrie dames by spoiling of their yoong brèeds of chickens, duckes and goslings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned also the waie: and so much are our rauens giuen to this kind of spoile, that some idle and curious heads of set purpose haue manned, reclaimed, and vsed them in stéed of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some doo imagine that the rauen should be the vulture, and I was almost persuaded in times past to beleeue the same: but finding of late a description of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a second kind of eagle, I frèelie surcease to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a sort the shape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, so are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their sides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith also their gorge or a part of their brest vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauen (who is also verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie resemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the pygargus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occasion to intreat further. I haue séene the carren crowes so cunning also by their owne industrie of late, that they haue vsed to soare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & suddenlie comming downe haue caught a small fish in their fèet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this present the aforesaid riuer is not without some of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue also ospraies which brèed with vs in parks and woods, wherby the kèepers of the same doo reape in brèeding time no small commoditie: for so soone almost as the yoong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of sundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, doo neuer cease to bring fish vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is such as is well fed, or not of the worst sort. It hath not bèene my hap hitherto to see anie of these foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another resembling a goose wherewith to swim; but whether it be so or not so, I refer the further search and triall thereof vnto some other. This neuertheles is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to such fish as come within the wind of it. There is no cause wherefore I should describe the cormorant amongst hawkes, of which some be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen, except I should call him a water hawke. But sith such dealing is not conuenient, let vs now sée what may be said of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

OF VENEMOUS BEASTS.

CHAP. VI.

IF I should go about to make anie long discourse of venemous beasts or wormes bred in England, I should attempt more than occasion it selfe would readilie offer, sith we haue verie few worms, but no beasts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. First of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon toong called an atter) which some men doo not rashlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be so, then

then is it not the viper author of the death of hir * parents, as some histories affirme; and thereto Encelius a late writer in his "De re metallica," lib. 3. cap. 38. where he maketh mention of a she adder which he saw in Sala, whose wombe (as he saith) was eaten out after a like fashion, hir yoong ones lieng by hir in the sunne shine, as if they had béene earth worms. Neuerthelesse as he nameth them "Viperas," so he calleth the male Echis, and the female Echidna, concluding in the end that Echis is the same serpent which his countrimen to this daie call Ein atter, as I haue also noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am persuaded that the slaughter of their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well prouided to inhibit their superfluous increase by some meanes or other) and so much the rather am I led herevnto, for that I gather by Nicander, that of all venemous worms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yoong aliue, and therefore is called in Latine "Vipera quasi viuipara:" but of hir owne death he dooth not (to my remembrance) saie any thing. It is testified also by other in other words, & to the like sense, that "Echis id est vipera sola ex serpentibus non oua sed animalia parit." And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in Philostratus "De vita Appollonij," how he saw a viper licking hir yoong. I did see an adder once my selfe that laie (as I thought) sléeping on a moulehill, out of whose mouth came eleuen yoong adders of twelue or thirtéene inches in length a péece, which plaied to and fro in the grasse one with another, till some of them espied me. So soone therefore as they saw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them shrowded in a distinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a soft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indéed. The colour of their skin is for the most part like rustie iron or iron graie: but such as be verie old resemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they cast their old skins (whereby as it is thought their age reneweth) so their stinging bringeth death without present remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceasing to swell, néither the venem to worke till the skin of the one breake, and the other ascend vpward to the hart, where it finisheth the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called "Dracunculus minor") be spéedilie ministred and dronke in strong ale, or else some other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the same. The length of them is most commonlie two foot and somwhat more, but seldome dooth it extend vnto two foot six inches, except it be in some rare and monsterous one: whereas our snakes are much longer, and séene sometimes to surmount a yard, or thrée foot, although their poison be nothing so grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder stones, as Aristotle also saith of the viper Lib. 8. cap. 15. and in holes of the earth, rotten stubs of trees, and amongst the dead leaues: but in the heat of the summer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon some hillocke, or elsewhere in the grasse. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and highest grounds, where sometimes (though seldome) a speckled stone called Echites, in Dutch "Ein atter stein," is gotten out of their dried carcases, which diuers report to be good against their poison. As for our snakes, which in Latine are properlie named "Angues," they commonlie are seene in moores, fens, lomie wals, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great store of todes where adders commonlie are found, so doo frogs abound where snakes doo kéepe their residence. We haue also the sloworme, which is blacke and graiesh of colour, and somewhat shorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that she was not so called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuerthelesse we haue a blind worme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which some also doo call (and vpon better ground) by the name of slow worms, and they are knowen easilie by their more or lesse varietie of striped colours, drawen long waies from their heads, their whole bodies little excéeding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This also is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of serpents are found of greater.

* *Galenus de Theriaca ad Pisonem.*
* *Plin. lib.* 10. *cap.* 62.

Adder or viper.

See *Aristotle, Animalium lib.* 5. *cap. vltimo, & Theophrast. lib.* 7. *cap.* 13.

Snakes.

Sol. cap. 40. *Plin. lib.* 37. *cap.* 11.

Todes. Frogs. Sloworme.

greater quantitie than either our adder or our snake: but as these are not ordinarie and oft to be séene, so I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the scorpion, a plague of God sent not long since into Italie, and whose poison (as Apollodorus saith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane spider, whose poison bringeth death, except musike be at hand. Wherfore I suppose our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of these two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

Efts. Swifts. We haue also efts, both of the land and water, and likewise the noisome swifts, whereof to saie anie more it should be but losse of time, sith they are well knowne; and no region to

Flies. my knowledge found to be void of manie of them. As for flies (sith it shall not be amisse a little to touch them also) we haue none that can doo hurt or hinderance naturallie vnto anie:

Cutwasted. Whole bodied. for whether they be cut wasted, or whole bodied, they are void of poison and all venemous inclination. The cut or girt (wasted for so I English the word Insecta) are the hornets,

Hornets. Waspes. waspes, bées, and such like, whereof we haue great store, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the first doo bréed of the corruption of dead horsses, the second of peares and apples corrupted, and the last of kine and oxen: which may be true, especiallie the first and latter in some parts of the beast, and not their whole substances, as also in the second, sith we haue neuer waspes, but when our fruit beginneth to wax ripe. In déed Virgil and others speake of a generation of bées, by killing or smoothering of a brused bullocke or calfe, and laieng his bowels or his flesh wrapped vp in his hide in a close house for a certeine season; but how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet sure I am of this, that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of another; as we may see by our selues, whose flesh dooth alter into lice; and also in shéepe for excessiue numbers of flesh flies, if they be suffered to lie vnburied or vneaten by the dogs and swine, who often and happilie preuent such néedlesse generations.

As concerning bées, I thinke it good to remember, that wheras some ancient writers affirme it to be a commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found to be nothing so. In old time peraduenture we had none in déed, but in my daies there is such plentie of them in maner euerie where, that in some vplandish townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hiues of them, although the said hiues are not so huge as those of the east countrie, but far lesse, as not able to conteine aboue one bushell of corne, or fiue pecks at the most. Plinie (a man that of set purpose deliteth to write of woonders) speaking of honie noteth that in the north regions the hiues in his time were of such quantitie, that some one combe conteined eight foot in length, & yet (as it should séeme) he speketh not of the greatest. For in Podolia, which is now subiect to the king of Poland, their hiues are so great, and combes so abundant, that huge bores ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can recouer & find the meanes to come out.

Honie. Our honie also is taken and reputed to be the best, bicause it is harder, better wrought, and clenlier vesselled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the sea, where they stampe and streine their combs, bées, and yoong blowings altogither into the stuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vse also of medicine our physicians and apothecaries eschew the forren, especiallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reason of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the same, as some write, and choose the home made: not onelie by reason of our soile, which hath no lesse plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and makth the best stuffe; as also for that it bréedeth (being gotten in haruest time) lesse choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue séene by experience) so white as sugar, and corned as if it were salt. Our hiues are madè commonlie of rie straw, and wadled about with bramble quarters: but some make the same of wicker, and cast them ouer with claie. Wée cherish none in trées, but set our hiues somewhere on the warmest side of the house, prouiding that they may stand drie and without danger both of the mouse and moth. This furthermore is to be noted, that wheras in vessels of oile, that which is néerest the top is counted the finest, and of wine that in the middest: so of honie the best which is heauiest and moistest is alwaies

alwaies next the bottome, and euermore casteth and driueth his dregs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid substances, whose groonds and léeze doo generallie settle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bées and English honie.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and such venemous creatures of the same kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we béetles, horseflies, turdbugs or borres (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locust or the grashopper (which to me doo séeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and such like, whereof let other intreat that make an exercise in catching of flies, but a far greater sport in offering them to spiders. As did Domitian sometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited so much to sée the iollie combats betwixt a stout flie and an old spider, that diuerse men haue had great rewards giuen them for their painfull prouision of flies made onelie for this purpose. Some parasites also in the time of the aforesaid emperour, (when they were disposed to laugh at his follie, and yet would seeme in appearance to gratifie his fantasticall head with some shew of dutifull demenour) could deuise to set their lord on worke, by letting a flesh flie priuilie into his chamber, which he foorthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other businesse set apart) and neuer ceased till he had caught hir into his fingers: wherevpon arose the prouerbe, "Ne musca quidem," vttered first by Vibius Priscus, who being asked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, answered, "Ne musca quidem," wherby he noted his follie. There are some cockescombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men transregionate, which make account also of this pastime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is séene betwene them, if either of them be lustie and couragious in his kind. One also hath made a booke of the spider and the flie, wherein he dealeth so profoundlie, and beyond all measure of skill, that neither he himselfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if those iollie fellows in stéed of the straw that they thrust into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to such a noble champion) would bestow the cost to set a fooles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more securitie and lesse reprehension behold these notable battels.

Now as concerning the locust, I am led by diuerse of my countrie, who (as they say) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when those nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie constantlie, that they saw none other creature than the grashopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was said to come to them from the Meotides. In most of our translations also of the bible, the word *Locusta* is Englished a grashopper, and therevnto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwise Iohn the Baptist would neuer haue liued with them in the wildernesse. In Barbarie, Numidia, and sundrie other places of Affrica, as they haue beene, so are they eaten to this daie powdred in barels, and therefore the people of those parts are called *Acedophagi:* neuertheles they shorten the life of the eaters by the production at the last of an irkesome and filthie disease. In India they are thrée foot long, in Ethiopia much shorter, but in England seldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath some likelihood, but not verie great, with the grashopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this case. Finallie Matthiolus, and so manie as describe the locust, doo set downe none other forme than that of our grashopper, which maketh me so much the more to rest vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locust and grashopper are one.

See Diodorus Siculus.

OF OUR ENGLISH DOGS AND THEIR QUALITIES.

CHAP. VII.

THERE is no countrie that maie (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuersitie of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now aliue, he would not send to Epyro for such merchandize: but to his further cost prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and péece of husbandrie for his common wealth, which he furnished of set purpose with Molossian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the same also with shéepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyro and Naxus, swine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatise vnto Gesner "De canibus Anglicis," bringeth them all into thrée sorts: that is, the gentle kind seruing for game: the homelie kind apt for sundrie vses: and the currish kind méet for many toies. For my part I can say no more of them than he hath doone alredie. Wherefore I will here set downe onelie a summe of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our mastiffes shall yet more largelie appeare. As for those of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were sometime killed in sacrifice, and sometime their whelps eaten as a delicate dish, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be disposed to read of them, let him resort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other woonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, mawgre the resistance of his aduersaries: also to Cardan, lib. 10. "De animalibus," Aristotle, &c: who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan, who is not afraid to compare some of them for greatnesse with oxen, and some also for smalnesse vnto the little field mouse. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who saith that the Galles did somtime buy vp all our mastiffes, to serue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they resembled the Colophonians, Castabalenses of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie also speaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The first sort therefore he diuideth either into such as rowse the beast, and continue the chase, or springeth the bird, and bewraieth hir flight by pursute. And as these are commonlie called spaniels, so the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight sorts, of which the formost excelleth in perfect smelling, the second in quicke espieng, the third in swiftnesse and quickenesse, the fourth in smelling and nimblenesse, &c: and the last in subtiltie and deceitfulnesse. These (saith Strabo) are most apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie bicause of their skill in hunting, but also for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes most exactlie. For if the hunter see anie one to follow skilfullie, and with likelihood of good successe, he biddeth the rest to harke and follow such a dog, and they eftsoones obeie so soone as they heare his name. The first kind of these are also commonlie called hariers, whose game is the fox, the hare, the woolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopstart, wesell, conie, &c: the second hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whose office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to pursue a théefe or beast by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gasehound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cherished for his strength, swiftnes, and stature, commended by Bratius in his "De venatione," and not vnremembred by Hercules Stroza in a like treatise, but aboue all other those of Britaine, where he saith:

——— & magna spectandi mole Britanni,

also by Nemesianus, libro Cynegeticôn, where he saith:

Diuisa Britannia mittit
Veloces nostríq; orbis-venatibus aptos,

of

of which sort also some be smooth, of sundrie colours, and some shake haired: the sixt a liemer, that excelleth in smelling and swift running: the seuenth a tumbler: and the eight a théefe, whose offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft so skilfull, that few men would thinke so mischiefous a wit to remaine in such sillie creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chase and hunting, he commeth next to such as serue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh also two sorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp such foule as keepeth in the water: and of these this is commonlie most vsuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he dooth shew at large. Of the first he saith, that they haue no peculiar names assigned to them seuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or serue, for which consideration some be named dogs for the feasant, some for the falcon, and some for the partrich. Howbeit the common name for all is spaniell (saith he) and therevpon alludeth, as if these kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like sort we haue of water spaniels in their kind. The third sort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the spaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the fistinghound, and those are called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. These are little and prettie, proper and fine, and sought out far and néere to satisfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes; instruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treasure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exercises, and to content their corrupt concupiscences with vaine disport, a sillie poore shift to shun their irkesome idlenes. These Sybariticall puppies, the smaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleasure also they prouoke, as méet plaiefellowes for minsing mistresses to beare in their bosoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to succour with sléepe in bed, and nourish with meat at boord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yoong Dianaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reason it should be so, for coursenesse with finenesse hath no fellowship, but featnesse with neatnesse hath neighbourhead inough. That plausible prouerbe therefore verefied sometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his sow better than his sonne, may well be applied to some of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all possibilitie of reason, than they doo in children that are capable of wisedome & iudgement. Yea, they oft féed them of the best, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the woorst. But the former abuse peraduenture reigneth where there hath beene long want of issue, else where barrennesse is the best blossome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne issue are not readie to be had. It is thought of some that it is verie wholesome for a weake stomach to beare such a dog in the bosome, as it is for him that hath the palsie to féele the dailie smell and sauour of a fox. But how truelie this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it shall suffice for Doctor Caius to haue said thus much of spaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Homelie kind of dogs.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either shepheards curs, or mastiffes. The first are so common, that it néedeth me not to speake of them. Their vse also is so well knowne in keeping the heard togither (either when they grase or go before the sheepheard) that it should be but in vaine to spend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the mastiffe, tie dog, or banddog, so called bicause manie of them are tied vp in chaines and strong bonds, in the daie time, for dooing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, stubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little swiftnesse) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Corsican cur. Our Englishmen to the intent that these dogs may be more cruell and fierce, assist nature with some art, vse and custome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, valiant, stout and bold: yet will they increase these their stomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other such like cruell and bloudie beasts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the same purpose) without anie

Tie dogs.

collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wrestling with a man (hauing for the safegard of his life either a pike staffe, club, sword, priuie coate) wherby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto strangers. The Caspians made so much account sometime of such great dogs, that euerie able man would nourish sundrie of them in his house of set purpose, to the end they should deuoure their carcases after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the most honourable sepulchers. The common people also followed the same rate, and therfore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof these beasts became the more eger, and with great difficultie after a while restreined from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digressed? In returning therefore to our owne, I saie that of mastiffes, some barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, some doo both barke and bite, but the cruellest doo either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take also their name of the word mase and théefe (or master théefe if you will) bicause they often stound and put such persons to their shifts in townes and villages, and are the principall causes of their apprehension and taking. The force which is in them surmounteth all beleefe, and the fast hold which they take with their téeth excéedeth all credit: for thrée of them against a beare, foure against a lion are sufficient to trie mastries with them. King Henrie the seauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all such curres to be hanged, bicause they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and souereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as some saie, bicause he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne presence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, saieng that it was not méet for anie subiect to offer such wrong vnto his lord and superiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the seauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue doone to one English mastiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe first an huge beare, then a pard, and last of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one daie, when the lord Buckhurst was ambassador vnto him, and whereof if I should write the circumstances, that is, how he tooke his aduantage being let lose vnto them, and finallie draue them into such excéeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I should take much paines, and yet reape but small credit: wherefore it shall suffice to haue said thus much thereof. Some of our mastiffes will rage onelie in the night, some are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such also as are suffered to go lose about the house and yard, are so gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleasures. Diuerse of them likewise are of such gelousie ouer their maister and whosoeuer of his houshold, that if a stranger doo imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame mischéefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king sometime of Bithinia, who séeing Consigne the quéene to imbrace and kisse hir husband as they walked togither in a garden, did teare hir all to peeces, mauger his resistance, and the present aid of such as attended on them. Some of them moreouer will suffer a stranger to come in and walke about the house or yard where him listeth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put foorth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither those that were of my house to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and loue towards their maisters than horsses; as may appeare euen by the confidence that Masinissa reposed in them, in so much that mistrusting his houshold seruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treasons and conspiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of lesse force than the Molossian race, brought from Epiro into some countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the brasen dog that Vulcan made,

Some barke and bite not. Some bite and barke not.

made, and gaue to Iupiter, who also deliuered the same to Europa, she to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulnesse to the mastiffe of Alexander Phereus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maister long time from slaughter, till at the last he was remooued by policie, and the tyrant killed sléeping: the storie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the said Phereus and hir three brethren conspired the death of hir husband, who fearing the dog onelie, she found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another house hard by, whilest they should execute their purpose. Neuerthelesse, when they came to the bed where he laie sléeping, they waxed faint harted, till she did put them in choise, either that they should dispatch him at once, or else that she hir selfe would wake hir husband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the least wise bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared most of all: and therefore quicklie dispatched him.

The last sort of dogs consisteth of the currish kind méet for manie toies: of which the whappet or prickeard curre is one. Some men call them warners, bicause they are good for nothing else but to barke and giue warning when anie bodie dooth stirre or lie in wait about the house in the night season. Certes it is vnpossible to describe these curs in anie order, bicause they haue no anie one kind proper vnto themselues, but are a confused companie mixt of all the rest. The second sort of them are called turne spits, whose office is not vnknowne to anie. And as these are onelie reserued for this purpose, so in manie places our mastiffes (beside the vse which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made to draw water in great whéeles out of déepe wels, going much like vnto those which are framed for our turne spits, as is to be séene at Roiston, where this feat is often practised. Besides these also we haue sholts or curs dailie brought out of Iseland, and much made of among vs, bicause of their sawcinesse and quarrelling. Moreouer they bite verie sore, and loue candles excéedinglie, as doo the men and women of their countrie: but I may saie no more of them, bicause they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for pastimes sake, that when a great man of those parts came of late into one of our ships which went thither for fish, to see the forme and fashion of the same, his wife apparrelled in fine sables, abiding on the decke whilest hir husband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, espied a pound or two of candles hanging at the mast, and being loth to stand there idle alone, she fell to and eat them vp euerie one, supposing hir selfe to haue béene at a iollie banket, and shewing verie plesant gesture when hir husband came vp againe vnto hir.

The last kind of toiesh curs are named dansers, and those being of a mongrell sort also, are taught & exercised to danse in measure at the musicall sound of an instrument, as at the iust stroke of a drum, sweet accent of the citharne, and pleasant harmonie of the harpe, shewing manie trickes by the gesture of their bodies: as to stand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailes in their teeth, to saw and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and sundrie such properties, which they learne of their idle rogish masters whose instruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured short wasted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who séeke no better liuing, than that which they may get by fond pastime and idlenesse. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betwéene a bitch and a woolfe, and called *Lycisca*: a thing verie often séene in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie their sault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: also betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we vtterlie want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs: so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendered and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in déed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betwéene the beare and the bandog. For whatsoeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner teare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither woolfe, beare, nor lion, and therfore may well be compared with those

those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (& procreated as it is thought betwéene a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betwéene shée woolfes and dogs, whereof let this suffice; sith the further tractation of them dooth not concerne my purpose, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, "De subt." lib. 10. who saith, that after manie generations, dogs doo become woolfes, and contrariwise; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie woolfes: but nature hath set a difference betwéene them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is vnpossible that his assertion can be sound.

OF OUR SAFFRON, AND THE DRESSING THEREOF.

CHAP. VIII.

AS the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, neither to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Ætolia, Sicilia or Licia, in swéetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that grows about Saffron Walden, somtime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Glocester shire and those westerlie parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The root of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not cloued as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance "Inter bulbosa," as Orchis, hyacinthus orientalis, and Statyrion. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogither so brickle as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe flourisheth the root is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small roots die, so that when the time dooth come to take them vp, they haue no roots at all, but so continue vntill September that they doo grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neat may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were haie or stuble, some also will wroot for them in verie eager maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come vp alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our siues. Sometimes our cattell will féed vpon the same; neuerthelesse, if it be bitten whilest it is gréene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to kéepe it from such annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then also will the cattell soonest tast thereof: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie thrée chiues, and three yellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted floures I speake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow togither, which bring foorth fiue chiues, so that alwaies there is an od chiue and od yellow, though thrée or foure floures should come out of one root. The whole herbe is named in Gréeke *Crocos*, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) *Castor*, *Cynomorphos*, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian spéech, (from whence we borow the name which we giue thervnto) I find that it is called *Zahafaran*, as Rembert dooth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called Crocus was this (as the poets feigne) speciallie those from whome Galen hath borowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke "De medicamentis secundum loca," where he writeth after this maner (although I take Crocus to be the first that vsed this cõmoditie.) A certeine yong gentleman called Crocus went to plaie at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being héedlesse of himselfe, Mercuries coit happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby

Occasion of the name.

whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogither, to the great discomfort of his freends. Finallie, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, wherevpon the people seeing the colour of the chiue as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of the blood of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ verie much from Ouids Metamorphos. 4. who writeth also thereof. Indéed the chiue, while it remaineth whole & vnbrused, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yéeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to doo with fables?

The heads of saffron are raised in Iulie, either with plough, raising, or tined hooke; and being scowred from their rosse or filth, and seuered from such heads as are ingendred of them since the last setting, they are interred againe in Iulie and August by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle fillets and small roots like vnto a scallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all wéeds and grasse that groweth vpon the same remooued, to the intent that nothing may annoie the floure when as his time dooth come to rise. Paring.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the floure beginneth to appeere of a whitish blew, fesse or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotion of Theophrast, sauing that it is longer, and hath in the middest thereof thrée chiues verie red and pleasant to behold. These floures are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or flitter. And the chiues being picked from the floures, these are throwne into the doonghill; the other dried vpon little kelles couered with streined canuasses vpon a soft fire: wherby, and by the weight that is laied vpon them, they are dried and pressed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeeres we gather foure score or an hundred pounds of wet saffron of an acre, which being dried dooth yeeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and sith the price of saffron is commonlie about twentie shillings in monie, or not so little, it is easie to sée what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the setter, which indeed are great, but yet not so much as he shall be thereby a looser, if he be anie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre dooth cost 13 shillings foure pence before the saffron be set, the clodding sixtéene pence, the taking of euerie load of stones from the same foure pence, the raising of euerie quarter of heads six pence, and so much for clensing of them, besides the rent of ten shillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of doong which is woorth six pence the load to be laid on the first yéere, for the setting three and twentie shillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue shillings, six pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie set, and paie ten pounds for the same, yet shall he susteine no damage, if warme weather and open season doo happen at the gathering. This also is to be noted, that euerie acre asketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten foot in breadth. And after thrée yeeres that ground will serue well, and without compest for barleie by the space of eightéene or twentie yéeres togither, as experience dooth confirme. The heads also of euerie acre at the raising will store an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the best saffron is gathered at the first; at which time foure pounds of wet saffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middest fiue pounds of the one will make but one of the other, because the chiue waxeth smaller, as six at the last will doo no more but yéeld one of the dried, by reason of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeeres also the same ground may be set with saffron againe. And in lieu of a conclusion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will prosper best in a lighter soile; and contrariwise: which is one note that our crokers doo carefullie obserue. Gathering. Sée Rembert.

The heads are raised euerie third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midsummer, when the rosse commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the first yéere after they be set they yéeld verie little increase: yet that which then commeth is counted the finest and greatest chiue, & Raising.

best

best for medicine, and called saffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raise againe about Walden and in Cambridge shire. In this period of time also the heads are said to child, that is, to yéeld out of some parts of them diuerse other headlets, whereby it hath béene séene, that some one head hath béene increased (though with his owne detriment) to three, or foure, or fiue, or six, which augmentation is the onlie cause wherby they are sold so good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne foure bushels or a coome of them to be valued much aboue two shillings eight pence, except in some od yéeres that they arise to eight or ten shillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great store of winters water hath rotted the most of them as they stood within the ground, or heat in summer parched and burnt them vp.

In Norffolke and Suffolke they raise but once in seuen yéeres: but as their saffron is not so fine as that of Cambridgeshire and about Walden, so it will not cake, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this stuffe. Some craftie iackes vse to mix it with scraped brazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which commeth somewhat neere indeed to the hue of our good saffron (if it be late gathered) but it is soone bewraied both by the depth of the colour and hardnesse. Such also was the plentie of saffron about twentie yeeres passed, that some of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and sent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whilest the rest, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods blessing bestowed vpon them (as wishing rather more scarsitie thereof because of the kéeping vp of the price) in most contemptuous maner murmured against him, saieng that he did shite saffron therewith to choake the market. But as they shewed themselues no lesse than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, so the Lord considered their vnthankfulnesse, & gaue them euer since such scarsitie, as the greatest murmurers haue now the least store; and most of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine scarse able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie decaied about Saffron Walden since the said time, vntill now of late within these two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the same, because of the great commoditie. But to procéed. When the heads be raised and taken vp, they will remaine sixteene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by saint Iames tide, or verie shortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midsummer, or beginning of Iulie, the heads will shrinke like a rosted warden: so after August they will wax drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried some of them to London with me; and notwithstanding that they haue remained there vnset by the space of fortie dais and more: yet some of them haue brought foorth two or three floures a peece, and some floures three or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of such as haue gathered the same, and not béene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or saffron men doo vse an obseruation a litle before the comming vp of the floure, and sometime in the taking vp at Midsummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and scarsitie of this commoditie to come. For if they sée as it were manie small hairie veines of saffron to be in the middest of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to saie truth, at the cleauing of ech head, a man shall discerne the saffron by the colour, and sée where abouts the chiue will issue out of the root. Warme darke nights, swéet dews, fat grounds (chéeflie the chalkie) and mistie mornings are verie good for saffron; but frost and cold doo kill and keepe backe the floure, or else shrinke vp the chiue. And thus much haue I thought good to speake of English saffron, which is hot in the second and drie in the first degrée, and most plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yéere wherein ewes twin most. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, so I am otherwise sure, that there is no more deceit vsed in anie trade than in saffron. For in the making they will grease the papers on the kell with a little candle grease, to make the woorst saffron haue so good a colour as the best: afterwards also they will sprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both these are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a siluer spoone, or by the softnesse thereof

betwéene

betwéene the fore finger and the thumbe; or thirdlie, by the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worse saffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the swartnesse of the chiue, which otherwise would excell it, and therevnto being sound, remaine crispe, brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden néere the face, will strike a certeine biting heat vpon the skin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indéed among the skilfull crokers.

Now if it please you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note these insuing at the request of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatsoeuer breuitie I listed. Therefore our saffron (beside the manifold vse that it hath in the kitchin and pastrie, also in our cakes at bridals, and thanksgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with those medicins which we take for the diseases of the breast, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good also for the stomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the same and maketh good digestion: being sodden also in wine, it not onelie kéepeth a man from droonkennesse, but incorageth also vnto procreation of issue. If you drinke it in sweet wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is good for those that are troubled with the tisike and shortnesse of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it staieth such humors as descend into the same, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be sowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in presses amongst tapistrie or apparell: also it is verie profitablie laid vnto all inflammations, painefull aposthumes, and the shingles; and dooth no small ease vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with such medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vse also in ripening of botches and all swellings procéeding of raw humors. Or if it shall please you to drinke the root thereof with maluesie, it will maruellouslie prouoke vrine, dissolue and expell grauell, and yéeld no small ease to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, thrée drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one shilling nine pence halfepenie, is deadlie poison; as Dioscorides dooth affirme: and droonke in wine (saith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. "De honesta voluptate," dooth hast on droonkennesse, which is verie true. And I haue knowne some, that by eating onelie of bread more than of custome streined with saffron, haue become like droonken men, & yet otherwise well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this also, if a man doo but open and ransake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants doo when they buie it of the crokers, it will strike such an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they shall be giddie and sicke (I meane for two or three houres space) their noses and eies in like sort will yéeld such plentie of rheumatike water, that they shall be the better for it long after, especiallie their eiesight, which is woonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit some merchants not liking of this physike, muffle themselues as women doo when they ride, and put on spectacles set in leather, which dooth in some measure (but not for altogither) put by the force thereof. There groweth some saffron in manie places of Almaine, and also about Vienna in Austria, which later is taken for the best that springeth in those quarters. In steed of this some doo vsé the Carthamus, called amongst vs bastard saffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in any wise comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this suffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horsse so well as in Walden and Cambridgeshire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of some also to be cherished alreadie in Glocestershire, and certeine other places westward. But of the finenesse and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countriemen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue prooued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or wooll. But alas! so idle are we, and heretofore so much giuen to ease, by reason of the smalnesse of our rents, that few men regard to search out which are their best commodities. But if landlords hold on to raise the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and scratch out their rent from

vnder euerie clod that may be turned aside. The greatest mart for saffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an especiall weight for the same of ten pounds lesse in the hundred than that of Florens and Luke: but how it agréeth with ours it shall appéere hereafter.

OF QUARRIES OF STONE FOR BUILDING.

CHAP. IX.

QUARRIES with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our stone to build withall, & of these as we haue great plentie in England, so are they of diuerse sorts, and those verie profitable for sundrie necessarie vses. In times past the vse of stone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houses, princely palaces, bishops manours, and holds onlie: but now that scrupulous obseruation is altogither infringed, and building with stone so commonlie taken vp, that amongst noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are supposed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and least continuance of all. It farre passeth my cunning to set downe how manie sorts of stone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, such is the curiositie of our countrimen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, doo commonlie leaue these naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie consumed and spent, to the no small decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perish oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in misliking of our owne commodities at home, and desiring those of other countries abroad, most estéemed the cane stone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in these our daies following the same veine, doo couet in their works almost to vse none other. Howbeit experience on the one side, and our skilfull masons on the other (whose iudgement is nothing inferiour to those of other countries) doo affirme, that in the north and south parts of England, and certeine other places, there are some quarries, which for hardnesse and beautie are equall to the outlandish greet. This maie also be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greatest part of the square stone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white frée stone, slate, and méere stone, which is betwéene Pentowen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine stuffe. Other doo speake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Milberie, and pauing stone of Burbecke. For toph stone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dreslie, diuerse mislike not of the veines of hard stone that are at Oxford, and Burford. One praiseth the free stone at Manchester, & Prestburie in Glocestershire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard stone in Clee hill in Shropshire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, and good inough in England, sufficient for vs to build withall, if the péeuish contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch such foolish hold vpon vs. It is also verified (as anie other waie) that all nations haue rather néed of England, than England of anie other. And this I thinke may suffice for the substance of our works. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of sundrie kinds of course & fine marble are there to be had in England? But chieflie one in Staffordshire, an other neere to the Peke, the third at Vauldrie, the fourth at Snothill (longing to the lord Chaindois) the fift at Eglestone, which is of blacke marble, spotted with graie or white spots, the sixt not farre from Durham. Of white marble also we haue store, and so faire as the Marpesian of Paris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the most excellent? sith these which I haue

haue named alredie are not altogither of the best, nor scarselie of anie value in comparison of those, whose places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble spotted with greene is none of the vilest sort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and also in Westminster, where some péeces thereof are yet to be séene and marked, if anie will looke for them. If marble will not serue, then haue we the finest alabaster that maie elsewhere bée had, as about saint Dauids of Wales; also neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leicester, & taken to be the best, although there are diuerse other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, as in Yorkeshire, &c: and fullie so good as that, whose names at this time are out of my remembrance. What should I talke of the plaister of Axholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in sundrie places of Lincolne and Darbishires, wherewith they blanch their houses in stead of lime, I speake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaster. But sith it is sold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and course. For my part I cannot skill of stone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vse for plaister of paris, and such is the mine of it, that the stones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the same is an excéeding hard stone verie profitable for building, as hath often times béene prooued. This is also to be marked further of our plaister white and graie, that not contented with the same, as God by the quarrie dooth send and yéeld it foorth, we haue now deuised to cast it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and fashion we list, euen as alabaster it selfe: and with such stuffe sundrie houses in Yorkshire are furnished of late. But of what continuance this deuise is like to proue, the time to come shall easilie bewraie. In the meane time sir Rafe Burcher knight hath put the deuise in practise, and affirmeth that six men in six moneths shall trauell in that trade to sée greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in six yéares could before this tricke was inuented.

If neither alabaster nor marble dooth suffice, we haue the touchstone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, shining as glasse, either to match in sockets with our pillers of alabaster, or contrariwise: or if it please the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaster or touch with sockets of brasse, pewter, or copper, we want not also these mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own but other mens do most of all delite vs; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorsses for children, dogs of wax or of chéese, two pennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for milstones, that are to be had in diuerse places of our countrie, as in Angleseie, Kent, also at Queene hope of blew gréet, of no lesse value than the Colaine, yea than the French stones: our grindstones for hardware men. Our whetstones are no lesse laudable than those of Creta & Lacédemonia, albeit we vse no oile with them, as they did in those parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Naxians doo with theirs: whereas they that grow in Cilicia must haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or else they make no edge. These also are diuided either into the hard greet, as the common that shoomakers vse, or the soft gréet called hones, to be had among the barbars, and those either blacke or white, and the rub or brickle stone which husbandmen doo occupie in the whetting of their sithes.

In like maner slate of sundrie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the shalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this wée must fetch them still from farre, as did the Hull men their stones out of Iseland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England: or as sir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the stones in Flanders, wherwith he paued the Burse. But as he will answer peraduenture, that he bargained for the whole mould and substance of his workemanship in Flanders: so the Hullanders or Hull men will saie, how that stockefish is light loding, and therfore they did balasse their vessels with these Iseland stones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their so tedious a voiage.

And thus much brieflie of our quarries of stone for building, wherein oftentimes the workemen haue found strange things inclosed, I meane liuelie creatures shut vp in the hard stones, and liuing there without respiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c: whereof you shall read more in the chronologie following: also in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amsterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. "De rebus metallicis," and Goropius in Niloscopio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime also they find pretious stones (though seldome) and some of them perfectlie squared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was so perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in the world had cõsulted about the performance of that workemanship. I know that these reports vnto some will séeme incredible, and therefore I stand the longer vpon them; neuerthelesse omitting to speake particularlie of such things as happen amongst vs, and rather séeking to confirme the same by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof shall so much the better appeare. For in the middest of a stone not long since found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was séene *Caput panisci* inclosed therin, very perfectlie formed as the beholders doo remember. How come the grains of gold to be so fast inclosed in the stones that are & haue béene found in the Spanish Bætis? But this is most maruellous, that a most delectable and sweet oile, comparable to the finest balme, or oile of spike in smell, was found naturallie included in a stone, which could not otherwise be broken but with a smiths hammer. Goropius dooth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then * committed into hard stone, vpon the top of a crag. Aristotle and Theophrast speake of fishes digged out of the earth, farre from the sea in Greece, which Seneca also confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a serpent was fõund fast inclosed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, so that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of stone at Auignion, wherein a man had béene buried, which so filled the roome, and laie so close from aire, that all men woondered how it was possible for the same to liue and continue so long time there. Finallie I my selfe haue séene stones opened, and within them the substances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far shorter) whose crests and wrinkles of bodie appeared also therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the stones by art and industrie of man. Wherefore to affirme; that as well liuing creatures, as pretious stones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries, shall not hereafter be a thing so incredible as manie talking philosophers, void of all experience, doo affirme, and wilfullie mainteine against such as hold the contrarie.

[*Sic.]

OF SUNDRIE MINERALS.

CHAP. X.

WITH how great benefits this Iland of ours hath béene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confesse, and yéeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the same. For we are blessed euerie waie, & there is no temporall commoditie necessarie to be had or craued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in most aboundant maner bestowed vpon vs Englishmen, if we could sée to vse it, & be thankefull for the same. But alas (as I said in the chapter precedent) we loue to inrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling toie not woorth the cariage, cõming (as the prouerbe saith) in thrée ships from beyond the sea is more woorth with vs, than a right good iewell, easie to be had at home. They haue also the cast to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they see that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be so that they haue also the like in their owne countries) they will suddenlie abase the same to so low a price, that our gaine not being woorthie our trauell, and the same commoditie with lesse cost readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it causeth

vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, to obteine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cause wherefore our commodities are oft so little estéemed of. Some of them can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practise vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science! But to my purpose.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke siluer, antimonie, sulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue also the finest alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greatest fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a subiect hath béene of late egregiouslie abused, and euen almost with barbarous inciuilitie) & of no lesse force against fire, if it were vsed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vse somtime amongst the Asians & Romans, & wherof Sylla had such triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes set it on fire in a long time, bicause it was washed ouer with alume, as were also the gates of the temple of Jerusalem with like effect, and perceiued when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the same. Beside this we haue also the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the sulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and yet burned in lamps where oile is scant and geason: the chrysocolla, coperis, and minerall stone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is most strange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatnesse and colour most excellent of all other, so are they digged out of the maine land, and in sundrie places far distant from the shore. Certes the westerne part of the land hath in times past greatlie abounded with these and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are washed awaie by the violence of the sea, which hath deuoured the greatest part of Cornewall and Deuonshire on either side: and it dooth appéere yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great distance betweene the Syllan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to speke of scarselie a brooke or draine of one fadam water betwéene them, if so much, as by those euidences appeereth, and are yet to be séene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of those Iles. But to procéed. The lord Mountioy.

Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they doo hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherrished than it is at this present. And to saie the truth, notwithstanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greatest trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appéere alreadie in most cities and townes that lie about the coast, where they haue but little other fewell, except it be turffe and hassocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of these into Sussex and Southhampton shire, for want whereof the smiths doo worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cause, which is but a slender excuse to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Beside our colemines we haue pits in like sort of white plaster, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitors doo compest their soile, and which dooth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue saltpeter for our ordinance, and salt soda for our glasse, & thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I weene hard by Codington, and sometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is so fine to make moulds for goldsmiths and casters of mettall, that a load of it was woorth fiue shillings thirtie yeares agone: none such againe they saie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for these and other his benefits bestowed vpon vs, whereby he sheweth himselfe a louing and mercifull father vnto

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vs, which contrariewise returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednesse, auarice, meere contempt of his will, pride, excesse, atheisme, and no lesse than Iewish ingratitude.

OF METTALS TO BE HAD IN OUR LAND.

CHAP. XI.

ALL mettals receiue their beginning of quicksiluer and sulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And such is the purpose of nature in their generations: that she tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, neuerthelesse she sildome reacheth vnto that hir end, because of the vnequall mixture and proportion of these two in the substance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or lesse, dooth shew it selfe in the mettall that is producted. First of all therefore the substance of sulphur and quicksiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, orderlie ingrossed and fixed, becommeth gold, which Encelius dooth call the sunne and right heire of nature: but if it swarue but a little (saith he) in the commixtion and other circumstances, then dooth it product siluer the daughter, not so noble a child as gold hir brother, which among mettall is worthilie called the cheefe. Contrariwise, the substances of the aforesaid parents mixed without proportion, and lesse digested and fixed in the entrailes of the earth, whereby the radicall moisture becommeth combustible and not of force to indure heat and hammer, dooth either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the first mettals knowne in time past vnto antiquitie, although that in these daies there are diuerse other, whereof neither they nor our alchumists had euer anie knowledge. Of these therfore which are reputed among the third sort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, so will I intreat of them, and with such breuitie as may serue the turne, and yet not altogither omit to saie somewhat of gold and siluer also, bicause I find by good experience how it was not said of old time without great reason, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it selfe of none. For truelie if a man regard such necessities as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the sunne, that can saie so much as ours: sith we doo want none that are conuenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void of some, neither likewise of siluer: whatsoeuer Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16. in whose time they were not found, "Britannici belli exitus (saith he) expectatur, constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse vllum in illa insula, neque vllam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipijs, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos expectare.' And albeit that we haue no such abundance of these (as some other countries doo yéeld) yet haue my rich countrimen store inough of both in their pursses, where in time past they were woont to haue least, bicause the garnishing of our churches, tabernacles, images, shrines and apparell of the préests consumed the greatest part, as experience hath confirmed.

Gold. Siluer.

Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the west Indies, from whence they haue brought some gold, whereby our countrie is inriched: but of all that euer aduentured into those parts, none haue sped better than sir Francis Drake whose successe 1582 hath far passed euen his owne expectation. One Iohn Frobisher in like maner attempting to séeke out a shorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable sea and kingdomé of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and so much that some letted not to giue out for certeintie, that Salomón had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden shew made him so desirous also of like successe, that he left off his former voiage, & returned home to bring news of such things as he had seene. But when after another voiage it was found to

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be but drosse, he gaue ouer both the enterprises, and now keepeth home without anie desire at all to séeke into farre countries. In truth, such was the plentie of ore there séene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furnished all the world with abundance of that mettall; the iorneie also was short and performed in foure or fiue moneths, which was a notable incouragement. But to proceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marsilis from hence, as Diodorus also confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonshire (& else-where in the north) the other in Darbishire, Weredale, and sundrie places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen doo reape no small commoditie, but especiallie our pewterers, who in time past imploied the vse of pewter onelie vpon dishes, pots, and a few other trifles for seruice here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto such exquisit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infusion anie forme or fashion of cup, dish, salt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldsmiths craft, though they be neuer so curious, exquisite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of houshold of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of vessell, is sold vsuallie by the garnish, which dooth conteine twelue platters, twelue dishes, twelue saucers, and those are either of siluer fashion, or else with brode or narrow brims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at six or seuen pence, or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I speake not, albeit that in the making of all these things there is such exquisite diligence vsed, I meane for the mixture of the mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reason of sharpe laws prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade. I haue béene also informed that it consisteth of a composition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle brasse to a thousand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad thrée or foure pounds of tinglasse: but as too much of this dooth make the stuffe brickle, so the more the brasse be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that dooth buie and purchase the same. But to proceed. Tin. Lead.

In some places beyond the sea a garnish of good flat English pewter of an ordinarie making (I saie flat, bicause dishes and platters in my time begin to be made déepe like basons, and are indéed more conuenient both for sawce, broth, and kéeping the meat warme) is estéemed almost so pretious, as the like number of vessels that are made of fine siluer, and in maner no lesse desired amongst the great estates, whose workmen are nothing so skilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall so good, nor plentie so great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glasses of our English tin, howbeit our workemen were not then so exquisite in that feat as the Brundusiens: wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were those glasses estéemed of till siluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into such contempt, that in manner euerie dishwasher refused to looke in other than siluer glasses for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of siluer glasses had béene in vse before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Praxiteles deuised them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Cæsar into this Iland.

There were mines of lead sometimes also in Wales, which indured so long till the people had consumed all their wood by melting of the same (as they did also at Comeristwith six miles from Stradfleur) and I suppose that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he speaketh) was to be found in those parts, in the seauentéenth of his thirtie fourth booke: also he affirmeth that it laie in the verie swart of the earth, and dailie gotten in such plentie, that the Romans made a restraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much should yearelie be wrought and transported ouer the sea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling néere Comeristwith (as Leland saith) had made so tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where soeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the first mine was knowne to be, did laie his pursse and girdle by him, as men commonlie doo that addresse themselues to applie their businesse earnestlie, and he himselfe also had vsed from time to time before. The crow likewise was verie busie flittering about him, and

and so much molested him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be short, in the end the crow hastilie caught vp his girdle and pursse, and made awaie withall so fast as hir wings could carrie hir. Héerevpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to lose peraduenture all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, cursing and menacing that he should lose his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the means whereby his life was saued, for he had not béene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I should take vpon me to discourse and search out the cause of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I should peraduenture set my selfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I persuaded, that the crow was Gods instrument herein, wherby the life of this poore labourer was preserued. It was doone also in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a shoomaker of Dutch land in his shop or stoue: who séeing the same to sit vpon the pearch among his shoone, verie heauilie and drousie, said vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, whie art thou sad and pensiue? The crow hearing his maister speake after this sort vnto him, answered (or else the diuell within him) out of the psalter: "Cogitaui dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui." But whither am I digressed, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and resume the tractation of such things as I had earst in hand.

Iron. Iron is found in manie places, as in Sussex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walshall, as also in Shropshire, but chéeflie in the woods betwixt Beluos and Willocke or Wicberie néere Manchester, and elsewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerse doo bring foorth so fine and good stuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the sea, beside the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would so accept it, or bestow a little more cost in the refining of it. It is also of such toughnesse, that it yéeldeth to the making of claricord wire in some places of the realme. Neuerthelesse, it was better cheape with vs when strangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vse it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to shut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expense and waste of wood, as dooth the making of our pots and table vessell of glasse, wherein is much losse sith it is so quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) easie to be made tougher, if our alchumists could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whose mixture would induce a metallicall toughnesse vnto it, whereby it should abide the hammer.

Copper. Copper is latelie not found, but rather restored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as strangers haue most commonly the gouernance of our mines, so they hitherto make small gains of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit dooth verie hardlie counteruaile the charges; wherat wise men doo not a litle maruell, considering the abundance which that mine dooth séeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Leland our countrieman noteth sundrie great likelihoods of naturall copper mines to be eastwards, as betwéene Dudman and Trewardth in the sea cliffes, beside other places, whereof diuerse are noted here and there in sundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it shall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchasite, I speake not of it, sith it is not incident to my purpose. In Dorsetshire also a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

Stéele. As for our stéele, it is not so good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often sold for the other, and like tale vsed in both, that is to saie, thirtie gads to the sheffe, and twelue sheffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our spoones and some salts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with some, albeit in truth it be much subiect to corruption, putrifaction, more heauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet some ignorant persons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie same which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wisemute, mithan, & counterfeie, adding, that where it groweth, siluer can not be farre off. Neuerthelesse it is knowne to be a mixture

of

of brasse, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vsed in pewter. But alas I am persuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumists of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof doo séeme to come out of their forge. For the common sort indeed doo call it alchumie, an vnwholsome mettall (God wot) and woorthie to be banished and driuen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this discourse, as hauing no more to saie of the mettals of my countrie, except I should talke of brasse, bell mettall, and such as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but saie that there is some brasse found also in England, but so small is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be estéemed or accounted of.

OF PRETIOUS STONES.

CHAP. XII.

THE old writers remember few other stones of estimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates:* wherevnto furthermore they ascribe sundrie properties, as vsuallie practised here in times past, whereof none of our writers doo make anie mention at all. Howbeit whatsoeuer it hath pleased a number of strangers (vpon false surmise) to write of the vsages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof against the time of their bestowing in mariage: certeine it is that euen to this daie there is some plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbishire and about Barwike, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundrie trifling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing so fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as these men are drowned with the common errour conceiued of our nation, so I am sure that in discerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like stones bred about Luke and all other countries wheresoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus also writing of the same among other of estimation, saith thus: Geat. Laon. Chalchondile.

Nascitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium fæcunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger est, leuis & leuissimus idem,
Vicinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, restinguitur vnctus oliuo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, so I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioscorides saith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforesaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vse of it in driuing awaie of serpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glased the church withall that standeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light should enter therby. The writers also diuide this stone into fiue kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another straked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerse colours, among which some are like drops of bloud (but those come out of Inde) and the fift shining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the first stones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, so our pearles also did match with it in renowme; in so much that the onelie desire of them caused Cæsar to aduenture hither, after he had séene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a taberd which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hoong long after as a rich and notable oblation and testimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in these our daies, and thereto

of diuerse colours, in no lesse numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now so much desired bicause of their smalnesse, and also for other causes, but especiallie sith churchworke, as copes, vestments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and such trash, are worthilie abolished; vpon which our countrimen superstitiously bestowed no small quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops miters, bookes and other pontificall vestures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garnished with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewise speaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & insignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus also Lib. 23, "in ipso fine," speaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie those of Persia before them, which to me dooth séeme vnequallie doone. But as the British geat or orient pearle were in old time estéemed aboue those of other countries; so time hath since the conquest of the Romans reuealed manie other: insomuch that at this season there are found in England the Aetites (in English called the ernestone, but for erne some pronounce eagle) and the hematite or bloodstone, and these verie pure and excellent: also the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the christall, and those other which we call calaminares and speculares, besides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to sight, is yet much softer (as most are that are found & bred toward the north) than those that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue also vpon our coast the white corall, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the sea in the albe, néere to the fall of Tangrá, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioscorides intreateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like sort sundrie other stones dailie found in cliffes and rocks (beside the load stone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof such as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or else doo make but small account, being seduced by outlandish lapidaries, whereof the most part discourage vs from the searching and séeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more frée vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongst such as haue no skill.

Triall of a stone.

I haue heard that the best triall of a stone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and so to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the stone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, especiallie toward the naile, then is it not sound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall péece of practise. If this be true it is an experiment woorthie the noting. Cardan also hath it in his "De subtilitate;" if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who saieth, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made some vessels of the same wood, which refuse no kind of liquor, and therefore I suppose that there is no such *Antipathia* betweene wine and our iuie, as some of our reading philosophers (without all maner of practise) will seeme to infer amongst vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Gréece or Italie may haue such a propertie; but why should not the iuie then of France somewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter soile than ours is? For as Baptista porta saith, it holdeth not also in the French iuie, wherfore I can not beléeue that it hath anie such qualitie at all as Cato ascribeth vnto it. What should I say more of stones? Trulie I can not tell, sith I haue said what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more than I thinke necessarie: and that causeth me to passe ouer those that are now & then taken out of our oisters, todes, muskels, snailes and adders, and likewise such as are found vpon sundrie hils in Glocestershire, which haue naturallie such sundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as passe all humane possibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer so skilfull and cunning, also those that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much desired of such as haue the stone, & yet of themselues are no stones but rather shels or gristles, which in time consume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if those which are found in muskels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in déed, I haue at sundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them,

Lib. 7.

of

of which diuerse haue holes alreadie entered by nature, some of them not much inferiour to great peason in quantitie, and thereto of sundrie colours, as it happeneth amongst such as are brought from the esterlie coast to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, stale stinking fish and welked muskels are thought to be good meat; for other fish is too déere amongst vs when law dooth bind vs to vse it. Sée more for the generation of pearls in the description of Scotland, for there you shall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, because of the cléerenesse, which resembleth the colour of the cléere aire before the rising of the sun. They are also sought for in the later end of August, a little before which time the swéetnesse of the dew is most conuenient for that kind of fish, which dooth ingender and conceiue them, whose forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north also that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their substances of better valure, as lapidaries doo giue out.

OF SALT MADE IN ENGLAND.

CHAP. XIII.

THERE are in England certein welles where salt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantlie in his cõmentaries of Britaine, and whose words onlie I will set downe in English as he wrote them, bicause he seemeth to haue had diligent consideration of the same, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where necessitie dooth inforce me for the méere aid of the reader, in the vnderstanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iournie from Worcester in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he saith thus: From Worcester I road to the Wich by inclosed soile, hauing meetlie good corne ground, sufficient wood and good pasture, about a six miles off, Wich standeth somewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two small hils on the left ripe (for so he calleth the banke of euerie brooke through out all his English-treatises) of a pretie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope brooke. The beautie of the towne in maner standeth in one stréet, yet be there manie lanes in the towne besides. There is also a meane church in the maine stréet, and once in the wéeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it selfe is somewhat foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reason of much cariage through the stréets, which are verie ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduancement also hereof is by making of salt. And though the commoditie thereof be singular great, yet the burgesses be poore generallie, bicause gentlemen haue for the most part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whilest the poore burgesses yeeld vnto all the labour. There are at this present time thrée hundred salters, and thrée salt springs in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butshoot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this spring is double so profitable in yeelding of salt liquor, as both the other. Some saie (or rather fable) that this salt spring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich bishop of Chichester, and that afterwards by his intercession it was restored to the profit of the old course (such is the superstition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wich men and salters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vsed of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this salt spring or well about with tapistrie, and to haue sundrie games, drinkings, and foolish reuels at it. But to procéed. There be a great number of salt cotes about this well, wherein the salt water is sodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white salt. The other two salt springs be on the left side of the riuer a pretie waie lower than the first, and (as I found) at the verie end of the towne. At these also be diuerse fornaces to make salt, but the profit and plentie of these two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riseth by the greatest. I asked of a salter how manie fornaces they had at all the three springs, and he numbred them to eightéene score, that is, thrée hundred and sixtie, saieng how euerie one of them

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the bush but another catcheth the birds, as we may sée in batfowling.

paied yearelie six shillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and therevpon they giue a fee farme (or *Vectigal*) of one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the pension is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increased to foure hundred. There was of late search made for another salt spring there abouts, by the meanes of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appéereth, as dooth also the wood and timber which was set about it, to kéepe vp the earth from falling into the same. But this pit was not since occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the salt spring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. Me thinke that if wood and sale of salt would serue, they might dig and find more salt springs about the Wich than three, but there is somewhat else in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a salt spring was found in an other quarter of Worcestershire, but it grew to be without anie vse, sith the Wich men haue such a priuilege, that they alone in those quarters shall haue the making of salt. The pits be so set about with gutters, that the salt water is easilie turned to euerie mans house, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of such as dwell on the other side of the same. They séeth also their salt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the salt some in cases of wicker, through which the water draineth, and the salt remaineth. There be also two or three but verie little salt springs at Dertwitch, in a low bottome, where salt is sometime made.

Priuileges doo somtimes harme.

Of late also a mile from Cumbremere abbaie a peece of an hill did sinke, and in the same pit rose a spring of salt water, where the abbat began to make salt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & couent that there should be none made there, whereby the pit was suffered to go to losse. And although it yéelded salt water still of it selfe, yet it was spoiled at the last and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vse the cõmoditie of their salt springs in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by six moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midsummer to Christmas, as (I gesse) to mainteine the price of salt, or for sauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reason. For making of salt is a great and notable destruction of wood, and shall be greater hereafter, except some prouision be made for the better increase of firing. The lacke of wood also is alreadie perceiued in places néere the Wich, for whereas they vsed to buie and take their wood neere vnto their occupiengs, those woonted springs are now decaied, and they be inforced to seeke their wood so far as Worcester towne, and all the parts about Brenisgraue, Alchirch, and Alcester. I asked a salter how much wood he supposed yearelie to be spent at these fornaces? and he answered that by estimation there was consumed about six thousand load, and it was round pole wood for the most, which is easie to be cleft, and handsomelie riuen in péeces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the iust rate of euerie fornace is to make foure loads of salt yearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue or six quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is said) imploied to their owne auaile. And thus much hath Leland left in memorie of our white salt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making also of baie salt in some part of our countrie. But sith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie salt can not be framed in anie order, bicause my memorie will not serue to shew the true maner and the place. It shall suffice therfore to haue giuen such notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aswell the baie as white are wrought and made in England, and more white also vpon the west coast toward Scotland, in Essex and else where, out of the salt water betwéene Wire and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall salt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with such mettals as are growing here in England.

OF OUR ACCOMPT OF TIME & HIR PARTS.

CHAP. XIV.

AS *Libra* is *As* or *Assis* to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in standard measure: so in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie consisting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greatest of the least, and least of the greatest, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to saie the truth) the most ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrues had anie vse; sith they reckoned by watches: and whereof also Censorinus cap. 19. sheweth a reason wherefore they were neglected. For my part I doo not sée anie great difference vsed in the obseruation of time & hir parts, betwéene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I shall not néed to stand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein shall appéere vnto all men, I will set downe some short rehearsall thereof, and that in sō briefe manner as vnto me is possible. As for our astronomicall practises, I meane not to meddle with them, sith their course is vniformelie obserued ouer all. Our common order therefore is to begin at the minut, which conteineth $\frac{1}{60}$ part of an houre, as at the smallest part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithstanding that in most places they descend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they procéed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentith part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which dooth begin at midnight, and is obserued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and astronomicall instruments of all sorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is so great here in England, as no place else (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not speake of the cost bestowed vpon them in perle and stone, neither of the value of mettall, whereof they haue béene made, as gold, siluer, &c: and almost no abbeie or religious house without some of them. This onelie shall suffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in these things, so in our time pompe and excesse spendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to shew their quantities, differences, and diuisions, into the greater and the lesser, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, or the rising of halfe a signe, the other of a whole signe, which is in two houres space, wherof Marke seemeth to speake cap. 15 c 25, as the rest of the euangelists (yea and he also ibid. vers. 33) doo of the other, Matth. 27 e 45, Luke 23 e 44, John 19 b 14) it should be but in vaine. In like sort, wheras the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Iews begin their daie at the sun set ouer night; the Persians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Noribergians, at the sun rising (ech of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) also the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Vmbers, Hetrurians, and Astronomers at high noone, and so reckon from noone to noone: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, or to speake more properlie, imitating the Roman maner vsed in the church there of long time, choose the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto middaie insuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforesaid point, according to these verses;

Manè diem Græca gens incipit astra sequentes
In medio lucis Iudæis vespere sancta,
Inchoat ecclesia media sua tempora nocte.

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make so farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the sun is vp, and night when the sun leaueth our horizon. Otherwise also we diuide it into two parts, that is to saie, fore noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddie, shining, burning and warming seasons (of thrée vnequall houres

houres a péece, which others séeme to diuide into spring time, summer, autumne, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read these verses:

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,
Hæc rubet, hæc splendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

Indéed our physicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no lesse learning no doubt than the best of forren countries, if we could so conceiue of them. And herein they concurre also with those of other nations, who for distinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in such wise as these verses doo import, and are indéed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres sanguinis imas,
Vis choleræ medias lucis sex vendicat horas.
Dátque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas sex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Or thus, as Tansteter hath giuen them foorth in his prelections:

A nona noctis donec sit tertia lucis,
Est dominus sanguis, sex inde sequentibus horis
Est dominans cholera, dum lucis nona sit hora
Post niger humid inest donec sit tertia noctis,
Posthæc phlegma venit, donec sit nona quietis.

In English thus in effect:

Three houres yer sun doo rise,
and so manie after, blud,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the swaie,
Euen so to nine at night,
swart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
six houres ech one I saie.

Night: Vesper. Crepusculum. Concubium. Intempestum. Gallicinium. Conticinium. Matutinum. Diluculum.

In like sort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wheras the Latins diuide the same into 7 parts, as *Vesper* or *Vesperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vseth the word *Hesper* the euening, which is immediatlie after the setting of the sun. *Crepusculum* the twilight (which some call *Prima fax*, because men begin then to light candles) when it is betwéene daie and night, light and darkenesse, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the still of the night, when ech one is laid to rest. *Intempestum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sléepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum siue aurora*, the ruddie, orenge, golden or shining colour, séene immediatlie before the rising of the sun, and is opposite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight.

Watches.

Other there are which doo reckon by watches, diuiding the night after sun setting into foure equall parts. Of which the first beginneth at euening called the first watch, and continueth by thrée vnequall houres, and so foorth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, bicause it concurreth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the rising of the sun.

Houre.

As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet not so old as that of the watch, wherof we shall read abundantlie in the scriptures, which was deuised first among souldiors for their better safegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof

is

is almost vsed among our seafaring men, which they call clearing of the glasse, and performed from time to time with great héed and some solemnitie. Herevnto the word *Hora* among the Grecians signified so well the foure quarters of the yéere, as the foure and twentith part of the daie, and limits of anie forme. But what stand I vpon these things to let my purpose staie? To procéed therefore.

Of naturall daies is the wéeke compacted, which consisteth of seauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar sort either king or worling, bicause it is either the fairest or foulest of the seauen: albeit that I cannot ghesse of anie reason whie they should so imagine. The first of these entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that we rest vpon the sundaie, which is the seauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their wéeke vpon our saturdaie at the setting of the sun: and the Turks in these daies with the saturdaie, whereby it commeth to passe, that as the Iews make our last daie the first of their wéeke, so the Turks make the Iewish sabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma:* bicause Mahomet their prophet (as they saie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and so he was indéed, except their Alcharon deceiue them. The Iews doo reckon their daies by their distance from their sabaoth, so that the first daie of their wéeke is the first daie of the sabaoth, and so foorth vnto the sixt. The Latins and Aegyptians accompted their daies after the seauen planets, choosing the same for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the first vnequall houre of the same after the sun be risen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, so the vse of the same is not yet altogither abolished, as may appéere by our sunday, mondaie, and saturdaie. The rest were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut sometime their prince, called the second day of the wéek Theutsdach, the third Woden, Othin, Othon, or Edon, or Wodensdach. Also of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorsdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the fift was called Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amisse as I thinke) that suppose them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea (or Frigga as Saxo calleth hir) Venus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be so, then it is an easie matter to find out the german Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir scant a good report, for that she loued one of hir husbands men better than himselfe, had seauen sonnes by Woden; the first, father to Wecca, of whome descended those that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the second, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the west Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Brenicia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caser the sixt race of the east Angle race, & Nascad originall burgeant of the kings of Essex. As for the kings of Sussex, although they were of the same people, yet were they not of the same streine, as our old monuments doo expresse. But to procéed. Wéeke.

As certeine of our daies suffered this alteration by the Saxons, so in our churches we reteined for a long time the number of daies or of * feries from the sabaoth, after the manner of the Iews, I meane vntill the seruice after the Romane vse was abolished, which custome was first receiued (as some thinke) by pope Syluester, though other saie by Constantine; albeit another sort doo affirme, that Syluester caused the sundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the rest. * *Ferias.*

In like maner of wéekes our moneths are made, which are so called of the moone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes, without anie further curiositie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the moone, as the Iews, Grecians, or Romans did at the first; or as the Turks, Arabians and Persians doo now: neither anie parcell thereof by the said planet, as in some part of the west Indies, where they haue neither weeke, moneth, nor yéere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thousands of moones. Wherefore if we saie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure wéeks onelie, and not of hir vsuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuerthelesse Moneth. *Triuethus in Antartico.*

thelesse in plées and sutes is nothing at all allowed of, sith the moone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies or foure weeks, that is, vnto the place where she left the sun: notwithstanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that signe wherin she before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or lesse number of these moneths for whole yeares: and that of these some accompted but thrée, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans six, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which causeth them to make such a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forsomuch as we are not troubled with anie such disorder, it shall suffice that I haue generallie said of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender.

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the course of the moone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were also the changes of that planet: whereby it came to passe, that the daie of the change was the first of the moneth, howsoeuer it fell out. But after Iulius Cesar had once corrected the same, the seuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but also the old order in the diuision of their parts continued still vnaltered: so that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vse of the same bée but small, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderstanding of such times, as the historiographers and old authors doo remember. The reckoning also of each of these goeth (as you sée) after a preposterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the next change from the precedent, than contrariwise, as by perusall of the same you shall more easilie perceiue.

The daies also of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganisme were consecrated to Iuno, and sacrifice made to that goddesse on the same. On these daies also, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewise the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were also diuerse other, and those either by reason of some notable ouerthrow or mishap that befell vnto the Romans vpon those daies, or in respect of some superstitious imagination conceiued of euill successe likelie to fall out vpon the same. Of some they were called *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Wherby it appeareth that this peeuish estimation of these daies came from that nation. And as we doo note our holie and festiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, so did the Romans their principall feasts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or consularie tables. This also is more to be added, that if anie good successe happened afterward vpon such day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would solemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioised.

The word *Calendæ* (in Gréeke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Calo*, to call: for vpon the first day of euerie moneth, the priest vsed to call the people of the citie and countrie togither in Calabria, for so the place was called where they met, and shew them by a custome how manie daies were from the said calends to the nones, & what feasts were to be celebrated betwéene that and the next change. Their order is retrograde, because that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone past the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the next change, as seuentéene daies, sixtéene daies, fourtéene daies, &c: as the Gréekes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vse of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called *Calendæ*, dedicated to Iuno, who thereof was also called *Calendaris*. At the first also the fasts or feast daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the priests (as I said) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba caused them to be written & published in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the senat, for the ease and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or six in euerie moneth: and so long as the nones lasted, so long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nonæ quasi Nundinæ*. In them also were neither holiedaies more than is at this present (except the day of

the purification of our ladie) no sacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his businesse, and kept his market, reckoning the first day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or sixt daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non*, "quia in ijsdem dij non coluntur." For as Ouid saith, "Nonarum tutela deo caret," or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other because *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I suppose rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddesse far yoonger than the name of *Nonæ*) tooke hir name of the nones, whereon it was a custome among the Romans, "Lustrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere," as they did with their maid children vpon the eight: but howsoeuer this be, sure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, sold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing else.

The ides are so named of the Hethruscan word, *Iduàre*, to diuide: and before that Cesar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middest. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agrée to the yéere of the sunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, bicause he would not alter the celebration of their vsuall feasts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they short of the middest, sometime by two or thrée daies. In these therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leisure to packe vp and conueie their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides doo the calends follow, but in a decreasing order (as I noted) as the moone dooth in light when she is past the full. But herein lieth all the mysterie, if you can say so manie daies before the next change or new moone, as the number there expressed dooth betoken, as for 16 calends so manie daies before the next coniunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred.) Of these calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find these verses insuing:

Ianus & Augustus denas nouémq; December,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipse Nouember
Ter senas retinent, Februs bis octo calendas,
Iulius October Mars Maius epta decémq;

In English thus:

December Iune and August month
full nineteene calends haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twise nine they doo desire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue,
October Maie and Iulie hot
but seuenteene doo require.

In like maner doo the nones and ides.

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.

To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
six nones I hight,
The rest but foure, and as for ides
they keepe still eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septémq; Nouémq; tricenos,
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos,
At si bissextus fuerit superadditur vnus.

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the rest thirtie and one,
but in the leape you must ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the course of the sunne, and although the church hath some vse of that of the moone for obseruation of certeine mooueable feasts, yet it is reducible to that of the sunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chieflie had in vse. Herein onelie I find a scruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for most of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders the first of Ianuarie; so that with vs Christ is borne before he be conceiued. Our sundrie officers also haue sundrie entrances into their charges of custome, which breedeth great confusion, whereas if all these might be referred to one originall (and that to be the first of Ianuarie) I doo not thinke but that there would be more certeintie, and lesse trouble for our historiographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell nèerest to the enterance of the sunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter solstice, or his going into the goat, the Iewes in ciuill case at the latter equinoctiall, and in ecclesiasticall with the first. They of Calecute begin their yeare somewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, sith they first consult with their wisards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be most happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Osorius dooth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue solemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencill, in stead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere also in September: but sith we seeke herein but for the custome of our countrie onelie, it shall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or first of Ianuarie, and from the middest of the night which is *Limes* betweene that and the last of December, whereof this maie suffice. I might speake of the Cynike yeare also in this place (for the ease of our English readers) sometime in vse amongst the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whose beginning is alwaies reckoned from the rising of the lesser dog. The first vse thereof entered the selfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were restored. And forsomuch as this nation hath no vse of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, because there are 365 leape yeers in the period, so that 1460 Iulian yéers doo conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be lesse than ours. Furthermore, wheras our intercalation for the leape yere is somewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in so manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wish that the same yeare wherein the said intercalation trulie found out should be ouerpassed, might be obserued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and souereigne princesse now reigning amongst vs.

I might here saie somewhat also of the prime and hir alteration, which is risen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Cæsar; and in seauen thousand yeares some writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world should last so long. But for somuch as in some calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it shall suffice to saie no more therof. The pope also hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the same that it was or should haue beene at the councell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath abolished the vse of the golden number, so hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto such generall vse, as dooth now serue both the turnes, whose reformation had also yer this time béene admitted into England, if it had not procéeded from him, against whom and all whose ordinances we haue so faithfullie sworne and set our hands.

Certes the next omission is to be performed if all princes would agrée thereto in the leape yeare that shall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it shall please God that the world may last

last so long, and then may our calender also stand without anie alteration as it dooth alreadie. By this also it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be supplied from the creation, wherein the first equinoctiall is séene higher toward the beginning of March than Cæsars calender now extant dooth yéeld vnto by seauen daies. For as in Cæsars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius also noteth) either vpon or about the sixtéenth or seauentéenth of March, albeit the manifest apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentith of that moneth in their dials or by éie-sight: so at the beginning of the world the said entrance of the sunne into the ram, must néeds fall out to be about the twentith or one & twentith of Aprill, as the calender now standeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie seuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and signifieth in English so much as Seculum or Æuum dooth in Latine; neither is it néedfull to remember that some of my countrimen doo reckon their times not by years but by summers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to shut vp this chapiter withall, you shall haue a table of the names of the daies of the wéeke, after the old Saxon and Scotish maner, which I haue borowed from amongst our ancient writers, as I haue perused their volumes.

The present names.

Monday.	Wednesday.	Fridaie.	Sunday, or the
Tuesday.	Thursday.	Saturdaie.	Lords daie.

The old Saxon names.

Monendeg.	Wodnesdeg.	Frigesdeg.	Sunnandeg.
Tuesdeg.	Thunresdeg.	Saterdeg.	

The Scotish vsage.

Diu Luna.	Diu Yath.	Diu Friach.	Diu Seroll.
Diu Mart.	Diu Ethamon.	Diu Satur.	

OF OUR PRINCIPALL FAIRES AND MARKETS.

CHAP. XV.

I HAUE heretofore said sufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promise there made, I set downe here so manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obseruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impossible for me to come by all, sith there is almost no towne in England, but hath one or more such marts holden yearelie in the same, although some of them (I must needs confesse) be scarse comparable to Lowse faire, and little else bought or sold in them more than good drinke, pies, and some pedlerie trash: wherefore it were no losse if diuerse of them were abolished. Neither doo I see wherevnto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, so much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other businesse set apart) must néeds repaire vnto them, whereby they often spend not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbaoth in great vanitie and riot. But such hath béene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now abolished, and a further insight into things growne into the minds of magistrates, these old errors may be considered of, and so farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be dishonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminished. In the meane time, take this table here insuing in stead of a calender of the greatest, sith that I cannot, or at the least wise care not to come by the names of the lesse, whose knowledge cannot be so profitable to them that be farre off, as they are oft preiudiciall to such as

dwell néere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that resort vnto the same.

Faires in Ianuarie.

THE sixt day being Twelfe day at Salisburie, the fiue and twentith being saint Paules day, at Bristow, at Grauesend, at Churchingford, at Northalerton in Yorkeshire, where is kept a faire euerie wednesday from Christmasse vntill Iune.

Faires in Februarie.

THE first day at Bromleie. The second at Lin, at Bath, at Maidstone, at Bickleswoorth, at Budwoorth. The fourtéenth at Feuersham. On Ashwednesday at Lichfield, at Tamwoorth, at Roiston, at Excester, at Abington, at Cicester. The foure and twentith at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkesburie.

Faires in March.

ON the twelth day, at Stamford, Sappesford, and at Sudburie. The thirtéenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The fift sunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Salisburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wisbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmesunday éeuen, at Pumfret. On palmesunday, at Worcester. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northamton, at Malden, at great Chart, at Newcastell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlentsunday.

Faires in Aprill.

THE fift day at Wallingford. The seuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleswoorth, at Belinswoorth. On monday after, at Euesham in Worcestershire. On tuesday in Easter wéeke at Northfléet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third sunday after Easter, at Louth. The two and twentith at Stabford. On saint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipswich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at saint Pombes in Cornewall. On saint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Essex. The six and twentith at Tenderden in Kent.

Faires in Maie.

ON Maie daie at Rippon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Osestrie in Wales, at Lexfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leicester, at Chensford, at Maidstone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elstow, Waltham, Holicrosse, and Hedningham castell. The seuenth at Beuerleie, at Newton, at Oxford. On Ascension day at Newcastell, at Yerne, at Brimechame, at saint Edes, at Bishopstratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chappell frith. On Whitsunéeuen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitsunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wednesday fortnight at Kingston vpon Thames, at Ratesdale, at Kirbistephin in Westmerland. On monday in Whitsunwéeke, at Darington, at Excester, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Applebie, at Bicklesworth, at Stokeclare. On tuesday in Whitsunwéeke, at Lewse, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Ormeskirke, at Perith, at long Milford. On wednesday in Whitsunweeke, at Sandbarre, at Raiston. On Trinitie sunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thursday after Trinitie sunday, at Prescote, at Stapford, at saint Annes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at saint Edes, at Bishop storford, at Rosse. The ninth at Lochester, at Dunstable. The twentie seuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Crambrooke. On monday in Rogation weeke at Rech, and sunday after Ascension day, at Thaxsted.

Faires in Iune.

THE ninth day at Maidstone. The xj, at Okingham, at Newbourgh, at Bardfield, at Maxfield, & Holt. The seuenteenth at Hadstocke. The twentie thrée at Shrewsburie, at saint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horsham, at Bedell, at Strackstocke, at saint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colchester, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beside Cambridge, at

at Woollerhampton, at Crambrooke, at Glocester, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windsor, at Harstone, at Lancaster, at Westchester, at Halifax, at Ashborne. The twentie seuenth, at Folkestone. The twentie eight, at Hetcorne, at saint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Woodhurst, at Marleborough, at Hollesworth, at Woollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempster, at Sudburie, at Gargraingé, at Bromleie.

Faires in Iulie.

THE second at Congreton, at Ashton vnder line. The sunday after the third of Iulie, at Raiston. The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fiftéenth, at Pichbacke. The seuentéenth, at Winchcombe. The twentith, at Vxbridge, at Catesbie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Marleborow, at Winchester, at Colchester, at Tetburie, at Cooling, at Yealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheshire, at Cheswike, at Battelfield, at Bicklewoorth. The twentie fift, at Bristow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipswich, at Northampton, at Dudleie in Staffordshire, at saint Iames beside London, at Reading, at Ereth in the Ile, at Walden, at Thremhall, at Baldocke, at Louth, at Malmesburie, at Bromeleie, at Chichester, at Liuerpoole, at Altergam, at Rauenglasse in the north. The twentie sixt, at Tiptrie. The twentie seuenth at Canturburie, at Horsham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell Frith.

Faires in August.

THE first day at Excester, at Feuersham, at Dunstable, at saint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam church, at Wisbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Yeland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Thaxsted, at Blackemoore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croileie, at Seddell, at new Brainford. The xv, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerleill, at Preston in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the sunday after the fiftéenth day of August, at Hauerhull. On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggers bush beside Rie, at Teukesburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On the sunday after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie seuenth, and at Ashford.

Faires in September.

THE first day at S. Giles at the Bush. The eight day at Woolfpit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recoluer, at Gisbourgh both the ladie daies, at Partneie. The thrée ladie daies at Blackeburne, at Gisborne in Yorkeshire, at Chalton, at Vtcester. On Holiroode day, at Richmond in Yorkeshire, at Rippond a horse faire, at Penhad, at Bersleie, at Waltam abbeie, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Smalding, at Chesterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On saint Mathies day, at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croidon, at Holden in Holdernes, at saint Edmundsburie, at Malton, at saint Iues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Brainetrie, at Baldocke, at Katharine hill beside Gilford, at Douer, at Eastrie. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horsse faire, at Lancaster, at Blackeborne, at Westchester, at Cokermouth, at Ashborne, at Hadleie, at Malden an horsse faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, and at Leicester.

Faires in October.

THE fourth day at Michell. The sixt day at saint Faiths beside Norwich, at Maidstone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Bishop Storford. On S. Edwards day, at Roiston, at Grauesend, at Windsor, at Marshfield. The ninth day at Colchester. On saint Lukes eeuen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Vpane, at Thirst, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friswides in Oxford, at Tisdale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twentie one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Cicester, at Stokesleie. The twentie third, at Preston, at Bikelsworth, at Ritchdale,

at

at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all saints eeuen, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

Faires in Nouember.

THE second at Blechinglie, at Kingston, at Maxfield, at Epping. The sixt day at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Lesford, and Wetshod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Marleborough, at Douer. The thirtenth, at saint Edmundsburie, at Gilford. The seuenteenth day, at Low, at Hide. The nineteenth, at Horsham. On saint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerstone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On saint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rochester, at Peterfield, at Maidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warington in Lancashire, at Bedford in Yorkeshire, at Osestrie in Wales, and at Powles Belcham.

Faires in December.

ON the fift day, at Pluckeleie. On the sixt, at Cased, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Excester, at Sinocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Chesshire. The seuenth day at Sandhurst. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancashire, at Malpas in Cheshire. The twentie ninth, at Canturburie, and at Salisburie.

OF OUR INNES AND THOROWFAIRES.

CHAP. XVI.

THOSE townes that we call thorowfaires haue great and sumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of such trauellers and strangers as passe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of some other countries, in which the host or goodman of the house dooth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his ghests, but cleane otherwise, sith euerie man may vse his inne as his owne house in England, and haue for his monie how great or little varietie of vittels, and what other seruice himselfe shall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are also verie well furnished with naperie, bedding, and tapisserie, especiallie with naperie: for beside the linnen vsed at the tables, which is commonlie washed dailie, is such and so much as belongeth vnto the estate and calling of the ghest. Ech commer is sure to lie in cleane sheets, wherein no man hath béene lodged since they came from the landresse, or out of the water wherein they were last washed. If the traueller haue an horsse, his bed dooth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same: but whether he be horsseman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne house so long as he lodgeth there. If he loose oughts whilest he abideth in the inne, the host is bound by a generall custome to restore the damage, so that there is no greater securitie anie where for trauellers than in the gretest ins of England. Their horsses in like sort are walked, dressed and looked vnto by certeine hostelers or hired seruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the house, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward appéerance in this their function and calling. Herein neuerthelesse are manie of them blameworthie, in that they doo not onelie deceiue the beast oftentimes of his allowance by sundrie meanes, except their owners looke well to them; but also make such packs with slipper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is sure from euill & wicked persons) that manie an honest man is spoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat also the counsell of the tapsters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not seldome behind or wanting. Certes I beleeue not that chapman or traueller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of some of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horsse, the hostler forthwith is verie busie to take downe his budget or capcase in the yard from his sadle bow, which he peiseth slilie in his hand to féele the weight thereof: or if he misse of this pitch, when the

the ghest hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleine that looketh to the making of the beds, will be sure to remooue it from the place where the owner hath set it as if it were to set it more conuenientlie some where else, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other short wares, & therof giueth warning to such od ghests as hant the house and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honest yeoman as he iournieth by the waie. The tapster in like sort for his part dooth marke his behauiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the shot, to the like end: so that it shall be an hard matter to escape all their subtile practises. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the house: but thereby they oft bewraie themselues. For albeit their monie be safe for the time that it is in his hands (for you shall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the host can make no warrantise of the same, sith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne house: and there cannot be a surer token vnto such as prie and watch for those booties, than to sée anie ghest deliuer his capcase in such maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, béere, and sundrie kinds of wine, and such is the capacitie of some of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or thrée hundred persons, and their horsses at ease, & therto with a verie short warning make such prouision for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may seeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worse ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the best that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumstances be dulie considered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpose. I will here set downe a table of the best thorowfaires and townes of greatest trauell of England, in some of which there are twelue or sixtéene such innes at the least, as I before did speake of. And it is a world to sée how ech owner of them contendeth with other for goodnesse of interteinement of their ghests, as about finesse & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, seruice at the table, costlinesse of plate, strength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vsing of horsses. Finallie there is not so much omitted among them as the gorgeousnes of their verie signes at their doores, wherein some doo consume thirtie or fortie pounds, a méere vanitie in mine opinion, but so vaine will they néeds be, and that not onelie to giue some outward token of the inne kéepers welth, but also to procure good ghests to the frequenting of their houses in hope there to be well vsed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I shall not néed to speake.

The waie from Walsingham to London.

From Walsingham to Picknam	12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonferie	10.miles
From Brandonfarie to Newmarket	10.miles
From Newmarket to Brabram	10.miles
From Brabram to Barkewaie	20.miles
From Barkewaie to Puchrich	7.miles
From Puchrich to Ware	5.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and so to London.

From Barwike to Belford	12.miles
From Belford to Anwike	12.miles
From Anwike to Morpit	12.miles
From Morpit to Newcastell	12.miles
From Newcastell to Durham	12.miles
From Durham to Darington	13.miles
From Darington to Northalerton	14.miles
From Northalerton to Toplife	7.miles
From Toplife to Yorke	16.miles
From Yorke to Tadcaster	8.miles
From Tadcaster to Wantbridge	12.miles
From Wantbridge to Dancaster	8.miles
From Dancaster to Tutford	18.miles
From Tutford to Newarke	10.miles
From Newarke to Grantham	10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12.miles
From Stilton to Huntington	9.miles
From Huntington to Roiston	15.miles
From Roiston to Ware	12.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Carnaruan to Chester, and so to London.

From Carnaruan to Conwaie	24.miles
From Conwaie to Denbigh	12.miles

From

From Denbigh to Flint	12.miles
From Flint to Chester	10.miles
From Chester to Wich	14.miles
From Wich to Stone	15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16.miles
From Lichfield to Colsill	12.miles
From Colsill to Couentrie	8.miles

And so from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.

The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaster, and so to London.

From Cockermouth to Kiswike	6.miles
From Kiswike to Grocener	8.miles
From Grocener to Kendale	14.miles
From Kendale to Burton	7.miles
From Burton to Lancaster	8.miles
From Lancaster to Preston	20.miles
From Preston to Wigam	14.miles
From Wigam to Warington	20.miles
From Warington to Newcastell	20.miles
From Newcastell to Lichfield	20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie	14.miles
From Daintrie to Tocester	10.miles
From Tocester to Stonistratford	6.miles
From Stonistratford to Brichill	7.miles
From Brichill to Dunstable	7.miles
From Dunstable to saint Albons	10.miles
From saint Albons to Barnet	10.miles
From Barnet to London	10.miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colchester, and so to London.

From Yarmouth to Becclis	8.miles
From Becclis to Blibour	7.miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge	8.miles
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge	8.miles
From Woodbridge to Ipswich	5.miles
From Ipswich to Colchester	12.miles
From Colchester to Eastford	8.miles
From Eastford to Chelmesford	10.miles
From Chelmesford to Brentwood	10.miles
From Brentwood to London	15.miles

The waie from Douer to London.

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rochester	8.miles
From Rochester to Grauesend	5.miles
From Grauesend to Datford	6.miles
From Datford to London	12.miles

The waie from saint Burien in Cornewall to London.

From S. Burien to the Mount	20.miles
From the Mount to Thurie	12.miles
From saint Thurie to Bodman	20.miles
From Bodman to Launstone	20.miles
From Launstone to Ocomton	15.miles
From Ocomton to Crokehornewell	10.miles
From Crokehornewell to Excester	10.miles
From Excester to Honiton	12.miles
From Honiton to Chard	10.miles
From Chard to Crokehorne	7.miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne	10.miles
From Shirborne to Shaftsburie	10.miles
From Shaftsburie to Salisburie	18.miles
From Salisburie to Andeuor	15.miles
From Andeuor to Basingstocke	18.miles
From Basingstocke to Hartford	8.miles
From Hartford to Bagshot	8.miles
From Bagshot to Stanes	8.miles
From Stanes to London	15.miles

The waie from Bristowe to London.

From Bristow to Maxfield	10.miles
From Maxfield to Chipnam	10.miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough	15.miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford	8.miles
From Hungerford to Newburie	7.miles
From Newburie to Reading	15.miles
From Reading to Maidenhead	10.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbrooke	7.miles
From Colbrooke to London	15.miles

The waie from saint Dauids to London.

From saint Dauids to Axford	20.miles
From Axford to Carmarden	10.miles
From Carmarden to Newton	10.miles
From Newton to Lanburie	10.miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke	16.miles
From Brechnocke to Haie	10.miles
From Haie to Harford	14.miles
From Harford to Roso	9.miles
From Roso to Glocester	12.miles
From Glocester to Cicester	15.miles
From Cicester to Farington	16.miles
From Farington to Habington	7.miles
From Habington to Dorchester	7.miles
From Dorchester to Henleie	12.miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead	7.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbrooke	7.miles
From Colbrooke to London	15.miles

Of

Of thorowfares from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Rofchester	20.miles
From Rofchester to Grauesend	5.miles
From Grauesend ouer the Thames to Hornedon	4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmesford	12.miles
From Chelmesford to Dunmow	10.miles
From Dunmow to Thaxsted	5.miles
From Thaxsted to Radwinter	8.miles
From Radwinter to Linton	5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham	3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge	4.miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London	43.miles
From London to Vxbridge or Colbrooke	15.miles
From Vxbridge to Baccansfield	7.miles
From Baccansfield to east Wickham	5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church	5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetisford	5.miles
From Thetisford to Whatleie	6.miles
From Whatleie to Oxford	4.miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmonton	6.miles
From Edmonton to Waltham	6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddesdon	5.miles
From Hoddesdon to Ware	3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch	5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie	7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere	6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge	6.miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddesdon	17.miles
From Hoddesdon to Hadham	7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden	12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge	10.miles

OF CERTEINE WAIES IN SCOTLAND, OUT OF REGINALD WOLFES HIS ANNOTATIONS.

From Barwijc to Edenborow.

From Barwijc to Chirneside	10.miles
From Chirneside to Coldingham	3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon	6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre	6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton	6.miles
From Linton to Haddington	6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton	4.miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muskelborow	8.miles
From thence to Edenborow	8.miles

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh	5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander	5.miles
From Lander to Vrsildon	6.miles
From Vrsildon to Driburg	5.miles
From Driburg to Cariton	6.miles
From Cariton to Barwijc	14.miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine westward.

From Edenborow to Kirkelifton	6.miles
From Kirkelifton to Lithco	6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth	6.miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth	6.miles
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine	24.miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne eastward.

From Striuelin to Downe in Menketh	3.miles
From Downe to Campskenell	3.miles
From Campskenell to Alwie vpon Forth	4.miles
From Alwie to Culrose on Fiffe	10.miles
From Culrose to Dunfermelin	2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin	2.miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth	3.miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon Forth	3.miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Dissard in Fiffe	3.miles
From Dissard to Cowper	8.miles
From Cowper to S. Andrews	14.miles
From S. Andrews to the Taimouth	6.miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie	4.miles
From thence to Londores abbeie	4.miles
From Londores to S. Iohns towne	12.miles
From S. Iohns to Schone	5.miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie	15.miles
From Abernithie to Dundée	15.miles
From Dundee to Arbroth and Muros	24.miles
From Muros to Aberden	20.miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie	20.miles
From thense to the riuer of Spaie	30.miles
From thence to Stockeford in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side	30.miles

From Carleill to Whiteherne westward.

From Carleill ouer the Ferie against Redkirke 4.miles
From thence to Dunfrées 20.miles
From Dunfrées to the Ferie of Cre 40.miles
From thence to Wigton 3.miles
From thence to Whitherne 12.miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, wherevnto I will adioine the old thorowfaires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same than my leisure will permit me. In setting foorth also thereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue séene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

ITER BRITANNIARUM.

A GESSORIACO.

De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A Limite, id est, a vallo Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx	
Vindomora m. p. ix	
Viconia * m. p. xix	*Vinouia Vinouium*
Cataractoni m. p. xxii	Darington.
Isurium m. p. xxiiii	Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum legio vi	Victrix m. p. xvii Yorke.
Deruentione m. p. vii	Tadcaster.
Delgouitia m. p. xiii.	Tlentbridge.
Prætorio m. p. xxv	Tudford.

Item à Vallo ad portum Ritupis m. p. 481, 491, *sic,*

Ablato Bulgio * castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 *aliàs à* Blato	
Lugu-vallo * m. p. xii	aliàs à Lugu-valio. Tatrleill.
Voreda m. p. xiiii	
Brouonacis * m. p. xiii	*Brauoniacis*
Verteris m. p. xx, 13	
Lauatris m. p. xiiii.	
Cataractone * m. p. xxi	*Caturractonium.* Darington.
Isuriam * m. p. xxiiii	*Isoriam.* Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum * m. p. xviii	*Eboracum.* Yorke.
Calcaria * m. p. ix	*Cacaria.*
Camboduno m. p. xx	
Mammuncio * m. p. xviii	*Manucio*
Condate m. p. xviii	
Deua legio xxiii.ci. m. p. xx	
Bouio * m. p. x.	*Boniô*
Mediolano m. p. xx	
Rutunio m. p. xii	
Vrio-Conio * m. p. xi	*Viroconium.* Shrewesburie *propè.*
Vxacona m. p. xi	
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii	
Etoceto m. p. xii	
Mandues Sedo m. p. xvi	
Venonis m. p. xii	

Bennauenta * m. p. XVII	*Bannaventa*
Lactorodo * m. p. XII	*Lactodoro*
Maginto * m. p. XVII. 12	*Magiouintum*
Duro-Cobriuis m. p. XII	Dunstable.
Vero-Lamio m. p. XII	S. Albanes.
Sullomacis * m. p. IX	Barnet.
Longidinio m. p. XII.	*Londinio.* London.
Nouiomago m. p. XII	
Vagniacis m. p. VI	
Durobrouis m. p. V	*Duroprouis.* Rochester.
Duroleuo m. p. XVI. 8	
Duror-Verno * m. p. XII	*Drouerno Durouerno*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. XII	*Duraruenno Daruerno*

Item a Londinio ad portum Dubris m. p. 56, 66, sic :

Dubobrus * m. p. XXVII	*Durobrouis Durobrius.* Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. XV, 25	Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. XIIII	Douer hauen.

Item a Londinio ad portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic :

Durobrius m. p. XXVII	Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. XV, 25	Canturburie.
Ad portum * Lemanis m. p. XVI	Limming hauen.

Item a Londinio Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p. 443, sic :

Cæsaromago m. p. XXVIII	
Colonia m. p. XXIIII.	
Villa Faustini m. p. XXXV, 25	
Icianos m. p. XVIII	
Camborico m. p. XXXV	
Duroliponte m. p. XXV	
Durobriuas m. p. XXXV	
Gausennis m. p. XXX	
Lindo m. p. XXVI	
Segeloci m. p. XIIII	
Dano m. p. XXI	
Lege-Olio * m. p. XVI	*Logetium*
Eburaco m. p. XXI	
Isubrigantum * m. p. XVI	*Isurium Brigantum*
Cataractoni m. p. XXIIII	
Leuatris * m. p. XVIII	*Leuatriæ*
Verteris m. p. XIIII	
Brocouo * m. p. XX	*Brocouicum*
Lugu-Vallo m. p. XXV, 22	

Item a Londinio Lindo m. p. 156 sic :

Verolami m. p. XXI	
Duro Cobrius m. p. XII	
Magiouinio * m. p. XII	*Maginto*
Lactodoro m. p. XVI	*Magis*
Isanna Vantia * m. p. XII	*Isanna vatia*
Tripontio m. p. XII	*Isanna varia*
Venonis m. p. IX	

Ratas m. p. XII
Verometo m. p. XIII
Margi-duno m. p. XII
Ad Pontem * m. p. VII — *Pons Aelij*
Croco Calana * m. p. VII — *Crorolana*
Lindo m. p. XII

Item a Regno Londinio m. p. 116, 96 *sic :*

Clausentum m. p. XX
Venta Belgarum m. p. X
Gelleua * Atrebatum m. p. XXII — *Gelleua*, Walingford.
Pontibus m. p. XXII Reding. — *Calliua*,
Londinio m. p. XXII

Item ab Ebvraco Londinium m. p. 227 *sic :*

Lagecio m. p. XXI
Dano m. p. XVI — Dancaster.
Ageloco * m. p. XXI — *Segoloco*
Lindo m. p. XIIII
Crococalano m. p. XIIII
Margi-duno m. p. XIIII
Vernemeto * m. p. XII — *Verometo*
Ratis m. p. XII
Vennonis m. p. XII
Bannauanto m. p. XIX
Magio Vinio m. p. XXVIII
Durocobrius m. p. XII — Dunstable.
Verolamo m. p. XII — S. Albanes.
Sullomaca m. p. IX — Barnet.
Londinio m. p. XII — London.

Item a Venta Icinorvm Londinio m. p. 128 *sic :*

Sitomago m. p. XXXI
Combretouio * m. p. XXII — *Cumbretonio*
Ad Ansam m. p. XV
Camoloduno m. p. VI
Canonio m. p. IX
Cæsaromago m. p. XII
Durolito m. p. XVI
Londinio m. p. XV

Item a Glamoventa Mediolano m. p. 150 *sic :*

Galaua m. p. XVIII
Alone * m. p. XII — *Alauna * Aliona Alione*
Galacum * m. p. XIX — *Galacum Brigantum*
Bremetonaci m. p. XXVII
Coccio m. p. XX
Mancunio * m. p. XVIII — *Mammucio vel Manucio*
Condate m. p. XVIII
Mediolano m. p. XIX

Item a Segoncio Deuam m. p. 74 *sic :*

Canouio m. p. XXIIII

Varis m. p. XIX
Deua m. p. XXXII

Item a Calleva aliàs Muridono aliàs Viroconiorum. Per Viroconium.

Vindonu * m. p. XV	*Vindomi*
Venta Belgarum m. p. XXI	
Brige * m. p. XI	*Brage*
Soruioduni m. p. IX	
Vindogladia m. p. XIII, 15	
Durnouaria m. p. VIII	
Muriduno m. p. XXXVI	
Scadum Nunniorum * m. p. XV, 12	*Iscadum*
Leucaro m. p. XV	
Bomio m. p. XV	
Nido m. p. XV	
Iscelegua Augusti * m. p. XIIII	*Iscelegia*
Burrio m. p. IX	
Gobannio m. p. XII	
Magnis m. p. XXII	
Brauinio * m. p. XXIIII	*Brouenio*
Viriconio m. p. XXVII	

Item ab Isca Calleua m. p. 109 *sic:*

Burrio m. p. IX
Blestio m. p. XI
Ariconio m. p. XI
Cleuo m. p. XV
Durocornouio m. p. XIIII
Spinis m. p. XV
Calleua m. p. XV

Item alio Itinere ab Isca Calleua m. p. 103 *sic:*

Venta Silurum m. p. IX
Abone m. p. IX
Traiectus m. p. IX
Aquis Solis m. p. VI
Verlucione m. p. XV
Cunetione m. p. XX
Spinis m. p. XV
Calleua m. p. XV

Item a Calleva Iscadvm Nunniorum m. p. 136 *sic:*

Vindomi m. p. XV
Venta Belgarum m. p. XXI
Brige m. p. XI
Sorbiodoni m. p. VIII
Vindocladia m. p. XII
Durnonouaria m. p. VIII *Durnonaria*
Moriduno m. p. XXXVI
Iscadum Nunniorum m. p. XV

FINIS.

THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND,

FROM

THE TIME THAT IT WAS FIRST INHABITED,

VNTILL

THE TIME THAT IT WAS LAST CONQUERED:

WHEREIN THE SUNDRIE ALTERATIONS OF THE STATE VNDER FORREN PEOPLE IS DECLARED;
AND OTHER MANIFOLD OBSERUATIONS REMEMBRED:

BY RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

NOW NEWLIE READ OUER, AND DILIGENTLIE DIGESTED INTO BOOKES AND CHAPTERS,
WITH THEIR SEUERALL ARGUMENTS PREFIXED, CONTEINING AN ABRIDGEMENT
OF THE WHOLE HISTORIE, FOR THE HELPE OF THE READERS
IUDGEMENT AND MEMORIE:

WITH TWO TABLES OF PARTICULARS,

THE ONE SERUING THE DESCRIPTION, THE OTHER THE HISTORIE:

BY ABRAHAM FLEMING.

LAUS HISTORIÆ EX I. LELANDO.

QUOD SOL ÆTHEREO PRÆSTAT PULCHERRIMUS ORBI,
HISTORIA HUMANIS VSIBUS HOC TRIBUIT.

TO

THE READERS STUDIOUS IN HISTORIES.

THE order obserued in the description of Britaine, by reason of the necessarie diuision thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein conteined, seemed (in my iudgement) so conuenient a course deuised by the writer, as I was easilie induced thereby to digest the historie of England immediatlie following into the like method: so that as in the one, so likewise in the other, by summarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as also by certeine materiall titles added at the head of euerie page of the said historie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is discoursed and discussed in the same.

Wherein (sith histories are said to be the registers of memorie and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, speciallie historicall, are aduisedlie to marke (among other points) the seuerall and successiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abstract, but that the same is sufficientlie handled in the first booke and fourth chapter of the description of Britaine; whereto if the seuenth chapter of the same booke be also annexed, there is litle or no defect at all in that case wherof iustlie to make complaint.

Pag. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, 28, 49, 50, 51, of the description: and pag. 765, 766, of the historie of England.

Wherfore by remitting the readers to those, I reape this aduantage, namelie a discharge of a forethought & purposed labour, which as to reduce into some plausible forme was a worke both of time, paine and studie: so seeming vnlikelie to be comprised in few words (being a matter of necessarie and important obseruation) occasion of tediousnes is to and fro auoided; speciallie to the reader, who is further to be aduertised, that the computations of yeares here and there expressed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whense they were deriued and drawne, is not so absolute (in some mens opinion) as it might haue beene: howbeit iustifiable by their originals.

Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the vse of bookes may not be abridged) such diligent care shall be had, that in whatsoeuer the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaile, there shall want no will to vse the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euerie common capacitie, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages so many hundred yeares receiued, out of vncerteinties to raise certeinties, and to reconcile writers dissenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpossible, so is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is against reason, so to vndertake more than may commendablie be atchiued, were fowle follie.

ABRAHAM FLEMING.

THE FIRST BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Who inhabited this Iland before the comming of Brute: of Noah & his three sonnes, among whom the whole earth was diuided: and to which of their portions this Ile of Britaine befell.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

WHAT manner of people did first inhabite this our country, which hath most generallie and of longest continuance béene knowne among all nations by the name of Britaine as yet is not certeinly knowne; neither can it be decided frō whence the first inhabitants there of came, by reason of such diuersitie in iudgements as haue risen amongst the learned in this behalfe. But sith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the same for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holie scriptures) I wish not any man to leane to that which shall be here set downe as to an infallible truth, sith I doo but onlie shew other mens coniectures, grounded neuerthelesse vpon likelie reasons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certeintie, or rather none at all.

The originall of nations for the most part vncerteine.

To fetch therefore the matter from the farthest, and so to stretch it forward, it séemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and ioined without any separation of sea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like vncerteinties) I leaue to be discussed of by the learned: howbeit for the first inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to set downe in part, what may be gathered out of such writers as haue touched that matter, and may séeme to giue some light vnto the knowledge thereof.

Whither Britaine were an Iland at the first. *Geog. com. lib.* No Ilands at the first, as some coniecture.

First therefore Iohn Bale our countrieman, who in his time greatlie trauelled in the search of such antiquities, dooth probablie coniecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the floud, at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moses writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuersall face of the earth: and therfore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the daies of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beside. But when they had once forsaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inuented of themselues, such loosenesse of life ensued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and vniuersall floud, in the which perished as well the inhabitants of these quarters, as the residue of the race of mankind, generallie dispersed in euerie other part of the whole world, onelie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the prouidence and pleasure of almightie God was preserued from the rage of those waters, to recontinue and repaire the new generation of man of vpon earth.

In the first part of the acts of the English votaries. Britaine inhabited before the floud. *Genesis 6. Berosus ant. lib. 1.*

NOAH. *Iacobus de Voragine sup. Genes. 4. fo. Berosus de antiquit. lib. 1. Annius vt supr.*

AFTER the flood (as Annius de Viterbo recordeth) and reason also enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarch of all the world, and as the same Annius gathereth by the account of Moses in the 100. yeare after the flood, Noah diuided the earth among his three sonnes; assigning to the possession of his eldest sonne all that portion of land which now is knowne by the name of Asia; to his second sonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Affrica: and to his third sonne Iaphet was allotted all Europa, with all the Iles therto belonging, wherin among other was conteined this our Ile of Britaine, with the other Iles thereto perteining.

IAPHET AND HIS SONNES. *Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hist. cogn. Plancisrus Turapha.*

IAPHET the third son of Noah, of some called Iapetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (because he departed this life in Mauritania) was the first (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and consent of the Hebrue, Greeke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which afterward he diuided among his sonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdome of Spaine. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and (as Berosus and diuers other authors agree) Samothes was the founder of Celtica, which conteined in it (as Bale witnesseth) a great part of Europe, but speciallie those countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britannia.

Britaine inhabited shortlie after the floud.

Thus was this Iland inhabited and peopled within 200 yeeres after the floud by the children of Iaphet the sonne of Noah: & this is not onlie prooued by Annius, writing vpon Berosus, but also confirmed by Moses in the scripture, where he writeth, that of the offspring of Iaphet, the Iles of the Gentiles (wherof Britain is one) were sorted into regions in the time of Phaleg the sonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the diuision of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath these words: "Cùm priscis temporibus pauci forent homines in Arabia & Chaldæa, post linguarum diuisionem aucti & multiplicati paulatim sunt: hinc quidam abierunt versus orientem, quidam concessere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti sunt ad septentrionem sedes quæsituri, nec prius desierunt terram vbiq; occupare, quàm etiam Britannos in Arctois climatibus accesserint, &c." *That is*; "When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chaldæa, it came to passe, that after the diuision of toongs, they began somewhat better to increase and multiplie, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither staid they to replenish the earth as they went, till they came vnto the Iles of Britaine, lieng vnder the north pole." Thus far Theophilus.

Theophilus episcop. Antioch. ad Antol. lib. 2. The words of Theophilus a doctor of the church, who liued an. Dom. 160.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had bene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgil was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confesse, that the Ile of Britaine had receiued inhabitants foorthwith after the floud.

Of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, fiue kings succeeding each other in regiment ouer the Celts, and Samotheans; and how manie hundred yeeres the Celts inhabited this Iland.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Gen. 2. De migr. gen. Cent. 1.

SAMOTHES the sixt begotten sonne of Iaphet called by Moses Mesech, by others Dis, receiued for his portion (according to the report of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrie lieng betweene the riuer of Rhene and the Pyrenian mountains, where he founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called Celtæ. Which name Bale affirmeth to haue bene indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile of Britaine, & that he planted colonies of men (brought foorth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the maine land, and after in the Iland. He is reported by Berosus to haue excelled all men of that age in learning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to haue imparted the same among his people;

Anti. lib. 1. Bale script. Brit. cent. 1.

people; namelie, the vnderstanding of the sundrie courses of the starres, the order of inferiour things, with manie other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernment of mans life: and to haue deliuered the same in the Phenician letters: out of which the Greekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuised & deriued the Greeke characters, insomuch that Xenophon and Iosephus doo constantlie report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Greekes and other nations receiued their letters and learning first from these countries. Of this king and his learning arose a sect of philosophers (saith Annius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristotle and Secion write) were passing skilfull both in the law of God and man: and for that cause exceedinglie giuen to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of this Ile of Britaine, insomuch that the whole nation did not onelie take the name of them, but the Iland it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was especiallie knowne before the arriuall of Albion.

Cæsar. comment. lib. 8.

In epithet. temp. De æquinoctis contra Appionem.

Lib. de Magic. success. lib. 2.

Script. Brit. cent. 1. De ant. Cant. cent. lib. 1.

This Ile called Samothea.

Magus the sonne of Samothes, after the death of his father, was the second king of Celtica, by whome (as Berosus writeth) there were manie townes builded among the Celts, which by the witnesse of Annius did beare the addition of their founder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull surueior of the world and searcher of cities, maketh mention of foure of them here in Britaine, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Niomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus sir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue stood where the citie of Chester now standeth; Niomagus, George Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is now remaining. Beside this, Bale dooth so highlie commend the foresaid Magus for his learning renowmed ouer all the world, that he would haue the Persians, and other nations of the south and west parts, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In deed Rauisius Textor, and sir Iohn Prise affirme, that in the daies of Plinie, the Britons were so expert in art magike, that they might be thought to haue first deliuered the same to the Persians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, and of what profession the *Magi* were, Tullie declareth at large, and Mantuan in briefe, after this maner:

MAGUS THE SONNE OF SAMOTHES.

Lib. 9. Annius in commen. super eundem. Geogr.

De diui. lib. 1. De fastis li. 5.

Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui sidera norit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires cultúmq; deorum,
Persepoli facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.

The Persians terme him Magus, that
the course of starres dooth knowe,
The power of herbs, and worship due
to God that man dooth owe,
By threefold knowledge thus the name
of Magus then dooth growe.

H. F.

Sarron the third king of the Celts succeeded his father Magus in gouernement of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein as (D. Caius writeth) he founded certaine publike places for them that professed learning, which Berosus affirmeth to be done, to the intent to restraine the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but raw and void of all ciuilitie. Also it is thought by Annius, that he was the first author of those kind of philosophers, which were called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: "There are (saith he) among the Celts certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides, whom aboue all other they haue in great estimation. For it is the manner among them, not without a philosopher to make anie sacrifice: sith they are of beleefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such as are skilfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those who are neerest vnto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whose aduise they vse and follow, as well in warre as in peace."

SARRON THE SONNE OF MAGUS.

De ant. Cant. lib. 1. Bale script. Brit. cent. 1. Lib. 6.

Druis, whom Seneca calleth Dryus, being the sonne of Sarron, was after his father established the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reigning as wel ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samotheans. This prince is commended

DRUIS THE SON OF SARRON.

De morte Claud.

mended by Berosus to be so plentifullie indued with wisedome and learning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted author of the begining and name of the philosophers called Druides, whome Cæsar and all other ancient Greeke and Latine writers doo affirme to haue had their begining in Britaine, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, insomuch that when there arose any doubt in that countrie touching any point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolued therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ile of Anglesey (as Humfrey Llhoyd witnesseth) they made their principall abode. Touching their vsages many things are written by Aristotle, Socion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in briefe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Cæsar saith) the charge of common & priuate sacrifices, the discussing of points of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the companie of men, as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmeth, how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dreadlesse of death. Tullie writeth, that partlie by tokens, and partlie by surmises, they would foretell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and euerlasting God. All these things they had written in the Greeke toong, insomuch that Wolf. Lazius (vpon the report of Marcellinus) declareth how the Greeke letters were first brought to Athens by Timagenes from the Druides. And herevpon it commeth also to passe, that the British toong hath in it remaining at this day some smacke of the Greeke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembring of them, to diuine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practises, their sect was first condemned for abhominable (as some haue written) and dissolued in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberius and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolished here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospell of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receiued among the Britaines, vnder Lucius king of Britaine, about the yeare of our sauior, 179.

Anti. lib. 5. Annius super eundem. De bello Gallico. lib. 9. De bello Gallico. 6. Hist. an. lib. 1. De diui. lib. 1. Hist. Scoti. li. 2. De migr. gen. lib. 2. Marcellinus. Anna. Boiorum. lib. 22. De ant. Cant.

BARDUS THE SONNE OF DRUIS.

BARDUS the sonne of Druis succeeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the fift king ouer the Celtes and Samotheans, amongst whom he was highlie renoumed (as appeareth by Berosus) for inuention of dities and musicke, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophicall poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should seeme by doctor Caius and master Bale, that Cæsar found some of them here at his arriuall in this Ile, and reported that they had also their first begining in the same. The profession and vsages of these Bardi, Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir Iohn Prise, are in effect reported after this sort. They did vse to record the noble exploits of the ancient capteins, and to drawe the pedegrees and genealogies of such as were liuing. They would frame pleasant dities and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemne feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hosts had bene readie ranged to ioine in battell, and that any of them had fortuned to enter among them, both the hosts (as well the enimies as the friends) would haue holden their hands, giuen eare vnto them, and ceassed from fight, vntill these Bards had gone out of the battell. Of these Bards Lucane saith,

Berosus ant. lib. 2. Annius in comm. super eundem. Ant. Cant li. 1. script. Britan. cent. 1. Nonnius Marcel. Strabo. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 6. Carol. Stepha. in dict. hist. Bale. Iohn Prise. Lucan. lib. 1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas belló q; peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis æuum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi:

And you ô poet Bards from danger void that dities sound,
Of soules of dreadlesse men, whom rage of battell would confound,
And make their lasting praise to time of later age rebound.

H. F.

Because

Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue vnabolished in all ages, insomuch that there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ, Plenidius and Oronius: after Christ (as Prise recounteth) Thalestine, and the two Merlins, Melkin, Elaskirion, and others: and of late daies among the Welshmen, Dauid Die, Ioslo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the witnes of Humfrey Llhoyd, there is an Iland neere vnto Wales, called Insula Bardorum, and Bardsey, whereof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Bardes or Barthes.

John Bale script. Britan. cent. 2.
Iohn Prise defen. hist. Brit.
Caius de ant. Cant. lib. 1.
Iohn Leland syllab. ant. dict.
Hom. Lloyd de Mona insula

Thus farre the gouernement of the Celts in this Ile.

AN APPENDIX TO THE FORMER CHAPTER.

After Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the streict ordinances of their ancient kings, and betaking themselues to pleasure and idlenesse, were in short time, and with small labour brought vnder the subiection of the giant Albion, the sonne of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, streicted the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue heard, accordinglie as Annius hath gathered out of Berosus the Chaldean, who therein agréeth also with the scripture, the saieng of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and maner of their comming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of those countries into this Ile. Cæsar and Tacitus seeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came ouer to view the countrie for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would haue them to come in (a Gods name) from Languedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Languedoc named Albie. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

Bale.
Annius.
Theophilus.
Sir Brian Tuke
Cæsar.
Tacitus.
Bodinus.
Beda.
Polydor.

But that the authorities afore recited are sufficient to proue the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onelie the néernesse of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originals doo fullie confirme the same. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the British and Celtike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, bicause the Celtike toong is long sithens growne wholie out of vse. Howbeit some such Celtike words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceiued to agrée with the Welsh toong, being the vncorrupted spéech of the ancient Britains. In déed Pausanias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horsse *Marc*: and by that name doo the Welshmen call a horsse to this day; and the word *Trimarc* in Pausanias, signifieth in the Celtike toong, thrée horsses.

Bodinus.
Pausanias

Thus it appeareth by the authoritie of writers, by situation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothes to Albion continued here the space of 310 yeares or there abouts. And finallie it is likelie, that aswell the progenie as the spéech of them is partlie remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and speciallie the British, euen vnto this day.

Iohn Bale.

Of

Of the giant Albion, of his comming into this Iland, diuers opinions why it was called Albion: why Albion and Bergion were slaine by Hercules: of Danaus and of his 50 daughters.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Bale. *Annius de Viterbo.* *Diodorus Siculus.* Pinnesses or gallies. *Higinus.* *Pictonius.*

NEPTUNUS called by Moses (as some take it) Nepthuim, the sixt sonne of Osiris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appointed him of his father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the ocean sea: wherefore he furnished himselfe of sundrie light ships for the more redie passage by water, which in the end grew to the number of a full nauie: & so by continuall exercise he became so skilfull, and therewith so mightie vpon the waters (as Higinus & Pictonius doo write) that he was not onelie called the king, but also estéemed the god of the seas. He had to wife a ladie called Amphitrita, who was also honored as goddesse of the seas, of whose bodie he begat sundrie children: and (as Bale reporteth) he made euerie one of them king of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his fourth son called Albion the giant, who brought the same vnder his subiection. And herevpon it resteth, that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made mention, that light shippes were first inuented in the British seas, and that the same were couered round with the hides of beasts, for defending them from the surges and waues of the water.

Scrip. Bri. cent. 1.

Ioh. Textor. *Polydor.*

This Albion being put by his father in possession of this Ile of Britaine, within short time subdued the Samotheans, the first inhabitantes thereof, without finding any great resistance, for that (as before ye haue heard) they had giuen ouer the practise of all warlike and other painefull exercises, and through vse of effeminate pleasures, wherevnto they had giuen themselues ouer, they were become now vnapt to withstand the force of their enimies: and so (by the testimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Philesius, Aristotle, and Humfrey Lhoyd, with diuers other, both forraine & home-writers) this Iland was first called by the name of Albion, hauing at one time both the name and inhabitants changed from the line of Iaphet vnto the accursed race of Cham.

Nichol. Perot. *Rigmanus Philesius.* *Aristotle.* *Hum. Lhoyd.*

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which signifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupt stature and highnesse naturallie incident to the first age (which Berosus also séemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noah was one of the giants) and were not so called only of their monstrous greatnesse, as the common people thinke (although in deed they exceeded the vsuall stature of men now in these daies) but also for that they tooke their name of the soile where they were borne: for *Gigantes* signifieth the sons of the earth: the Aborigines, or (as Cesar calleth them) Indigenæ; that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Berosus.

What *Gigantes* signifie

Thus some thinke, but verelie although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which maintaine that there should be any Aborigines, or other kind of men than those of Adams line; yet that there haue béene men of far greater stature than are now to be found, is sufficientlie prooued by the huge bones of those that haue beene found in our time, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation it shall not need, sith in the description of Britaine ye shall find it sufficientlie declared.

Against the opinion of the Aborigines.

Bale. Bergion brother to Albion. Hercules Lybicus.

But now to our purpose. As Albion held Britaine in subiection, so his brother Bergion kept Ireland and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and hearing that their coosine Hercules Lybicus hauing finished his conquests in Spaine, meant to passe through Gallia into Italie, against their brother Lestrigo that oppressed Italie, vnder subiection of him & other of his brethren the sons also of Neptune; as well Albion as Bergion assembling their powers togither, passed ouer into Gallia, to stoppe the passage of Hercules, whose intention was to vanquish and destroie those tyrants the sonnes of Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers countries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their heauie thraldome.

The

The cause that moued Hercules thus to pursue vpon those tyrants now reigning thus in the world, was, for that not long before, the greatest part of them had conspired togither and slaine his father Osiris, notwithstanding that they were nephues to the same Osiris, as sonnes to his brother Neptune; and not contented with his slaughter, they diuided his carcase also amongst them, so that each of them got a peece in token of reioising at their murtherous atchiued enterprise. The cause why Hercules pursued his coosins.

For this cause Hercules (whome Moses calleth Laábin) proclamed warres against them all in reuenge of his fathers death: and first he killed Triphon and Busiris in Aegypt, then Anteus in Mauritania, & the Gerions in Spaine, which enterprise atchiued, he led his armie towardes Italie, and by the way passed through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing vnited their powers togither, were readie to receiue him with battell: and so néere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhosne, in Latine *Rhodanus*, they met & fought. At the first there was a right terrible and cruell conflict betwixt them. And albeit that Hercules had the greatest number of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to whether part the glorie of that daies worke would bend. Whereupon when the victorie began outright to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihood of vtter losse of that battell, speciallie for that his men had wasted their weapons, he caused those that stood still and were not otherwise occupied, to stoope downe, and to gather vp stones, whereof in that place there was great plentie, which by his commandement they bestowed so frée lie vpon their enimies, that in the end hée obteined the victorie, and did not only put his aduersaries to flight, but also slue Albion there in the field, togither with his brother Bergion, and the most part of all their whole armie. This was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant prowesse of Hercules, who as one appointed by Gods prouidence to subdue the cruell & vnmercifull tyrants, spent his time to the benefit of mankind, deliuering the oppressed from the heauie yoke of miserable thraldome, in euerie place where he came. *Pomp. Mela.* Hercules discomfiteth his enimies. Albion is slaine.

And by the order of this battell wée maye learne whereof the poets had their inuention, when they faine in their writings, that Iupiter holpe his sonne Hercules, by throwing downe stones from heauen in this battell against Albion and Bergion. Moreouer, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine called Albion (as before we haue said) after the name of the said Albion: because he was established chiefe ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather Osiris, and his father Neptune that cunning sailour reigning therein (as Bale saith) by the space of 44. yeares, till finally he was slaine in maner afore remembred by his vncle Hercules Libicus. The occasion of the fable of Iupiters helping his son Hercules. How this Ile was called Albion, of the giant Albion. *Iohn Bale*

After that Hercules had thus vanquished and destroied his enimies, hée passed to and fro thorough Gallia, suppressing the tyrants in euerie part where he came, and restoring the people vnto a reasonable kinde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the citie Alexia in Burgongne, nowe called Alize. Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the life of Hercules it is auouched, that the same Hercules came ouer hither into Britaine. And this dooth Giraldus write by warrant of such Britons as (saith he) haue so written themselues, which thing peraduenture he hath read in Gildas the ancient Briton poet: a booke that (as he confesseth in the *5.* dialog of his histories of poets) he hath séene. The same thing also is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britaine called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may read, which is thought to take name of his arriuall at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called ancientlie by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie doo not allow of this historie of Albion the giant. But for so much as it apperteineth rather to the description than to the historie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay foorth the secret mysteries of such matters: and because I thinke that this opinion which is here auouched, how it tooke that name of the forsaid Albion, sonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as some of the other, I here passe ouer the rest, & procéed with the historie. Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion. Sée more hereof in the description.

When Albion chiefe capteine of the giants was slaine, the residue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without any rule or restraint of law, in so much that they fell to such a dissolute order of life, that they séemed little or nothing to differ from brute beasts: and those are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were so named, as well for the huge proportion of their stature (sithens as before is said, that age brought foorth far greater men than are now liuing) as also for that they were the first, or at the least the furthest in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word *Gigines*, or *Gegines*, from whence our word giant (as some take it) is deriued, is a Gréeke word, and signifieth, Borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-elders, specially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were persuaded, that the first inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the descents of their predecessours, they would name him *Terræ filius*, The sonne of the earth: and so the giants whom the poets faine to haue sought to make battell against heauen are called the sonnes of the earth: and the first inhabitants generally of euery countrie were of the Gréekes called *Gigines*, or *Gegines*, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenæ*, that is, People borne of the earth from the beginning, and comming from no other countrie, but bred within the same.

Terræ filius what it signifieth.

Aborigines. Indigenæ.

These giants and first inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beastlie kind of life vnto the arriuall of the ladies, which some of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Dioclesian the king of Assyria, whereas in déed they haue béene deceiued, in taking the word *Danaus* to be short written for *Dioclesianus*: and by the same meanes haue diuers words and names béene mistaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written woorks. But this is a fault that learned men should not so much trouble themselues about, considering the same hath bin alreadie found by sundrie authors ling sithens, as Hugh the Italian, Iohn Harding, Iohn Rouse of Warwike, and others, speciallie by the helpe of Dauid Pencair a British historie, who recite the historie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And because we would not any man to thinke, that the historie of these daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpose deuised, and brought in place of Dioclesianus, to excuse the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no such historie (or at the least no such women that arriued in this Ile) the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue 900. yeares past, and maketh mention of the arriuall of such ladies.

The mistaking of the name of Dioclesianus for Danaus.

Hugh the Italian. Harding. Iohn Rous out of *Dauid Pencair.*

Nennius.

To be short, the historie is thus. Belus the sonne of Epaphus, or (as some writers haue) of Neptune and Libies (whome Isis after the death of Apis maried) had issue two sonnes: the first Danaus, called also Armeus; and Aegyptus called also Rameses: these two were kings among the Aegyptians, Danaus the elder of the two, hauing in his rule the vpper region of Aegypt, had by sundrie wiues 50. daughters, with whome his brother Aegyptus, gaping for the dominion of the whole, did instantlie labour, that his sonnes being also 50. in number, might match. But Danaus hauing knowledge by some prophesie or oracle, that a sonne in law of his should be his death, refused so to bestow his daughters. Hereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flée his countrie, and so prepared a nauie, imbarked himselfe and his daughters, and with them passed ouer into Gréece, where he found meanes to dispossesse Gelenor (sonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him out of his countrie, and reigned in his place by the assistance of the Argiues that had conceiued an hatred towardes Gelenor, and a great liking towardes Danaus, who in verie deed did so farre excell the kings that had reigned there before him, that the Gréekes in remembrance of him were after called Danai.

Belus priscus.

Dictionarium poeticum.

Danaus. Aegyptus. *Higinus.*

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great disdaine for that he and his sonnes were in such sort despised of Danaus, sent his sonnes with a great armie to make warre against their vncle, giuing them in charge not to returne, till they had either slaine Danaus, or obteined his daughters in mariage. The yoong gentlemen according to their fathers commandement, being arriued in Greece, made such warre against Danaus, that in the end he was constrained

strained to giue vnto those his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to ioine with them in mariage, and so they were. But as the prouerbe saith, "In trust appeared treacherie." For on the first night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to ech of his daughters a sword, charging them that when their husbands after their bankets and pastimes were once brought into a sound sléepe, ech of them should slea hir husband, menacing them with death vnlesse they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeied the will of their father, Hypermnestra onely excepted, with whom preuailed more the loue of kinred and wedlocke, than the feare of hir fathers displeasure: for shee alone spared the life of hir husband Lynceus, waking him out of his sléepe, and warning him to depart and flée into Aegypt to his father. He therefore hauing all the wicked practises reuealed to him by his wife, followed hir aduice, and so escaped.

Now when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accomplished his commandement, sauing onelie Hypermnestra, he caused hir to be brought forth into iudgement, for disobeieng him in a matter wherein both the safetie and losse of his life rested: but she was acquitted by the Argiues, & discharged. Howbeit hir father kept hir in prison, and séeking to find out other husbands for his other daughters that had obeied his pleasure in sleaing their first husbands, long it was yer he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offense committed in the slaughter of their late husbands, was yet too fresh in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mind. Neuerthelesse, to bring his purpose the better to passe, he made proclamation, that his daughters should demand no ioinctures, and euerie suter should take his choise without respect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choise, but so as first come best serued, according to their owne phantasies and likings. Howbeit when this policie also failed, & would not serue his turne, he deuised a game of running, ordeining therewith, that whosoeuer got the best price should haue the first choise among all the sisters; and he that got the second, should choose next to the first; and so foorth, ech one after an other, according to the triall of their swiftnesse of foote. *Pausanias*

How much this practise auailed, I know not: but certeine it is, diuers of them were bestowed, either by this or some other meanes, for we find that Autonomes was maried to Architeles, Chrysanta or (as Pausanias saith) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Amaome with Neptunus Equestris, on whome he begat Nauplius.

But now to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wife Hypermnestra preserued, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue knowledge thereof to his wife, in raising a fire on heigth beaconwise, accordingly as she had requested him to doo at his departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwards tooke name of him, and was called Lyncea. Upon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to vnderstand the whole circumstance of the trecherous crueltie vsed by his vncle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himselfe had escaped death out of his vncles handes. Wherevpon at time conuenient he was furnished foorth with men and ships by his father, for the spéedie reuenge of that heinous, vnnaturall and most disloiall murder, in which enterprise he sped him foorth with such diligence, that in short time he found meanes to dispatch his vncle Danaus, set his wife Hypermnestra at libertie, and subdued the whole kingdome of the Argiues. *Higinus.* *Pausanias.*

This done, he caused the daughters of Danaus (so many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be sent for, whome he thought not worthie to liue, bicause of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues sisters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thrust into a ship, without maister, mate or mariner, and so to be turned into the maine ocean sea, and to take and abide such fortune as should chance vnto them. These ladies thus imbarked and left to the mercy of the seas, by hap were brought to the coasts of this Ile then called Albion, where they tooke land, and in séeking to prouide themselues of victuals by pursute of wilde beasts, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and sauage giants men- *Harding* and *Iohn Rous* out *f Dauid Pen- tair.*

tioned before, whome our historiens for their beastlie kind of life doo call diuells. With these monsters did these ladies (finding none other to satisfie the motions of their sensuall lust) ioine in the act of venerie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye wil thinke that I haue forgotten my selfe, in rehearsing this historie of the ladies arriuall here, bicause I make no mention of Albina, which should be the eldest of the sisters, of whome this land should also take the name of Albion. To this we answer, that as the name of their father hath bene mistaken, so likewise hath the whole course of the historie in this behalfe. For though we shall admit that to be true which is rehearsed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall here of those ladies; yet certeine it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whome this land might be called Albion. For further assurance whereof, if any man be desirous to know all their names, we haue thought good here to rehearse them as they be found in Higinus, Pausanias, and others. 1 Idea, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phicomene, 5 Euippe, 6 Demoditas, 7 Hyale, 8 Trite, 9 Damone, 10 Hippothoe, 11 Mirmidone, 12 Euridice, 13 Chleo, 14 Vrania, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hypareta, 18 Chrysothemis, 19 Heranta, 20 Armoaste, 21 Danaes, 22 Scea, 23 Glaucippe, 24 Demophile, 25 Autodice, 26 Polyxena, 27 Hecate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arsalte, 30 Monuste, 31 Amimone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaome, 34 Polybe, 35 Helicte, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphildice, 39 Hero, 40 Europomene, 41 Critomedia, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themistagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Erato, 47 Autonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chrysanta, 50 Hypermnestra. These were the names of those ladies the daughters of Danaus: howbeit, which they were that should arriue in this Ile, we can not say: but it sufficeth to vnderstand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the historie of their landing here should be true or not, it is all one for the matter concerning the name of this Ile, which vndoubtedlie was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue said) or by some other occasion.

Higinus.
The names of the daughters of Danaus.
Soe more in the description.

And thus much for the ladies, whose strange aduenture of their arriuall here, as it may séeme to manie & (with good cause) incredible, so without further auouching it for truth, I leaue it to the consideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reason shall moue him; sith I sée not how either in this, or in other things of such antiquitie, we cannot haue sufficient warrant otherwise than by likelie coniectures. Which as in this historie of the ladies they are not most probable, yet haue we shewed the likeliest, that (as we thinke) may be déemed to agrée with those authors that haue written of their comming into this Ile. But as for an assured proofe that this Ile was inhabited with people before the comming of Brute, I trust it may suffice which before is recited out of Annius de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be said: as of the comming hither of Osiris, as well as in the other parties of the world: and likewise of Vlysses his being here, who in performing some vow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was ancientlie called Calidonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhistor in plaine words dooth record.

Vlysses in Britaine.
Iulius Solinus.

¶ Vpon these considerations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the reader, the opinion of those that thinke this land to haue bene inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, trusting it may be taken in good part, sith we haue but shewed the coniectures of others, till time that some sufficient learned man shall take vpon him to decipher the doubts of all these matters. Neuerthelesse, I thinke good to aduertise the reader that these stories of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, doo relie onelie vpon the authoritie of Berosus, whom most diligent antiquaries doo reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to prooue the same by a speciall treatise latelie published at Rome.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Of Brute and his descent, how he slue his father in hunting, his banishment, his letter to king Pandrasus, against whom he wageth battell, taketh him prisoner, and concludeth peace vpon conditions.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

HITHERTO haue we spoken of the inhabitants of this Ile before the comming of Brute, although some will néeds haue it, that he was the first which inhabited the same with his people descended of the Troians, some few giants onelie excepted whom he vtterlie destroied, and left not one of them alíue through the whole Ile. But as we shall not doubt of Brutes comming hither, so may we assuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either with the generation of those which Albion the giant had placed here, or some other kind of people whom he did subdue, and so reigned as well ouer them as ouer those which he brought with him.

This Brutus, or Brytus [for this letter (Y) hath of ancient time had the sounds both of V and I] (as the author of the booke which Geffrey of Monmouth translated dooth affirme) was the sonne of Siluius, the sonne of Ascanius, the sonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wife Creusa, & borne in Troie, before the citié was destroied. But as other doo take it, the author of that booke (whatsoeuer he was) and such other as follow him, are deceiued onelie in this point, mistaking the matter, in that Posthumus the sonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lauinia, and borne after his fathers deceasse in Italie) was called Ascanius, who had issue a sonne named Iulius, who (as these other doo coniecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous leader of those people, which being descended (for the more part in the fourth generation) from those Troians that escaped with life, when that roiall citie was destroied by the Gréekes, got possession of this woorthie and most famous Ile.

Humfr. Lhoyd.

Harding. Alex. Neuil. W. Har.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine in his vniuersall historie, speaking of Aeneas and his ofspring kings in Italie, séemeth to agrée, where he saith: "Siluius (the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in loue with a néece of his mother Lauinia, and by hir had a sonne, of whom she died in trauell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as he grew in some stature, and hunting in a forrest slue his father vnwares, and therevpon for feare of his grandfather Siluius Posthumus he fled the countrie, and with a retinue of such as followed him, passing through diuers seas, at length he arriued in the Ile of Britaine."

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his father Iulius was sonne to Ascanius the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Creusa, or sonne to Posthumus called also Ascanius, and sonne to Aeneas by his wife Lauinia, we will not further stand. But this, we find, that when he came to the age of 15. yéeres, so that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the forrests and chases, he fortuned (either by mishap, or by Gods prouidence) to strike his father

Brute killeth his father.

father with an arrow, in shooting at a déere, of which wound he also died. His grandfather (whether the same was Posthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this great misfortune that had chanced to his sonne Siluius, liued not long after, but died for verie greefe and sorow (as is supposed) which he conceiued thereof. And the yoong gentleman, immediatlie after he had slaine his father (in maner before alledged) was banished his countrie, and therevpon got him into Grecia, where trauelling the countrie, he lighted by chance among some of the Troian ofspring, and associating himselfe with them, grew by meanes of the linage (whereof he was descended) in proces of time into great reputation among them: chieflie by reason there were yet diuers of the Troian race, and that of great au-

Pausanias.

thoritie in that countrie. For Pyrrhus the sonne of Achilles, hauing no issue by his wife Hermione, maried Andromache, late wife vnto Hector: and by hir had thrée sonnes, Molossus, Pileus, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of great power in those places and countries, and their ofspring likewise: whereby Brutus or Brytus wanted no frienoship. For euen at his first comming thither, diuers of the Troians that remained in seruitude, being desirous of libertie, by flocks resorted vnto him. And amongst other, Assaracus was one, whom Brute intertained, receiuing at his hands the possession of sundrie forts and places of defense, before that the king of those parties could haue vnderstanding or knowledge of any such thing. Herewith also such as were readie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on ech side, wherevpon he first placed garisons in those townes which had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwards with Assaracus and the residue of the multitude he withdrew into the mountains néere adioining. And thus being made strong with such assistance, by consultation had with them that were of most authoritie about him, wrote vnto the king of that countrie called Pandrasus, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Brute to Pandrasus, as I find it set downe in Galfride Monumetensis.

"BRUTE leader of the remnant of the Troian people, to Pandrasus king of the Greekes, sendeth greeting. Bicause it hath beene thought a thing vnworthie, that the people descended of the noble linage of Dardanus should be otherwise dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they haue withdrawne themselues within the close couert of the woods. For they haue chosen rather (after the maner of wild beasts) to liue on flesh and herbs in libertie, than furnished with all the riches in the world to continue vnder the yoke of seruile thraldome. But if this their dooing offend thy mightie highnesse, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalfe to be pardoned, sith euerie captiue prisoner is desirous to be restored vnto his former estate and dignitie. You therefore pitieng their case, vouchsafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and suffer them to remaine in quiet within these woods which they haue got into their possession: if not so, yet giue them licence to depart forth of this countrie into some other parts."

Pandrasus prepareth an armie to suppresse the Troian ofspring.

Sparatinum.

Peraduenture Achelous.

Antigonus, the brother of Pandrasus.

The sight of these letters, and request in them conteined, made Pandrasus at the first somewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and considering their small number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to suppresse them by force, before they should grow to a greater multitude. And to bring his intention the better to passe, he passed by a towne called Sparatinum, & marching toward the woods where he thoght to haue found his enimies, he was suddenlie assalted by Brute, who with three thousand men came foorth of the woods, and fiercelie setting vpon his enimies, made great slaughter of them, so that they were vtterlie discomfited, & sought by flight to saue themselues in passing a riuer néere hand called Akalon. Brute with his men following fast vpon the aduersaries, caused them to plunge into the water at aduenture, so that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Pandrasus did what he could to stay the Grecians from fléeing, and calling them backe againe did get some of them togither, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing auailed, for the Troians, preas-

ing

ing vpon him, tooke him prisoner, slue and scattred his companie, and ceased not till they had rid the fields of all their aduersaries.

This doone, Brute entering the towne, furnished it with six hundred able souldiours, and afterwards went backe to the residue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was receiued with vnspeakeable ioy for this prosperous atchiued enterprise. But although this euill successe at the first beginning sore troubled Pandrasus, as well for the losse of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in desire to séeke reuenge, than otherwise discouraged. And therefore assembling his people againe togither that were scattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Sparatinum, where he thought to haue found Brute inclosed togither with the prisoners, and therfore he shewed his whole endeuour by hard siege and fierce assaults to force them within to yeeld.

Brute entreth into Sparatinum.

To conclude, so long he continued the siege, till victuals began to waxe scant within, so that there was no way but to yeeld, if present succour came not to remoue the siege: wherevpon they signified their necessitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power sufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue them a camisado in the night season, and so ordered his businesse, that inforsing a prisoner (named Anacletus whome he had taken in the last battell) to serue his turne, by constreining him to take an oth (which he durst not for conscience sake breake) he found means to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduantage, that he did not onelie ouerthrowe their whole power, but also tooke Pandrasus prisoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and shortlie after a perfect peace concluded, vpon these conditions following.

Pandrasus taken prisoner.

First, that Pandrasus should giue his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in mariage, with a competent summe of gold and siluer for hir dowrie.

The conditions of the agréement betwixt Brute & Pandrasus.

Secondlie, to furnish him and his people with a nauie of ships, and to store the same with victuals and all other necessaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people should haue licence to depart the countrie, to séeke aduentures whither so euer it should please them to direct their course, without let, impeachment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Gréeks.

To all these conditions (bicause they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdome) Pandrasus did willinglie agrée, and likewise performed.

Brute and his wife Innogen arriue in Leogitia, they aske counsell of an oracle where they shall inhabit, he meeteth with a remnant of Troians on the coasts neere the shooting downe of the Pyrenine hills into the sea.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

AL things being thus brought to passe according to Brutes desire, wind also and wether seruing the purpose, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarked, and hoising vp sailes departed from the coasts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights sailing, they arriued at Leogitia (in some old written bookes of the British historie noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they consulted with an oracle. Brute himselfe knéeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for sacrifice full of wine, and the bloud of a white hinde, spake in this maner as here followeth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror syluestribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,
Infernásq; domos, terrestria iura resolue,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certam sedem qua te venerabor in æuum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

These

These verses (as Ponticus Virumnius and others also doo gesse) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled *Cambreidos*, and may thus be Englished:

Thou goddesse that doost rule
the woods and forrests greene,
And chasest foming boares
that flee thine awfull sight,
Thou that maist passe aloft
in airie skies so sheene,
And walke eke vnder earth
in places void of light,
Discouer earthlie states,
direct our course aright,
And shew where we shall dwell,
according to thy will,
In seates of sure abode,
where temples we may dight
For virgins that shall sound
thy laud with voices shrill.

After this praier and ceremonie done, according to the pagane rite and custome, Brute abiding his answer, fell asléepe: in which sléepe appeared to him the said goddesse vttering this answer in the verses following expressed.

Brute, sub occasum solis trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est, vndiq; clausa mari,
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidèm, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, námq; tibi sedes erit illa perennis,
Hîc fiet natis altera Troia tuis:
Hîc de prole tua reges nascentur, & ipsis
Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.

Brute, farre by-west beyond the Gal-
like land is found,
An Ile which with the ocean seas
inclosed is about,
Where giants dwelt sometime,
but now is desart ground,
Most meet where thou maist plant
thy selfe with all thy rout:
Make thitherwards with speed,
for there thou shalt find out
An euerduring seat,
and Troie shall rise anew,
Vnto thy race, of whom
shall kings be borne no dout,
That with their mightie power
the world shall whole subdew.

After he awaked out of sléepe, and had called his dreame to remembrance, he first doubted whether it were a verie dreame, or a true vision, the goddes hauing spoken to him with liuelie voice. Wherevpon calling such of his companie vnto him as he thought requisite in such a case, he declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumstances, whereat they greatlie reioising, caused mightie bonfires to be made, in the which they cast wine, milke, and other liquors.

liquors, with diuers gums and spices of most sweet smell and sauour, as in the pagan religion was accustomed. Which obseruances and ceremonies performed and brought to end, they returned streightwaies to their ships, and as soone as the wind serued, passed forward on their iournie with great ioy and gladnesse, as men put in comfort to find out the wished seats for their firme and sure habitations. From hence therefore they cast about, and making westward, first arriued in Affrica, and after keeping on their course, they passed the straits of Gibralterra, and coasting alongst the shore on the right hand, they found another companie that were likewise descended of the Troian progenie, on the coasts nere where the Pyrenine hils shoot downe to the sea, whereof the same sea by good reason (as some suppose) was named in those daies *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of writers & copiers of the British historie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrrhenum*, was slightlie put downe in stead of *Pyrenæum*.

Brute with his companie landed in Affrike.

The mistaking of those that haue copied the British historie putting *Mare Tyrrhenum*, for *Pyrenæum*.

The ofspring of those Troians, with whom Brute and his companie thus did méet, were a remnant of them that came away with Antenor. Their capteine hight Corineus, a man of great modestie and approoued wisedome, and thereto of incomparable strength and boldnesse.

Brute and the said Troians with their capteine Corineus doo associat, they take landing within the dominion of king Goffarus, he raiseth an armie against Brute and his power, but is discomfited: of the citie of Tours: Brutes arriuall in this Iland with his companie.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

AFTER that Brute and the said Troians, by conference interchangeablie had, vnderstood one anothers estates, and how they were descended from one countrie and progenie, they vnited themselues togither, greatlie reioising that they were so fortunatlie met: and hoising vp their sailes, directed their course forward still, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loire, which diuideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike, where they tooke land within the dominion of a king called Goffarius, surnamed Pictus, by reason he was descended of the people Agathyrsi, otherwise named Picts, bicause they vsed to paint their faces and bodies, insomuch that the richer a man was amongst them, the more cost he bestowed in painting himselfe; and commonlie the haire of their head was red, or (as probable writers say) of skie colour. Herodotus calleth them χρυσοφόρους, bicause they did weare much gold about them. They vsed their wiues in common, and bicause they are all supposed to be brethren, there is no strife nor discord among them. Of these Agathyrsi, it is recorded by the said Herodotus, that they refused to succour the Scythians against Darius, giuing this reason of their refusall; bicause they would not make warre against him who had doone them no wrong. And of this people dooth the poet make mention, saieng,

Brute and Coneus ioin their companies together.

They arriue on the coasts of Gallia, now called France.

Goffarius surnamed Pictus.

Les annales d'Aquitaine.

Agathyrsi, otherwise called Picts, of painting their bodies.

Marcellus. Plinie. Herodotus li. 4.

Virg. Aeneid. 4.

Cretésq; Dryopésq; fremunt pictíq; Agathyrsi.

To paint their faces not for amiablenesse, but for terriblenesse, the Britons in old time vsed, and that with a kind of herbe like vnto plantine. In which respect I sée no reason why they also should not be called Picts, as well as the Agathyrsi; séeing the denomination sprang of a vaine custome in them both. And here by the way, sithens we haue touched this follie in two seuerall people, let it not séeme tedious to read this one tricke of the Indians, among whom there is great plentie of pretious stones, wherewith they adorne themselues in this maner; namelie, in certein hollow places which they make in their flesh, they inclose and riuet in pretious stones, and that as well in their forheads as their chéekes, to none other purpose, than the Agathyrsi in the vse of their painting.

Cæsar com. li. 5.

P. Mart. com. part 2. sect. 60.

The countrie of Poictou (as some hold) where the said Goffarius reigned, tooke name of this people: & likewise a part of this our Ile of Britaine now conteined within Scotland,

Pightland or Pictland.

which in ancient time was called Pightland or Pictland, as elsewhere both in this historie of England, and also of Scotland may further appeare. But to our purpose.

Goffarius sendeth vnto Brute.

When Goffarius the king of Poictou was aduertised of the landing of these strangers within his countrie, he sent first certeine of his people to vnderstand what they ment by their comming a land within his dominion, without licence or leaue of him obteined. They that were thus sent, came by chance to a place where Corineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ships into a forrest néere the sea side, to kill some veneson for their sustenance: and being rebuked with some disdainfull speach of those Poictouins, he shaped them a round answer: insomuch that one of them whose name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corineus: but he auoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue his head in sunder. The rest of the Poictouins fled therevpon, and brought word to Goffarius what had happened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made forward to encounter with the Troians, and comming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie obteined a triumphant victorie, speciallie through the noble prowesse of Corineus.

Corineus answereth the messengers.

Imbert.

Imbert is slaine by Corineus.

Goffarius raiseth an armie.

Goffarius is discomfited.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the inner parts of Gallia, making sute for assistance vnto such kings as in those daies reigned in diuers prouinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquitaine, such strangers as without his licence were thus entred the countrie. But Brute in the meane time passed forward, and with fire and sword made hauocke in places where he came: and gathering great spoiles, fraught his ships with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he built a citie named Turonium, that is, Tours.

Goffarius séeketh aid against Brute.

Brute spoileth the countrie.

Turonium or Tours built by Brute.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were assembled to his aid, gaue battell againe vnto the Troians that were incamped to abide his comming. Where after they had fought a long time with singular manhood on both parties: the Troians in fine oppressed with multitudes of aduersaries (euen thirtie times as manie mo as the Troians) were constreined to retire into their campe, within the which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging round about them, and purposing by famine to compell them to yéeld themselues vnto their mercie. But Corineus taking counsell with Brute, deuised to depart in the darke of the night out of the campe, to lodge himselfe with thrée thousand chosen souldiers sécretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in couert till the morning that Brute should come foorth and giue a charge vpon the enimies, wherewith Corineus should breake foorth and assaile the Galles on the backes.

Goffarius hauing renewed his forces, fighteth eftsoones with Brute.

This policie was put in practise, and tooke such effect as the deuisers themselues wished: for the Galles being sharplie assailed on the front by Brute and his companie, were now with the sudden comming of Corineus (who set vpon them behind on their backes) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie they tooke them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they did ouertake them. In this battell Brute lost manie of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had shewed maruellous proofe of his manhood. Of him (as some haue written) the foresaid citie of Tours tooke the name, and was called *Turonium*, bicause the said Turinus was there buried.

Theuet.

Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and mainteineth that one Taurus the nephue of Haniball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of wood (as the maner of those daies was of fensing their townes) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our sauiour 197.

3374.

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to reioise, yet it sore troubled him to consider that his numbers dailie decaied, and his enimies still increased, and grew stronger: wherevpon resting doubtfull what to doo, whether to procéed against the Galles, or returne to his ships to séeke the Ile that was appointed him by oracle, at length he chose the surest and best way, as he tooke it, and as it proued. For whilest the greater part of his armie was yet left aliue, and that the victorie remained on his side, he drew to his nauie, and lading his ships with excéeding

Brute in dout what to doo.

great store of riches which his people had got abroad in the countrie, he tooke the seas againe. After a few daies sailing they landed at the hauen now called Totnesse, the yeare of the world 2850, after the destruction of Troy 66, after the deliuerance of the Israelites from the captiuitie of Babylon 397, almost ended; in the 18 yeare of the reigne of Tineas king of Babylon, 13 of Melanthus king of Athens, before the building of Rome 368, which was before the natiuitie of our Sauior Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great 783.

Brute with his remnant of Troians arriue in this Ile. *Anno mundi.* 2850. 1116.

Brute discouereth the commodities of this Iland, mightie giants withstand him, Gogmagog and Corineus wrestle together at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the citie of Trinouant now termed London, calleth this Iland by the name of Britaine, and diuideth it into three parts among his three sonnes.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

WHEN Brute had entred this land, immediatlie after his arriuall (as writers doo record) he searched the countrie from side to side, and from end to end, finding it in most places verie fertile and plentious of wood and grasse, and full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus trauelled to discouer the state and commodities of the Iland, he was encountred by diuers strong and mightie giants, whome he destroied and slue, or rather subdued, with all such other people as he found in the Iland, which were more in number than by report of some authors it should appeare there were. Among these giants (as Geffrey of Monmouth writeth) there was one of passing strength and great estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Corineus to wrestle at a place beside Douer, where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the side of Corineus while they stroue to claspe, and the one to ouerthrow the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his force that he got the vpper hand of the giant, and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named long after, *The fall or leape of Gogmagog*, but afterward it was called *The fall of Douer*. For this valiant déed, and other the like seruices first and last atchiued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrie of Cornwall. To be briefe, after that Brute had destroied such as stood against him, and brought such people vnder his subiection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land from the one end to the other: he was desirous to build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall of his empire or kingdome. Wherevpon he chose a plot of ground lieng on the north side of the riuer of Thames, which by good consideration séemed to be most pleasant and conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aswell for holsomnesse of aire, goodnesse of soile, plentie of woods, and commoditie of the riuer, seruing as well to bring in as to carrie out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie for the gaine, store, and vse of them that there should inhabit.

Brute encountred by the giants.

Corineus wrestleth with Gogmagog.

Gogmagog is slaine.

Cornwall giuen to Corineus.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the second yeare after his arriuall, which he named (saith Gal. Mon.) Troinouant, or (as Hum. Llhoyd saith) Troinewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part descended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Iland fullie vnder his subiection, he by the aduise of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the first bringer of them into the land. In this meane while also he had by his wife. iii. sonnes, the first named Locrinus or Locrine, the second Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew néere, to the first he betooke the gouernment of that part of the land nowe knowne by the name of England: so that the same was long after called Loegria, or Logiers, of the said Locrinus. To the second he

appointed the countrie of Wales, which of him was first named Cambria, diuided from Loegria by the riuer of Seuerne. To his third sonne Albanact he deliuered all the north part of the Ile, afterward called Albania, after the name of the said Albanact: which portion of the said Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had diuided the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) into 3. parts, and had gouerned the same by the space of 15. yeares, he died in the 24 yeare after his arriuall (as Harison noteth) and was buried at Troinouant or London: although the place of his said buriall there be now growne out of memorie.

In the daies of this our Brute Saule and Samuell gouerned Israell.

Of Locrine the eldest sonne of Brute, of Albanact his yoongest sonne, and his death: of Madan, Mempricius, Ebranke, Brute Greenesheeld, Leill, Ludhurdibras, Baldud, and Leir, the nine rulers of Britaine successiuelie after Brute.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

LOCRINE THE SECOND RULER OF BRITAIN. *Gal. Mon. Mat. West. Fa. out of G. de Co. Gal. Mon. Mat. West.*

LOCRINUS or Locrine the first begotten sonne of Brute began to reigne ouer the countrie called Logiers, in the yeare of the world 1874, and held to his part the countrie that reached from the south sea vnto the riuer of Humber. While this Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was slaine in a battell by a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who inuaded that part of Britaine, and got possession thereof, till Locrinus with his brother Camber, in reuenge of their other brothers death, and for the recouerie of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming against the said king of the Hunnes, by the valiancie of their people they discomfited him in battell, and chased him so egerlie, that he himselfe and a great number of his men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after tooke name of the said king, and was called Humber, and so continueth vnto this daie.

It should seeme that he was come ouer the Humber.

Gal. Mon.

Moreouer in this battell against the Hunnes were thrée yong damsels taken of excellent beautie, specially one of them, whose name was Estrild, daughter to a certeine king of Scythia. With this Estrild king Locrine fell so farre in loue, notwithstanding a former contract made betwixt him and the ladie Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus duke of Cornwall, that he meant yet with all spéed to marie the same Estrild. But being earnestlie called vpon, and in manner forced thereto by Corineus, hée changed his purpose, and married Guendoloena, kéeping neuertheles the aforesaid Estrild as paramour still after a secret sort, during the life of Corineus his father in law.

Now after that Corineus was departed this world, Locrine forsooke Guendoloena, and maried Estrild. Guendoloena therefore being cast off by hir husband, got hir into Cornewall to hir friends and kinred, and there procured them to make warre against the said Locrine hir husband, in the which warres hée was slaine, and a battell fought néere to the riuer of Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twentie yeares, & was buried by his father in the citie of Troinouant, leauing behind him a yoong sonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnméete to gouerne.

Mat. West.

Shée is not numbred amongst those that reigned as rulers in this land by *Mat. West.*

Guendoloena or Guendoline the wife of Locrinus, and daughter of Corineus duke of Cornewall, for so much as hir sonne Madan was not of yeeres sufficient to gouerne, was by common consent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yéere of the world 2894, and so hauing the administration in hir hands, she did right discreetlie vse hir selfe therein, to the comfort of all hir subiects, till hir sonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then she gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after she had gouerned by the space of fifteene yeares.

Gal. Mon.

MADAN THE THIRD RULER.

MADAN the sonne of Locrine and Guendoline entred into the gouernement of Britaine in the 2909, of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, sauing that he vsed great tyrannie amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40. yeares,

40. yeares, he was deuoured of wild beastes, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two sonnes, Mempricius and Manlius. He builded (as is reported) Madancaistre, now Dancastre, which reteineth still the later part of his name.

MEMPRICIUS THE FOURTH RULER.

MEMPRICIUS the eldest sonne of Madan began his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious mind prouoked the Britons to rebell against him, so that sore and deadly warre continued long betweene them. But finallie, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was slaine by his brother Mempricius, so that then he liued in more tranquillitie and rest. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into slouth, and so into vnlawfull lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters: and finallie became so beastlie, that he forsooke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable sinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and destroied of wild beastes, when he had reigned twentie yeares, leauing behind him a noble yoong sonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Fabian. Manlius is slaine.

Gal. Mon. Slouth engendred lecherie.

Mempricius is deuoured of beastes.

EBRANKE THE FIFT RULER.

EBRANKE the sonne of Mempricius began to rule ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2969. He had as writers doo of him record, one and twentie wiues, on whom he begot 20. sonnes and 30. daughters, of the which the eldest hight Guales, or Gualea. These daughters he sent to Alba Syluius, which was the eleuenth king of Italie, or the sixt king of the Latines, to the end they might be married to his noble men of the bloud of Troians, because the Sabines refused to ioine their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the first prince of his land that euer inuaded France after Brute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdome, and else where. His sonnes also vnder the conduct of Assaracus, one of their eldest brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their sisters thither, inuaded Germanie, being first molested by the people of that countrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the said Alba subdued a great part of that countrie, & there planted themselues. Our histories say, that Ebracus their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conquests, and that he builded the citie of Caerbranke, now called Yorke, about the 14, yeare of his reigne. He builded also in Albania now called Scotland, the castle of Maidens, afterward called Edenburgh of Adian one of their kings. The citie of Alclud was builded likewise by him (as some write) now decaied. After which cities thus builded, he sailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and subduing the Galles as is aforesaid, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wise by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

Ebranke had 21. wiues: his thirtie daughters sent into Italie. *Bergomas lib. 6.*

The citie of Caerbranke builded. *Matth. West.*

Fortie yeares hath *Math. West.* and *Gal. Monume.*

BRUTE GREENESHIELD THE SIXT RULER.

BRUTE GREENESHIELD, the sonne of Ebranke, was made gouernor of this land in the yeare of the world 3009, Asa reigning in Iuda, and Baasa in Israell. This prince bare alwaies in the field a gréene shield, whereof he tooke his surname, and of him some forraine authors affirme, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his subiection, which he performed, because his father susteined some dishonor and losse in his last voiage into that countrie. Howbeit they say, that when he came into Henaud, Brinchild a prince of that quarter gaue him also a great ouerthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his countrie. This I borrow out of William Harison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie likelie to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lieng on the south, and in manner vpon the verie loine after his owne name, and also a citie which he builded there Britaine. For (saith he) it should séeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble citie of that name long before his time in the said countrie, whereof Plinie also speaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he ascribe it vnto France after a disordered maner. More I find not of this foresaid Brute,

Iacobus Lef.

Strabo lib. 4.

Brute, sauing that he ruled the land a certeine time, his father yet liuing, and after his decease the tearme of twelue yeares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke.

LEILL THE SEUENTH RULER.

Carleil builded.

Chester repaired.

LEILL the sonne of Brute Greeneshield, began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3021, the same time that Asa was reigning in Iuda, and Ambri in Israell. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired also (as Henrie Bradshaw saith) the citie of Caerleon now called Chester, which (as in the same Bradshaw appeareth) was built before Brutus entrie into this land by a giant named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he had to auouch this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his woorke intituled "Polychronicon," saith in plaine wordes, that it is vnknowen who was the first founder of Chester, but that it tooke the name of the soiourning there of some Romaine legions, by whome also it is not vnlike that it might be first built by P. Ostorius Scapula, who as we find, after he had subdued Caratacus king of the Ordouices that inhabited the countries now called Lancashire, Cheshire, and Salopshire, built in those parts, and among the Silures, certeine places of defense, for the better harbrough of his men of warre, and kéeping downe of such Britaines as were still readie to moue rebellion.

But now to the purpose concerning K. Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his reigne verie vpright, and desirous to sée iustice executed, and aboue all thinges loued peace & quietnesse; but as yeares increased with him, so his vertues began to diminish, in so much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he suffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, and so procuring the hatred of his subiects, caused malice and discord to rise amongst them, which during his life he was neuer able to appease. But leauing them so at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye haue heard he had builded while he liued.

LUD OR LUDHURDIBRAS THE EIGHT RULER.

Kaerkin or Canterburie is builded.

Caerguent is builded.

Paladour is builded.

LUD or LUDHURDIBRAS the sonne of Leill began to gouerne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his reigne, hée sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to hir former quietnesse, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the towne of Kaerkin now called Canterburie: also the towne of Caerguent now cleped Winchester, and mount Paladour now called Shaftsburie. About the building of which towne of Shaftsburie, Aquila a prophet of the British nation wrote his prophesies, of which some fragments remaine yet to be seene, translated into the Latine by some ancient writers. When this Lud had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a sonne behind him named Baldud.

BALDUD OR BLADUD THE NINTH RULER.

Gal. Mon.

The king was learned.

Hot bathes.

BALDUD the sonne of Ludhurdibras began to rule ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well séene in the sciences of astronomie and nigromancie, by which (as the common report saith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmesburie is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Iulius Cesar made those bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Iulius Cesar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came so farre within the land that way forward. But of these bathes more shall be said in the description. Now to procéed. This Baldud tooke such pleasure in artificiall practises & magike, that he taught this art throughout all his realme. And to shew his cunning in other points, vpon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he tooke vpon him to flie in the aire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinouant, and there was torne in péeces after he had ruled the Britaines by the space of 20. yeares.

Mat. West.

The prince did flie.

LEIR THE 10. RULER.

Mat. West.

Leicester is builded.

LEIR the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Ioas reigned in Iuda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now

now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Sore. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordeilla, which daughters he greatly loued, but specially Cordeilla the yoongest farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeres, & began to waxe vnweldie through age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre hir whome he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome. Whervpon he first asked Gonorilla the eldest, how well she loued him: who calling hir gods to record, protested that she "loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reason should be most déere vnto hir. With which answer the father being well pleased, turned to the second, and demanded of hir how well she loued him: who answered (confirming hir saiengs with great othes) that she loued him more than toong could expresse, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world." *Gal. Mon.* A triall of loue.

Then called he his yoongest daughter Cordeilla before him, and asked of hir what account she made of him, vnto whome she made this answer as followeth: "Knowing the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which I maie not answere you otherwise than I thinke, and as my conscience leadeth me) I protest vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and will continuallie (while I liue) loue you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderstand of the loue that I beare you, assertaine your selfe, that so much as you haue, so much you are woorth, and so much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this answer, married his two eldest daughters, the one vnto Henninus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land should be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie should be assigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reserued nothing." The answer of the yoongest daughter. The two eldest daughters are maried. The realme is promised to his two daughters.

Neuertheles it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whose name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhood, and good conditions of the said Cordeilla, desired to haue hir in mariage, and sent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome answer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promised and assured to hir other sisters alreadie. Aganippus notwithstanding this answer of deniall to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, tooke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (I saie) for respect of hir person and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in those daies, as in the British historie it is recorded. But to proceed.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldest daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, arose against him in armour, and reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate assigned to him for the maintenance of his estate, which in processe of time was diminished as well by Maglanus as by Henninus. But the greatest griefe that Leir tooke, was to see the vnkindnesse of his daughters, which seemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the same being neuer so little: in so much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miserie, that scarslie they would allow him one seruant to wait vpon him. He gouerned the third part of Gallia as *Gal. Mon.* saith.

In the end, such was the vnkindnesse, or (as I maie saie) the vnnaturalnesse which he found in his two daughters, notwithstanding their faire and pleasant words vttered in time past, that being constreined of necessitie, he fled the land, & sailed into Gallia, there to seeke some comfort of his yongest daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arriued in poore estate, she first sent to him priuilie a certeine summe of monie to apparell himselfe withall, and to reteine a certeine number of seruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wise, as apperteined to the estate which he had borne: and then so accompanied, she appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was so ioifullie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued, both by his sonne in law Aganippus, and also by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no lesse honored, than if he had beene king of the whole countrie himselfe.

Now

Now when he had informed his sonne in law and his daughter in what sort he had béene vsed by his other daughters, Aganippus caused a mightie armie to be put in a readinesse, and likewise a great nauie of ships to be rigged, to passe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to sée him againe restored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla should also go with him to take possession of the land, the which he promised to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his decesse, notwithstanding any former grant made to hir sisters or to their husbands in anie maner of wise.

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ships were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir husband tooke the sea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies, and discomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Henninus were slaine: and then was Leir restored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the space of two yéeres, and then died, fortie yeeres after he first began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leicester in a vaut vnder the chanell of the riuer of Sore beneath the towne.

Matth. West.

The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla, how she was vanquished, of hir imprisonment and selfe-murther: the contention betweene Cunedag and Margan nephewes for gouernement, and the euill end thereof.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

QUEENE CORDEILLA.

CORDEILLA the yoongest daughter of Leir was admitted Q. and supreme gouernesse of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3155, before the bylding of Rome 54, Vzia then reigning in Iuda, and Ieroboam ouer Israell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers deceasse ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the space of fiue yéeres, in which meane time hir husband died, and then about the end of those fiue yéeres, hir two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, sonnes to hir aforesaid sisters, disdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre against hir, and destroied a great part of the land, and finallie tooke hir prisoner, and laid hir fast in ward, wherewith she tooke such griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and despairing to recouer libertie, there she slue hirselfe, when she had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of fiue yéeres.

CUNEDAG AND MARGAN.

CUNEDAGIUS and MARGANUS nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, diuided the same betwixt them, that is to saie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber fell to Margan, as it stretcheth euen to Catnesse, and the other part lieng south and by-west, was assigned to Cunedagius. This partition chanced in the yéere of the world 3170, before the building of Rome 47, Uzia as then reigning in Iuda, and Ieroboam in Israell. Afterwards, these two cousins, Cunedag and Margan, had not reigned thus past a two yéeres, but thorough some seditious persons, Margan was persuaded to raise warre against Cunedag, telling him in his care, how it was a shame for him being come of the elder sister, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hand. Herevpon ouercome with pride, ambition, and couetousnesse, he raised an armie, and entring into the land of Cunedag, he burned and destroied the countrie before him in miserable maner.

Margan inuadeth his cousine Cunedag.

Cunedag in all hast to resist his aduersarie, assembled also all the power he could make, and comming with the same against Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he slue a great number of Margans people, and put the residue to flight, and furthermore pursued him from countrie to countrie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the said Margan gaue him eftsoones a new battell: but being too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome and slaine in the field, by reason whereof that countrie tooke name of him, being there slaine, and so is called to this daie Glau Margan, which is to meane in our English toong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after he had reigned with his brother two yéeres, or thereabouts.

Margan is slaine. *Matt. West.*

CUNEDAGUS ALONE.

AFTER the death of Margan, Cunedag the sonne of Hennius and Ragaie (middlemost daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the

yeare of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, Vzia still reigning in Iuda, and Ieroboam in Israell. He gouerned this Ile well and honourablie for the tearme of 33 yeares, and then dieng, his bodie was buried at Troinouant or London. Moreouer, our writers doo report, that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercurie at Bangor, and the third to Apollo in Cornewall.

Of Riuallus, Gurgustius, Sysillius, Iago, and Kinimacus, rulers of Britaine by succession, and of the accidents coincident with their times.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

RIUALLUS, the sonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, Ioathan as then being king of Iuda, and Phacea king of Israel. This Riuall gouerned the Iland in great welth and prosperitie. In his time it rained bloud by the space of three daies togither; after which raine ensued such an exceeding number and multitude of flies, so noisome and contagious, that much people died by reason thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeares he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke. In the time of this Riuals reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of most part of writers. Perdix also a wizard, and a learned astrologian florished and writ his prophesies, and Herene also.

RIUALLUS THE 13. RULER.

It rained bloud. *Matth. West.*

Rome builded.

GURGUSTIUS, the son of the before named Riuall, began to gouerne the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3249, and after the first foundation of Rome 33, Ezechias reigning in Iuda. This Gurgustius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the sonne of Reignold, he reigned 37 yeares, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by his father.

GURGUSTIUS THE 14. RULER.

SYSILLIUS, or after some writers SYLUIUS, the brother of Gurgustius, was chosen to haue the gouernance of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Manasses still reigning in Iuda. This Sysillius in the English chronicle is named Secill. He reigned 49 yeares, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

SYSILLIUS THE 15. RULER.

IAGO or LAGO, the cousin of Gurgustius, as next inheritor to Sysillius, tooke vpon him the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in whose time the citie of Ierusalem was taken by Nabuchodonozar and the king of Iuda, Mathania, otherwise called Zedechias, being slaine. This Iago or Lago died without issue, when he had reigned 28 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

IAGO THE 16. RULER.

KINIMACUS or KINMARUS the sonne of Sysillius as some write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gouerne the land of Britain, in the yere of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the Iewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

KINIMACUS THE 17. RULER.

Of Gorbodug and his two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, one brother killeth another, the mother slaieth hir sonne, and how Britaine by ciuill warres (for lacke of issue legitimate to the gouernment) of a monarchie became a pentarchie: the end of Brutes line.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

GORBODUG the sonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 58 of the

GORBODUG THE 18. RULER.

the Iews captiuitie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by most likelihood to bring histories to accord, should reigne about the tearme of 62 yeares, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leauing after him two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after some writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

FERREX THE 19. RULER.

FERREX with PORREX his brother began iointlie to rule ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3476, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forspoke their citie in their rebellious mood. These two brethren continued for a time in good friendship and amitie, till at length through couetousnesse, and desire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and discord, wherby Ferrex was constreined to flée into Gallia, and there purchased aid of a great duke called Gunhardus or Suardus, and so returned into Britaine, thinking to preuaile and obteine the dominion of the whole Iland. But his brother Porrex was readie to receiue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was slaine, with the more part of his people. The English chronicle saith, that Porrex was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was slaine, and that Ferrex suruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Westmonasteriensis writeth, that Porrex deuising wales to kill Ferrex, atchiued his purpose and slue him. But whether of them so euer suruiued, the mother of them was so highlie offended for the death of him that was slaine, whom she most intierlie loued, that setting apart all motherlie affection, she found the meanes to enter the chamber of him that suruiued in the night season, and as he slept, she with the helpe of hir maidens slue him, and cut him into small péeces, as the writers doo affirme. Such was the end of these two brethren, after they had reigned by the space of foure or fiue yeares.

Ferrex fled into Gallia.

Matth. West.

The mother killeth hir son.

After this followed a troublous season, full of cruell warre, and seditious discord, whereby in the end, and for the space of fiftie yeares, the monarchie or sole gouernement of the Iland became a pentarchie, that is, it was diuided betwixt fiue kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute (according to the report of most writers) tooke an end: for after the death of the two foresaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left aliue to succéed them in the kingdome. The names of these fiue kings are found in certeine old pedegrées: and although the same be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet these vndernamed are the most agréeable.

Robert Record.

But of these fiue kings or dukes, the English chronicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewall for most rightfull heire. There appeareth not any time certeine by report of ancient authors, how long this variance continued amongst the Britains: but (as some say) it lasted for the space of 51 yeres, coniecturing so much by that which is recorded in Polychron. who saith, who it endured euen till the beginning of the reigne of Mulmucius Dunwallon, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute first entred Britaine, about the space of 703 thrée yeares.

Fabian. Ciuill warres 51. yeares.

¶ Here ye must note, that there is difference amongst writers about the supputation and account of these yeares, insomuch that some making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the same to varie aboue thrée C. yeares, are brought into further doubt of the truth of the whole historie: but whereas other haue by diligent search tried out the continuance of euerie gouernors reigne, and reduced the same to a likelihood of some conformitie, I haue thought best to follow the same, leauing the credit thereof with the first authors.

THE PENTARCHIE.

1	Rudacus	king of	Wales.
2	Clotenus		Cornewall.
3	Pinnor		Loegria.
4	Staterus		Albania.
5	Yewan		Northumberland.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOKE.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Of Mulmucius the first king of Britaine, who was crowned with a golden crowne, his lawes, his foundations, with other his acts and deeds.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

NOW to proceede with the aforesaid authors, Mulmucius Dunwallō, or as other saie Dunuallo Mulmucius, the sonne of Cloton (as testifieth th'english chronicle and also Geffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers deceasse began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yéere of Darius Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians. This Mulmucius Dunuallo is named in the english chronicle Donebant, and prooued a right worthie prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Troinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as some hold opinion, I wote not vpon what ground) was the same which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and selling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old booke nameth Molle) builded the two townes Malmesburie and the Vies. He also made manie good lawes, which were long after vsed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the British spéech into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes. He moreouer gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the same, so that whosoeuer fled to them, should be in safegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his person. Some authors write, that he began to make the foure great high waies of Britaine, the which were finished by his sonne Blinus, as after shall be declared.

MULMUCIUS. *Matth. West. Polyd.*

Fabian. See more in the description.

Malmesburie and the Vies built. *Matth. West.*

Lawes made.

Caxton and *Polychron.*

After he had established his land, and set his Britains in good and conuenient order, he ordeined him by the aduise of his lords a crowne of gold, & caused himselfe with great solemnitie to be crowned, according to the custome of the pagan lawes then in vse: & bicause he was the first that bare a crowne héere in Britaine, after the opinion of some writers, he is named the first king of Britaine, and all the other before rehearsed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors.

The first king that was crowned with a golden crowne.

Amongst other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and measures, with the which men should buy and sell. And further he deuised sore and streight orders for the punishing of theft. Finallie, after he had guided the land by the space of fortie yéeres, he died, and was buried in the foresaid temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troi-

Polyd. Weights and measures. Theft punished. *Fabian.*

nouant now called London, as before ye haue heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdome should be diuided betwixt his two sonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as some men doo coniecture.)

The ioint-gouernment of Belinus and Brennus the two sonnes of Mulmucius, their discontentment, the stratagems of the one against the other, the expulsion of Brennus out of Britaine.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Belinus and Brennus.

3574.

Matth. West.

Polyd. saith 5.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Elsingius.

BRENNUS and Belinus began to reigne iointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3574, after the building of the citie of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 142, which was about the seuenth yéere of Artaxerxes surnamed Mnenon, the seuenth king of the Persians. Belinus held vnder his gouernment Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall: and Brennus all those countries ouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of six or seuen yéeres, after which time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portion came to, first thought to purchase himselfe aid in forreine parties, & therefore by the prouocation and counsell of yong vnquiet heads, sailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Elsung or Elsing, as then duke or ruler of that countrie. Beline offended with his brother, that he should thus without his aduice marrie with a stranger, now in his absence seized all his lands, townes, and fortresses into his owne hands, placing garisons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

Guilthdacus king of Denmarke.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertised hereof, assembled a great nauie of ships, well furnished with people and souldiers of the Norwegians, with the which he tooke his course homewards, but in the waie he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the which had laid long in wait for him, bicause of the yoong ladie which Brenne had maried, for whome he had béene a sutor to hir father Elsing of long time. When these two fléetes of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a sore battell betwixt them, but finallie the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and tooke the ship wherein the new bride was conueied, and then was she brought aboord the ship of Guilthdacus. Brenne escaped by flight as well as he might. But when Guilthdacus had thus obtained the victorie and prey, suddenlie thereupon arose a sore tempest of wind and weather, which scattered the Danish fleete, and put the king in danger to haue béene lost: but finallie within fiue daies after, being driuen by force of wind, he landed in Northumberland, with a few such ships as kept togither with him.

A tempest.

Guilthdacus landed in the north.

Beline being then in that countrie, prouiding for defense against his brother, vpon knowledge of the king of Denmarks arriuall, caused him to be staied. Shortlie after, Brenne hauing recouered and gotten togither the most part of his ships that were dispersed by the discomfiture, and then newlie rigged and furnished of all things necessarie, sent word to his brother Beline, both to restore vnto him his wife wrongfullie rauished by Guilthdacus, and also his lands iniuriouslie by him seized into his possession. These requests being plainlie and shortlie denied, Brenne made no long delaie, but spéedilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, incountred with his brother Beline néere vnto a wood named as then Calater, where (after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the discomfiture did light so on the Norwegians, that the most of them were wounded, slaine, and left dead vpon the ground.

Calater wood is in Scotland.

Hereby Brenne being forced to flée, made shift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had sued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Seginus duke of the people called then Allobrogs (as Galfrid of Monmouth saith) or rather Armorica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the english historie printed by Caxton, more trulie maie seeme to affirme. But Beline hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, assembling his counceil at Caerbranke, now called York, tooke aduise what he should.

Seguinus or Seginus duke of the Allobrogs, now the Dolphinat or Sauoy.

should doo with the king of Denmarke: where it was ordeined, that he should be set at libertie, with condition and vnder couenant, to acknowledge himselfe by dooing homage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to paie him a yéerelie tribute. These couenants being agréed vpon, and hostages taken for assurance, he was set at libertie, and so returned into his countrie. The tribute that he couenanted to paie, was a thousand pounds, as the English chronicle saith. The Danes tributarie to the Britains.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone possessed of all the land of Britaine, he first confirmed the lawes made by his father: and for so much as the foure waies begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore caused workmen to be called foorth and assembled, whom he set in hand to paue the said waies with stone, for the better passage and ease of all that should trauell through the countries from place to place, as occasion should require. The foure high waies finished.

The first of these foure waies is named Fosse, and stretcheth from the south into the north, beginning at the corner of Totnesse in Cornewall, and so passing foorth by Deuonshire, and Somersetshire, by Tutherie, on Cotteswold, and then forward beside Couentrie vnto Leicester, and from thence by wild plaines towards Newarke, and endeth at the citie of Lincolne. The second waie was named Watling stréete, the which stretcheth ouerthwart the Fosse, out of the southeast into the northeast, beginning at Douer, and passing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beside London, by-west of Westminster, as some haue thought, and so foorth by S. Albons, and by the west side of Dunstable, Stratford, Toucester, and Wedon by-south of Lilleborne, by Atherston, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Wreken, and so foorth by Seuerne, passing beside Worcester, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and so vnto a place called Cardigan, at the Irish sea. The third way was named Ermingstréet, which stretched out of the west northwest, vnto the east southeast, and beginneth at Meneuia, the which is in Saint Dauids land in west Wales, and so vnto Southampton. The fourth and last waie hight Hiknelstréete, which leadeth by Worcester, Winchcombe, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chesterfield, and by Yorke, and so foorth vnto Tinmouth. After he had caused these waies to be well and sufficientlie raised and made, he confirmed vnto them all such priuileges as were granted by his father. The Fosse. Watling street. Erming stréet. Hiknelstréet. Priuileges granted to the waies.

Brennus marrieth with the duke of Alobrogs daughter, groweth into great honour, commeth into Britaine with an armie against his brother Beline, their mother reconcileth them, they ioine might & munition and haue great conquests, conflicts betweene the Galles and the Romans, the two brethren take Rome.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

IN the meane time that Beline was thus occupied about the necessarie affaires of his realme and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia onelie with 12. persons, bicause he was a goodlie gentleman, and séemed to vnderstand what apperteined to honour, grew shortlie into fauour with Seginus the duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduersitie, and the whole circumstance of his mishap, at length was so highlie cherished of the said Seginus, deliting in such worthie qualities as he saw in him dailie appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in mariage, with condition, that if he died without issue male, then should he inherit his estate & dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue anie heire male behind him, then should he yet helpe him to recouer his land and dominion in Britaine, béereft from him by his brother. Brenne marieth the duke of Alobrogs daughter.

These conditions well and surelie vpon the dukes part by the assent of the nobles of his land concluded, ratified, and assured, the said duke within the space of one yéere after died. And then after a certeine time, being knowne that the duchés was not with child, all the lords of that countrie did homage to Brenne, receiuing him as their lord and supreme gouernour,

gouernour, vpon whome he likewise for his part in recompense of their curtesie, bestowed a great portion of his treasure.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Britaine.

Shortlie after also, with their assent he gathered an armie, and with the same eftsoones came ouer into Britaine, to make new warre vpon his brother Beline. Of whose landing when Beline was informed, he assembled his people, and made himselfe readie to méete him: but as they were at point to haue ioined battell, by the intercession of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirselfe in all motherlie order, and most louing maner towards them both, they fell to an agréement, and were made friends or euer they parted asunder.

Brenne and Beline made friends by intercession of their mother.

After this they repaired to London, and there taking aduice togither with their peeres and councellors, for the good order and quieting of the land, at length they accorded to passe with both their armies into Gallia, to subdue that whole countrie, and so following this determination, they tooke shipping and sailed ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and sword, they wrought such maisteries, that within a short time (as saith Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italie, and Germanie, and brought it to their subiection. In the end they tooke Rome by this occasion (as writers report) if these be the same that had the leading of those Galles, which in this season did so much hurt in Italie and other parts of the world.

They inuade Gallia and Italie.

After they had passed the mountaines, & were entred into Tuscan, they besieged the citie of Clusium, the citizens whereof being in great danger, sent to Rome for aid against their enimies. Wherevpon the Romanes, considering with themselues that although they were not in anie league of societie with the Clusians, yet if they were ouercome the danger of the next brunt were like to be theirs: with all spéed they sent ambassadours to intreat betwixt the parties for some peace to be had.

Now Clusi.

Ambassadours sent from Rome.

They that were sent, required the capteines of the Galles, in the name of the senat and citizens of Rome, not to molest the friends of the Romans. Wherevnto answere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were so that the Clusians would be agréeable that the Galles might haue part of the countrie which they held, being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwise (said he) there could be no peace granted.

Brennus answere.

The Romane ambassadours being offended with these wordes, demanded what the Galles had to doo in Tuscan, by reason of which and other the like ouerthwart wordes, the parties began to kindle in displeasure so farre, that their communication brake off, and so they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dint of sword.

The treatie of peace breaketh off.

The Romane ambassadours also to shew of what prowesse the Romans were, contrarie to the law of nations (forbidding such as came in ambassage about anie treatie of peace to take either one part or other) tooke weapon in hand, and ioined themselues with the Clusians, wherewith the Galles were so much displeased, that incontinentlie with one voice, they required to haue the siege raised from Clusium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good first to send messengers thither, to require the deliuerie of such as had broken the law, that punishment might be done on them accordinglie as they had deserued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the ambassadors were not onelie not punished, but also chosen to be tribunes for the next yeare.

The Galles then became in such a rage (because they saw there was nothing to be looked for at the hands of the Romans, but warre, iniurious wrongs, and deceitfull traines) that they turned all their force against them, marching streight towardes Rome, and by the waie destroied all that stood before them. The Romans aduertised thereof, assembled themselues togither to the number of 40. thousand, and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about 11. miles on this side Rome, were slaine and quite discomfited.

The Galles make towards Rome.

The Romans incountring with the Galles are ouerthrowne.

The Galles could scarse beléeue that they had got the victorie with so small resistance: but when they perceiued that the Romans were quite ouerthrowne and that the field was clearelie rid of them, they got togither the spoile, and made towards Rome it selfe, where

such feare and terror was striken into the heartes of the people, that all men were in despaire to defend the citie: and therefore the senate with all the warlike youth of the citizens got them into the capitoll, which they furnished with victuals and all things necessarie for the maintenance of the same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their countrie if hap so befell. The Romans in despaire withdraw into the capitoll.

In the meane time came the Galles to the citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they passed forth the right way vnto the market place, maruelling to see the houses of the poorer sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore being doubtfull of some deceitfull traines, they were not ouer rash to enter the same; but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apparelled in their rich robes, as if they had bin in the senat, they reuerenced them as gods, so honorable was their port, grauenesse in countenance, and shew of apparell. The Galles enter into Rome. The reuerend aspect of the senators.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papirius stroke one of the Galles on the head with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which iniurie the Gall being prouoked, slue Papirius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were slaine and cruellie murthered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect or difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof. Besides this, the Galles attempted in the night season to haue entred the capitoll: and in deed ordered their enterprise so secretlie, that they had atchieued their purpose, if a sort of ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in wakening the Romans that were asleepe: & so by that meanes were the Galles beaten backe and repelled. *Marcus Papirius.* Rome sacked. 365. The capitoll defended.

Camillus reuoked from exile, made dictator, and receiueth peremptorie authoritie, he ouerthroweth the Galles in a pitcht field, controuersie betweene writers touching Brennus and Belinus left vndetermined; of diuers foundations, erections and reparations doone and atchiued by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his burieng.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

THE Romans being thus put to their extreame shift, deuised among themselues how to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had vniustlie banished out of the citie. In the end they did not onelie send for him home, but also created him dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power ouer all men, both of life and death. Camillus forgetfull of the iniurie done to him, and mindfull of his dutie towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an armie as the present time permitted.

In the meane time those that kept the capitoll (being almost famished for lacke of vittels) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the Romans should redeeme their liberties, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the monie, and by a certeine kind of hap, the Romans name was preserued at that time from such dishonor and ignominie as was likelie to haue insued. For some of the couetous sort of the Galles, not contented with the iust weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into the balance where the weights lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: wherevpon the Romans refused to make paiment after that weight. A composition.

And thus whilest they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunnate to haue, the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirming Camillus disappointeth the Galles of their paiment.

ing that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agréement might be concluded by the meaner magistrate. He gaue a signe to the Galles to prepare themselues to battell, whervnto they lightlie agréed, and togither they went. The battell being once begun, the Galles that looked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie ouercome, such as stood to the brunt were slaine, and the rest by flight constreined to depart the citie.

The Galles ouerthrowne.

Polybius writeth, that the Galles were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoeuer the matter passed, thus much haue we stept from our purpose, to shew somwhat of that noble and most famous capteine Brennus, who (as not onelie our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine dooth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that manie other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or there abouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other armie of the Gals inuaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey Llhoyd and sir Iohn Prise doo flatlie denie the same, by reason of some discordance in writers, & namelie in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Beline was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Liuius speaketh but onlie of Brennus: wherevpon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friends, Brennus onlie went ouer to Gallia, and there through proofe of his woorthie prowesse, atteined to such estimation amongst the people called Galli Senones, that he was chosen to be their generall capteine at their going ouer the mountaines into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finallie returned backe againe, leauing Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilest his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certeintie.

Titus Liu.
Polydor.

Matth. West.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie woorthie deeds accomplished by Beline, in repairing of cities decaied, & erecting of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifieng of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other works which were by him erected, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer of Vske falleth into Seuerne, fast by Glamorgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wiske. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetia, now called Southwales. Manie notable monuments are remaining there till this day, testifieng the great magnificence and roiall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie also sith the time of Christ were three churches, one of saint Iulius the martyr, an other of saint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the chiefe sée: but after, the same sée was translated vnto Meneuia, (that is to say) saint Dauid in Westwales. In this Caerleon was Amphibulus borne, who taught and instructed saint Albon.

Polychr.
Gal. M.
Caerleon Wiske built by Beline.

This Beline also builded an hauen, with a gate ouer the same, within the citie of Troinouant now called London, in the summitie or highest part wherof afterwards was set a vessell of brasse, in the which were put the ashes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceasse was burnt, as the maner of burieng in those daies did require. This gate was long after called Belins gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded also a castell eastward from this gate (as some haue written) which was long time after likewise called Belins castell, and is the same which now we call the tower of London. Thus Beline studieng dailie to beautifie this land with goodlie buildings and famous workes, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother iointlie and alone the space of 26 yeres.

Fabian.

Iohn Leland.

The tower of London built by Beline.

Of

Of Gurguintus, Guintolinus, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine succeeding ech other by lineall descent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

GURGUINTUS the sonne of Beline began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 380, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 164 complet, which was about the 33 yeare of Artaxerxes Mnenon, surnamed Magnus, the seuenth king of the Persians. This Gurguint in the English chronicle is named Corinbratus, and by Matthew Westmin. he is surnamed Barbiruc, the which bicause the tribute granted by Guilthdag king of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the kings of Britaine was denied, he sailed with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made such warre with fire and sword, that the king of Denmarke with the assent of his barons was constreined to grant eftsoones to continue the paiment of the aforesaid tribute. GURGUINTUS. *Matth. West.* *Gal. M.* Gurguint cõstrained the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

After he had thus atchiued his desire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountred with a nauie of 30 ships beside the Iles of Orkenies. These ships were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Partholin, who being brought to the presence of king Gurguint, declared that he with his people were banished out of Spaine, and were named Balenses or Baselenses, and had sailed long on the sea, to the end to find some prince that would assigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become subiects, & hold of him as of their souereigne gouernor. Therefore he besought the king to consider their estate, and of his great benignitie to appoint some void quarter where they might settle. The king with the aduice of his barons granted to them the Ile of Ireland, which as then (by report of some authors) lay waste and without habitation. But it should appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before those daies, by the people called Hibernenses, of Hiberus their capteine that brought them also out of Spaine. *Matth. West.* *Gal. Mon.* Basques. Sée more hereof in Ireland. *Polychron.*

After that Gurguintus was returned into his countrie, he ordeined that the laws made by his ancestors should be dulie kept and obserued. And thus administring iustice to his subiects for the tearme of 19 yeares, he finallie departed this life, and was buried at London, or as some haue at Caerleon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuersitie first founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforesaid Bartholin (according to some writers) as after shall appeare. *Caius.*

GUINTOLINUS or GUINTELLIUS the sonne of Gurguintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yere of the world 3614, after the building of the citie of Rome 399, and second yere of the 206 Olimpiad. This Guintoline was a wise prince, graue in counsell, and sober in behauior. He had also a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beautie, & wisedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernement and equall administration of iustice after hir husbands deceasse, during hir sonnes minoritie, it most manifestlie appeared. GUINTOLINUS.

It is thought that in an happie time this Guintoline came to the gouernement of this kingdome, being shaken and brought out of order with ciuill dissentions, to the end he might reduce it to the former estate, which he earnestlie accomplished: for hauing once got the place, he studied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with iustice, lawes and good orders, the British common wealth, by other kings not so framed as stood with the quietnesse thereof. But afore all things he vtterlie remooued and appeased such ciuill discord, as séemed yet to remaine after the maner of a remnant of those seditious factions and partakings, which had so long time reigned in this land. But as he was busie in hand herewith, death tooke him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeares, and then was he buried at London.

SICILIUS. SICILIUS the sonne of Guintoline, being not past seuen yeares of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yeare 3659, after the building of Rome 430, & after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the sixt after the death of Alexander.

Queene Martia gouerneth in hir sonnes roome. By reason that Sicilius was not of age sufficient of himselfe to guide the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthie ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realme and person committed to hir charge.

She was a woman expert and skilfull in diuers sciences, but chiefelie being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, she studied to preserue the common wealth in good quiet

She maketh lawes. and wholsome order, and therefore deuised and established profitable and conuenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of hir name that first made them. These lawes, as those that were thought good and necessarie for the preseruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, translated also out of the British toong, into the English Saxon speech, and then were they called after that translation

Matt. West. Marchenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthie woman guided the land during the minoritie of hir sonne right politikelie; and highlie to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir sonne came to lawfull age, she de-

Matt. Westm. liuered vp the gouernance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, some auouch but seuen yeares, though other affirme 15. which agréeth not so well with the accord of other histories and times. He was buried at London.

Of Kimarus and his sudden end, of Elanius and his short regiment, of Morindus and his beastlie crueltie, all three immediatlie succeeding each other in the monarchie of Britaine, with the exploits of the last.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

KIMARUS. KIMARUS the sonne of Sicilius began to reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the

Fabian. world 3657, and after the building of Rome 442, & in the first yeare of the 117. Olimpiad. This Kimarus being a wild yoong man, and giuen to follow his lusts and pleasures, was slaine by some that were his enimies, as he was abroad in hunting, when he had reigned scarselie three yeares.

ELANIUS. ELANIUS the sonne of Kimarus, or (as other haue) his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3361, after the building of Rome 445, after

Matth. West. the deliuerance of the Israelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Seleuciens, after which account the bookes of Machabees doo reckon, which began in the 14, after the death of Alexander. This Elanius in the English Chronicle is named also Haran; by Mat. Westm. Danius; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much followed, Elanius and Kimarus should seeme to be one person: but other hold the contrarie, and saie that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

MORINDUS. MORINDUS the bastard sonne of Elanius was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 236, and in the tenth yeare of Cassander K. of Macedonia, which hauing dispatched Olimpias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanders sonne into his hands, vsurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and held it 15 yéeres. This Morindus in the English chronicle is called Morwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualrie and martiall doings, but so cruell withall, that his vnmercifull nature could scarse be satisfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentimes with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture and execution. He was also beautifull and comelie of personage, liberall and bounteous, and of a maruellous strength.

G. Mon. In his daies, a certeine king of the people called Moriani, with a great armie landed in Northumberland, and began to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitants. But Morindus

aduertised héerof, assembled his Britains, came against the enimies, and in battell putting them to flight, chased them to their ships, and tooke a great number of them prisoners, whome to the satisfieng of his cruell nature he caused to be slaine euen in his presence. Some of them were headed, some strangled, some panched, and some he caused to be slaine quicke.

¶ These people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Moriani) I take to be either those that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice, called Morini, or some other people of the Galles or Germaines, and not as some estéeme them, Morauians, or Merhenners, which were not known to the world (as Humfrey Llhoyd hath verie well noted) till about the daies of the emperour Mauricius, which misconstruction of names hath brought the British historie further out of credit than reason requireth, if the circumstances be dulie considered.

The like may be thought of those Murreis or Morauians of whom *H. B.* speaketh. *Fabian.*

But now to end with Morindus. At length this bloudie prince heard of a monster that was come a land out of the Irish sea, with the which when he would néeds fight, he was deuoured of the same, after he had reigned the terme of 8 yeeres, leauing behind him fiue sonnes, Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigenius, or Nigenius, and Peredurus.

Of Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Elidurus, Vigenius, and Peredurus, the fiue sons of Morindus, the building of Cambridge, the restitution of Archigallus to the regiment after his depriuation, Elidurus three times admitted king, his death and place of interrement.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

GORBONIANUS the first son of Morindus succéeded his father in the kingdome of Britain, in the yéere of the world 3676, after the building of Rome 461, and fourth yéere of the 121. Olimpiad. This Gorbonianus in the English chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous prince in his gouernment, and verie deuout (according to such deuotion as he had) towards the aduancing of the religion of his gods: and thervpon he repaired all the old temples through his kingdome, and erected some new.

GORBOMEN OR GORBONIANUS.

A righteous and religious prince.

He also builded the townes of Cambridge and Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honoured the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their necessities. In his time was more plentie of all things necessarie for the wealthfull state of man, than had béene before in anie of his predecessors daies. He died without issue, after he had reigned (by the accord of most writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

Some write that this Gorbonian built the townes of Cairgrant, now called Cambridge, & also Grantham, but some thinke that those which haue so written are deceiued, in mistaking the name; for that Cambridge was at the first called Granta: and by that meanes it might be that Gorbonian built onlie Grantham, and not Cambridge, namelie because other write how that Cambridge (as before is said) was built in the daies of Gurguntius the sonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the same Gurguntius, got seates for himselfe and his companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

Cambridge by whome it was built.

The said Cantaber also obteining licence of Gurguntius, builded a towne vpon the side of the riuer called Canta, which he closed with walles, and fortified with a strong tower or castell, and after procuring philosophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a student) he placed them there, and so euen then was that place furnished (as they saie) with learned men, and such as were readie to instruct others in knowledge of letters and philosophicall doctrine. But by whome or in what time soeuer it was built, certeine it is that there was a citie or towne walled in that place before the comming of the Saxons, called by the Britaines Caergrant, and by the Saxons Granchester.

This towne fell so to ruine by the inuasion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left

left desolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But néere therevnto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge, where by the fauour of king Sigebert and Felix a Burgundian, that was bishop of Dunwich, a schoole was erected, as in place conuenient shall appeare.

ARCHIGALLUS.

ARCHIGALLUS, the second sonne of Morindus, and brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 255, and in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the English chronicle called Artogaill) followed not the steppes of his brother, but giuing himselfe to dissention and strife, imagined causes against his nobles, that he might displace them, and set such in their roomes as were men of base birth and of euill conditions. Also he sought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie subiects of their goods and riches, so to inrich himselfe and impouerish his people. For the which his inordinate dooings, his nobles conspired against him, and finallie depriued him of all his honor and kinglie dignitie, after he had reigned about the space of one yeare.

He is giuen to nourish dissention.

ELIDURUS.

ELIDURUS the third sonne of Morindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one consent of the Britains chosen to reigne ouer them in his brothers stead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 256, & in the first yeare of Sosthenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the English chronicle named Hesider, or Esoder, prooued a most righteous prince, and doubting least he should doo otherwise than became him, if he did not take care for his brother Archigallus estate, a man might woonder what diligence he shewed in trauelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother restored to the crowne againe.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) neare vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigall wandering there in the thickest of that wildernesse, whom in most louing maner he secretlie conueied home to his house, being as then in the citie of Aldud, otherwise called Acliud. Shortlie after he feined himselfe sicke, and in all hast sent messengers about to assemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his priuie chamber, and there handled them in such affectuous sort with wise and discréet words, that he got their good wils to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdome eftsoones into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

By this it should séeme that Acliud should not be in Scotland, contrarie to the Scotish authors.

After this he assembled a councell at Yorke, where he so vsed the matter with the commons, that in conclusion, when the said Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourablie the space of three yeares, he resigned wholie his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britaines againe as king by mediation of his brother in manner as before is said. ¶ A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man shall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate desire remaineth amongst mortall men to atteine to the supreme souereintie of ruling, and to keepe the same when they haue it once in possession. He had well learned this lesson (as may appeare by his contentation and resignation) namelie, that

An example of brotherlie loue

Nec abnuendum si dat imperium Deus,
Nec appetendum,

Sen. in Thiest.

otherwise he would not haue béene led with such an equabilitie of mind. For this great good will and brotherlie loue by him shewed thus toward his brother, he was surnamed the godlie and vertuous.

ARCHIGALLUS AGAIN.

WHEN Archigallus was thus restored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he must turne the leafe, and take out a new lesson, by changing his former trade of liuing into better, if he would reigne in suertie: he became a new man, vsing himselfe vprightlie in the administration of iustice, and behauing himselfe so woorthilie in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his subiects. And so continuing the whole tearme of his life, finallie departed

parted out of this world, after he had reigned this second time the space of ten yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

ELIDURUS AGAINE. *Matt. West.*

ELIDURUS brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by consent of all the Britaines, 3700 of the world. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuieng the happie state of this woorthie prince, so highlie for his vertue and good gouernance esteemed of the Britains, of a grounded malice conspired against him, and assembling an armie, leuied warre against him, and in a pitcht field tooke him prisoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept close prisoner, after he had reigned now this last time the space of one yeare.

Brother against brother.

Elidure committed to prison.

VIGENIUS AND PEREDURUS.

VIGENIUS and PEREDURUS, the yoongest sonnes of Morindus, and brethren to Elidurus, began to reigne iointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuerance of the Israelites 266 complet, and in the 12 yeare of Antigonus Gonatas, the sonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. These two brethren in the English chronicles are named Higanius and Petitur, who (as Gal. Mon. testifieth) diuided the realme betwixt them, so that all the land from Humber westward fell to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredure held. But other affirme, that Peredurus onelie reigned, and held his brother Elidurus in prison by his owne consent, forsomuch as he was not willing to gouerne.

Britaine diuided into two realmes.

But Gal. Mon. saith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Peredurus seized all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with such sobrietie and wisedome, that he was praised aboue all his brethren, so that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Britains. But others write that he was a verie tyrant, and vsed himselfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, wherevpon they rebelled and slue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall sicknesse, he finallie departed this life, after the consent of most writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leauing no issue behind him to succeed in the gouernance of the kingdome. He builded the towne of Pikering, where his bodie was buried.

Varietie in writers.

Caxton.

Eth. Bur.

ELIDURUS THE THIRD TIME.

ELIDURUS then, as soone as his brother Peredurus was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliuered out of prison, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who vsed himselfe (as before) verie orderlie in ministring to all persons right and iustice all the daies of his life, and lastlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after most concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buried at Caerleill.

He is buried at Caerleill.

A Chapter of digression, shewing the diuersitie of writers in opinion, touching the computation of yeares from the beginning of the British kings of this Iland downewards; since Gurguintus time, till the death of Elidurus; and likewise till king Lud reigned in his roialtie, with the names of such kings as ruled betweene the last yeare of Elidurus, and the first of Lud.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

HERE is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the British kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diuersitie amongest writers, both touching the names, and also the times of their reignes, speciallie till they come to the death of the last mentioned king Elidurus. Insomuch that Polydor Virgil in his historie of England, finding a manifest error (as he taketh it) in those writers whome he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the sacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our histories affirme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of those kings which reigned after Brute, till the daies of the same Brenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, least one error should follow another, and so of one error making manie, he hath placed those kings which after other writers

Polydor.

writers should séeme to follow Brenne and Beline, betwixt Dunuallo and Mulmucius, father to the said Beline and Brenne, and those fiue kings which stroue for the gouernement after the deceasse of the two brethren, Ferrex and Porrex, putting Guintoline to succéed after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Martia, during the minoritie of hir sonne, then hir said sonne named Sicilius.

After him succéeded these whose names follow in order, Chimarius, Danius, Morindus, Gorbonianus, Archigallo, who being deposed, Elidurus was made king, and so continued till he restored the gouernement (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eftsoones admitted, and within awhile againe deposed by Vigenius and Peredurus, and after their deceasses the third time restored. Then after his deceasse followed successiuelie Veginus, Morganus, Ennanus, Idunallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coilus, Porrex the second of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Vrianus and Eliud, after whom should follow Dunuallo Molmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things doone, & the course of time should be obserued, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to those kings that reigned before and after Dunuallo, according to those authours whom (as I said) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Galles to Rome be the same that was sonne to the said Dunuallo Mulmucius, and brother to Beline.

But sith other haue in better order brought out a perfect agréement in the account of yeares, and succession of those kings, which reigned and gouerned in this land before the sacking of Rome; and also another such as it is after the same, and before the Romans had anie perfect knowledge thereof; we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euerie man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge shall serue him in a thing so doubtfull and vncerteine, by reason of variance amongst the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in writers since Gurguintus, till the death of Elidurus, so is there as great or rather greater after his deceasse, speciallie till king Lud
Fabian. atteined the kingdome. But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth doo write, there passed aboue *185* yeares betwixt the last yeare of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his reigne, in the which time there reigned *32*, or *33*, kings, as some writers haue mentioned, whose names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are these immediatlie héere named; Regnie the sonne of Gorbolian or Gorbonian, a worthie prince, who iustlie and mercifullie gouerned his people; Margan the sonne of Archigallo a noble prince likewise, and guiding his subiects in good quiet; Emerian brother to the same Margan, but far vnlike to him in maners, so that he was deposed in the sixt yeare of his reigne; Ydwallo sonne to Vigenius; Rimo the sonne of Peredurus; Geruntius the sonne of Elidurus; Catell that was buried at Winchester; Coill that was buried at Nottingham; Porrex a vertuous and most gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgeus; these thrée were sonnes to Chercinus, and reigned successiuelie one after an-
Vrianus. other; after them a sonne of Androgeus; then Eliud, Dedaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bledius, Cop, Owen, Sicilius, Bledgabredus an excellent musician: after him his brother Archemall; then Eldol, Red, Rodiecke, Samuill, Penisell, Pir, Capoir; after him his sonne Gligweil an vpright dealing prince, and a good iusticiarie; whom succeeded his sonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeares, as the forsaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirme that he reigned 40 yeares, and some againe say that he reigned but 7 moneths.

There is great diuersitie in writers touching the reignes of these kings, and not onlie for the number of yéeres which they should continue in their reignes but also in their names: so that to shew the diuersitie of all the writers, were but to small purpose, sith the dooings of the same kings were not great by report made thereof by any approoued author. But this maie suffice to aduertise you, that by conferring the yéeres attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, since the comming of Brute, who should enter this land (as by the best writers is gathered) about the yéere before the building of Rome 367, which was in the yéere after the creation of the world *2850* (as is said) with their time, there remaineth

maineth 182 yéeres to be dealt amongst these 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the said Elidure & Lud, which Lud also began his reigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yéeres, and in the yéere of the world 3895, as some that will séeme the precisest calculators doo gather.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue shewed) the order of succession in the British kings, in bringing diuerse of those kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to precéed them so successiuelie after Beline and Brenne, reherseth those that by his coniecture did by likelihood succéed, as thus. After the decesse of Beline, his sonne Gurguntius, being the second of that name, succeeded in gouernment of the land, and then these in order as they follow: Merianus, Bladanus, Capeus, Duinus, Sicilius, Bledgabredus, Archemallus, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Penisellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Helie, who had issue, Lud, Cassibellane, and Neurius.

Of king Helie who gaue the name to the Ile of Elie, of king Lud, and what memorable edifices he made, London sometimes called Luds towne, his bountifulnes, and buriall.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

HERE note by the waie a thing not to be forgotten, that of the foresaid Helie the last of the said 33 kings, the Ile of Elie tooke the name, bicause that he most commonlie did there inhabit, building in the same a goodly palace, and making great reparations of the sluces, ditches & causies about that Ile, for conueiance awaie of the water, that els would sore haue indamaged the countrie. There be that haue mainteined, that this Ile should rather take name of the great abundance of éeles that are found in these waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is inuironed. But Humfrey Llhoyd holdeth, that it tooke name of this British word Helig, which signifieth willowes, wherwith those fennes abound.

Whereof the Ile of Elie tooke name.

AFTER the decesse of the same Helie, his eldest son Lud began his reigne, in the yéere after the creation of the world 3895, after the building of the citie of Rome 679, before the comming of Christ 72, and before the Romanes entred Britaine 19 yéeres. This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, abolishing euill customs and maners vsed amongst his people, and repairing old cities and townes which were decaied: but speciallie he delited most to beautifie and inlarge with buildings the citie of Troinouant, which he compassed with a strong wall made of lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with diuerse faire towers: and in the west part of the same wall he erected a strong gate, which he commanded to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto this daie it is called Ludgate, (S) onelie drowned in pronuntiation of the word

LUD.

A worthie prince.

London inclosed with a wal. *Iohn Hard.*

In the same citie also he soiorned for the more part, by reason whereof the inhabitants increased, and manie habitations were builded to receiue them, and he himselfe caused buildings to be made betwixt London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himselfe not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is the bishop of Londons palace beside Paules at this daie, as some thinke; yet Harison supposeth it to haue bin Bainards castell, where the blacke friers now standeth. He also builded a fairer temple néere to his said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after turned to a church, and at this daie called Paules. By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that citie before all other of his realme, inlarging it so greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner remained there, the name was changed, so that it was called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne: and after by corruption of speech it was named London.

Fabian. Gal. Mon. Matt. West.

The bishops palace.

The name of Troinouant changed and called London.

Beside the princelie dooings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the common wealth by studies apperteining to the time of peace, he was also strong & valiant in armes, in subduing his enimies, bountious and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plentifull house, so that he was greatlie beloued of all the Britaines. Finallie, when he had reigned with great

honour

honour for the space of 11 yéeres, he died, and was buried néere Ludgate, leauing after him two sons, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Of Cassibellane and his noble mind, Iulius Cæsar sendeth Caius Volusenus to suruey the coasts of this Ilond, he lieth with his fleet at Calice, purposing to inuade the countrie, his attempt is bewraied and withstood by the Britains.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

CASSIBEL-LANE.

CASSIBELLANE the brother of Lud was admitted king of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3908, after the building of Rome 692, and before the comming of Christ 58 complet. For sith the two sonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was committed to Cassibellane: but yet (as some haue written) he was not created king, but rather appointed ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes. Now after he was admitted (by whatsoeuer order) to the administration of the common wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bountious, that his name spred farre and néere, and by his vpright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in such estimation, that the Britaines made small account of his nephewes, in comparison of the fauour which they bare towards him. But Cassibellane hauing respect to his honour, least it might be thought that his nephewes were expelled by him out of their rightfull possessions, brought them vp verie honourablie; assigning to Androgeus, London and Kent; and to Theomantius the countrie of Cornwall. Thus farre out of the British histories, whereby it maie be gathered, that the yéeres assigned to these kings that reigned before Cassibellane, amount to the summe of 1058.

Gal. Mon. Matt. West. Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Matt. West.

Polydor.

But whether these gouernors (whose names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the common wealth, or tyrants and vsurpers of the gouernment by force, it is vncerteine: for not one ancient writer of anie approued authoritie maketh anie remembrance of them: and by that which Iulius Cesar writeth, it maie and dooth appéere, that diuerse cities in his daies were gouerned of themselues, as héereafter it shall more plainlie appéere. Neither doth he make mention of those townes which the British historie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. In déed both he and other Latine writers speake of diuerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Iceni, Silures, and such other like, but in what parts most of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to auouch for certeine truth.

But what Iohn Leland thinketh héereof, being one in our time that curiouslie searched out old antiquities, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all such valiant acts as were atchiued by the Britains to be ascribed to his countriemen the Scots, draweth both the Silures and Brigantes, with other of the Britains so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Scotish countries. And what particular names soeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and knowne by that generall name (as he would persuade vs to beléeue) saieng that they entred into Britaine out of Ireland 330 yéeres before the incarnation of our Sauiour.

Hector Boetius his fault.

Neuerthelesse, how generall soeuer the name of Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall mention of them is made by anie writer, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our sauiour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had so much adoo with the people thereof, make mention of diuerse other people, nothing so famous as Boetius would make his Scotish men euen then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other must doo vnto vs our descent from Brute and the other Troians, sith the contrarie dooth not plainelie appeare, vnlesse we shall leane vnto presumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what actes were atchiued, there remaineth more certeine record, and therefore may we the more boldlie procéed in this our historie.

More certeintie from hence forth appeareth in the historie.

In this season that Cassibellane had roiall gouernment héere in Britaine, Caius Iulius Cesar being appointed by the senat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpose created consull, and sent with a mightie army into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto some frame, he determined to assaie the winning of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwise than by report. The chiefest cause that mooued him to take in hand that enterprise, was for that he did vnderstand, that there dailie came great succours out of that Ile to those Galles that were enimies vnto the Romans. And though the season of that yéere to make warre was farre spent (for summer was almost at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpose, if he might but passe ouer thither, and learne what maner of people did inhabit there, and discouer the places, hauens, and entries apperteining to that Ile.

Iulius Cesar.

Cesar de bello Gal. lib. 4.

Britains vnknowne to the Romans.

Cesar de bello Gall. lib. 4.

Causes of the warre.

Cesars purpose.

Héereupon calling togither such merchants as he knew to haue had traffike thither with some trade of wares, he diligentlie inquired of them the state of the Ile: but he could not be throughlie satisfied in anie of those things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderstand all things by view that might apperteine to the vse of that warre which he purposed to follow: before he attempted the same, he sent one Caius Volusenus with a gallie or light pinesse to surueie the coasts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent search made) to returne with spéed to him againe. He him selfe also drew downewards towards Bullenois, from whence the shortest cut lieth to passe ouer into Britaine.

Caius Volusenus sent ouer into Britaine.

In that part of Gallia there was in those daies an hauen called *Itius Portus* (which some take to be Calice) and so the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great number of ships. Vnto this hauen got Cesar all the ships he could out of the next borders & parties, and those speciallie which he had prouidèd and put in a readinesse the last yeare for the warres (against them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he caused to be brought thither, there to lie till they should heare further. In the meane time (his indeuour being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all such as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repaire to the sea side, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of so great danger of inuasion.

John Leland. Polydor.

Vannes in Britane.

¶ Cesar in his commentaries agréeth not with our historiographers: for he writeth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would inuade Britaine, there came to him ambassadours from diuers cities of the Ile to offer themselues to be subiects to the Romans, and to deliuer hostages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he sent home againe, and with them also one Comius gouernor of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to submit themselues to the Romans. He maketh no mention of Cassibellane, till the second iournie that he made into the Ile, at what time the said Cassibelane was chosen (as ye shall heare) to be the generall capteine of the Britains, and to haue the whole administration of the warre for defense of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the British historie it is conteined, that Cesar required tribute of Cassibelane, and that he answered how he had not learned as yet to liue in seruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if néede were) as he should well perceiue, if (blinded through couetousnesse) he should aduenture to séeke to disquiet the Britains.

Comius.

Which is more likelie in this behalfe, as appeared by the sequel.

Caius Volusenus discouereth to Cæsar his obseruations in the Ile of Britaine, he maketh haste to conquere it, the Britains defend their countrie against him, Cæsar after consultation had changeth his landing place, the Romans are put to hard shifts, the Britains begin to giue bache, the courage of a Roman ensigne-bearer, a sharpe encounter betweene both armies.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

Volusenus returneth.

CAIUS VOLUSENUS within fiue daies after his departure from Cesar, returned vnto him with his gallie, and declared what he had séene touching the view which he had taken of the coasts of Britan. Cesar hauing got togither so manie saile as he thought sufficient for the transporting of two legions of souldiers, after he had ordered his businesse as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient wind for his purpose, did embarke himselfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horssemen should take ship at an other place 8 miles aboue Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they somewhat slacked the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coast of Britaine, where he might behold all the shore set and couered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Cesar ment verie shortlie to come against them, were assembled in armour to resist him: and now being aduertised of his approch to the land, they prepared themselues to withstand him.

Cesar with two legions of souldiers passeth ouer into Britan.

The Britans readie to defend their countrie.

Cesar calleth a councell.

Cesar perceiuing this, determined to staie till the other ships were come, and so he lay at anchor till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a councell of the marshals and chiefe capteines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Volusenus, and also further what he would haue doone, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reason of warre required. And because he perceiued that this place where he first cast anchor was not méete for the landing of his people, sith (from the heigth of the cliffes that closed on ech side the narrow créeke into the which he had thrust) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and dartes, before they could set foote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he disanchored from thence, and drew alongst the coast vnder the downes, the space of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the shore more flat and plaine, he approched néere to the land, determining to come to the shore.

This was about day.

The Britains perceiuing Cesars intent, with all spéed caused their horssemen and charets or wagons, which Cesar calleth *Esseda*, out of the which in those daies they vsed to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they saw Cesar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Cesar being thus preuented, inforced yet to land with his people, though he saw that he should haue much a doo. For as the Britains were in redinesse to resist him, so his great and huge ships could not come néere the shore, but were forced to kéepe the déepe, so that the Romane soldiers were put to verie hard shift; to wit, both to leape forth of their ships, and being pestered with their heauie armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enimies, who knowing the flats and shelues, stood either vpon the drie ground, or else but a little waie in the shallow places of the water; and being not otherwise encumbred either with armour or weapon, but so as they might bestir themselues at will, they laid load vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their horsses (being thereto inured) to enter the water the more easilie, so to annoy and distresse the Romans, who wanting experience in such kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themselues, nor to keepe order as they vsed to doo on land: wherfore they fought nothing so lustilie as they were woont to doo. Cesar perceiuing this, commanded the gallies to depart from the great ships, and to row hard to the shore, that being placed ouer against the open sides of the Britains, they might with their shot of arrows, darts, and slings, remoue the Britains, and cause them to withdraw further off from the water side.

The Romans put to their shifts.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little astonied at the strange sight of those gallies, for that they were driuen with ores, which earst they had not séene, and shrewdlie were they galled also with the artillerie which the Romans discharged vpon them, so that they began to shrinke and retire somewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the ensigne of the legion surnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe ensigne of the legion, when he saw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, first beséeching the gods that his enterprise might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he spake with a lowd voice these words to his fellowes that were about him; "Leape forth now euen you woorthie souldiers (saith he) if you will not betraie your ensigne to the enimies: for surelie I will acquit my selfe according to my duetie both towards the common wealth, and my generall:" and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his ensigne streight vpon the enimies. The Romans douting to lose their ensigne, which should haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ships so fast as they might, and followed their standard, so that there ensued a sore re-encounter: and that which troubled the Romans most, was because they could not keepe their order, neither find anie sure footing, nor yet follow euerie man his owne ensigne, but to put themselues vnder that ensigne which he first met withall after their first comming forth of the ship.

The Britains astonied.

The valiant courage of an ensigne bearer.

The Britains that were inured with the shelues and shallow places of the water, when they saw the Romans thus disorderlie come out of their ships, ran vpon them with their horsses, and fiercelie assailed them, and now and then a great multitude of the Britains would compasse in and inclose some one companie of them: and other also from the most open places of the shore bestowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and so troubled them verie sore.

The fiercenesse of the Britains.

The Romans get to land on the English coast, the Britains send to Cæsar for a treatie of peace, they staie the Romane ambassadour as prisoner, Cæsar demandeth hostages of the Britains, the Romane nauie is driuen diuers waies in a great tempest, the British princes steale out of Cæsars campe and gather a fresh power against the Romans, their two armies haue a sharpe encounter.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

CAESAR perceiuing the maner of this fight, caused his men of warre to enter into boates and other small vessels, which he commanded to go to such places where most need appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new supplies, at length the Romans got to land, and assembling togither, they assailed the Britains a fresh, and so at last did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, because they wanted their horssemen which were yet behind, & through slacking of time could not come to land. And this one thing séemed onelie to disappoint the luckie fortune that was accustomed to follow Cesar in all his other enterprises.

The Romans get to land.

The want of horssemen.

The Britains after this flight were no sooner got togither, but that with all speed they sent ambassadours vnto Cesar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hostages, and further to stand vnto that order that Cesar should take with them in anie reasonable sort. With these ambassadours came also Comius, whome Cesar (as you haue heard) had sent before into Britaine, whome notwithstanding that he was an ambassadour, and sent from Cesar with commission and instructions sufficientlie furnished, yet had they staied him as a prisoner. But now after the battell was ended, they set him at libertie, and sent him backe with their ambassadours, who excused the matter, laieng the blame on the people of the countrie, which had imprisoned him through lacke of vnderstanding what apperteined to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

The Britains send to Cesar.

Comius of Arras.

Cesar demandeth hostages.

Cesar found great fault with their misdemenor, not onelie for imprisoning his ambassador, but also for that contrarie to their promise made by such as they had sent to him into Gallia to deliuer hostages, in lieu thereof they had receiued him with warre: yet in the end he said he would pardon them, and not seeke anie further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hostages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and made promise that the residue should likewise be sent after, craning some respit for performance of the same, bicause they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Peace being thus established after the fourth day of the Romans arriuall in Britaine, the 18 ships which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the horssemen ouer, loosed from the further hauen with a soft wind. Which when they approched so neere the shore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Cesars campe might see them, suddenlie there arose so great a tempest, that none of them was able to keepe his course, so that they were not onelie driuen in sunder (some being caried againe into Gallia, and some westward) but also the other ships that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were so pitifullie beaten, tossed and shaken, that a great number of them did not onelie lose their tackle, but also were caried by force of wind into the high sea; the rest being likewise so filled with water, that they were in danger by sinking to perish and to be quite lost. For the moone in the same night was at the full, & therefore caused a spring tide, which furthered the force of the tempest, to the greater perill of those ships and gallies that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of those ships were so bruised, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would serue to no vse of sailing. This was a great discomfort to the Romans that had brought ouer no prouision to liue by in the winter season, nor saw anie hope how they should repasse againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the British princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiuing how greatlie this mishap had discouraged the Romans, and again by the small circuit of their campe, gessing that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels sore oppressed them, they stale priuilie away one after another out of the campe, purposing to assemble their powers againe, and to forestall the Romans from vittels, and so to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might doo (vanquishing these or closing them from returning) they trusted that none of the Romans from thencefoorth would attempt eftsoones to come into Britaine. Cesar mistrusting their dealings, because they staid to deliuer the residue of their hostages, commanded vittels to be brought out of the parties adioining, and not hauing other stuffe to repaire his ships, he caused 12 of those that were vtterlie past recouerie by the hurts receiued through violence of the tempest, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which some recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended.

The maner of the Britains fighting in charets, the Romans giue a fresh sallie to the Britains, and put them to flight, they sue to Cæsar for peace; what kings and their powers were assistants to Cassibellane in the battell against Cæsar, and the maner of both peoples encounters by the report of diuers Chronologers.

THE XIIJ. CHAPTER.

WHILEST these things were a dooing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the seuenth, was sent to fetch in corne out of the countrie adioining (as their custome was) no warre at that time being suspected, or once looked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: those that warded before the campe, informed Cesar, that there appeared a dust greater than was accustomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Cesar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commanded those bands that warded to go with him that way foorth,

and

and appointed other two bands to come into their roomes, and the residue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might see where his people were ouermatched by the enimies, and had much a doo to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them sore with arrowes and darts on ech side: for sithens there was no forrage left in anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains iudged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore hauing lodged themselues within the woods in ambushes the night before; on the morrowe after when they saw the Romans dispersed here & there, and busie to cut downe the corne, they set vpon them on a sudden, and sleaing some few of them, brought the residue out of order, compassing them about with their horssemen and charets, so that they were in great distresse.

The maner of fight with these charets was such, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the sides and skirts of the enimies host, and bestow their darts as they sate in those charets, so that oftentimes with the braieng of the horsses, and craking noise of the charet wheeles they disordered their enimies, and after that they had woond themselues in amongst the troops of horssemen, they would leape out of the charets and fight on foot. In the meane time those that guided the charets would withdraw them selues out of the battell; placing themselues so, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies, they might easilie withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the same againe, by meanes wherof they were as readie to remooue as the horssemen, and as stedfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and so to supplie both duties in one. And those charetmen by exercise and custome were so cunning in their feat, that although their horsses were put to run and gallop, yet could they stay them and hold them backe at their pleasures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithstanding that the place were verie steepe and dangerous: and againe they would run vp and downe verie nimblie vpon the cops, and stand vpon the beame, and conuey themselues quicklie againe into the charet.

Cesar thus finding his people in great distresse and readie to be destroied, came in good time, and deliuered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpon his approch with new succors, gaue ouer to assaile their enimies any further, & the Romans were deliuered out of the feare wherein they stood before his comming. Furthermore, Cesar considering the time serued not to assaile his enimies, kept his ground, and shortlie after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While these things were thus a dooing, & all the Romans occupied, the rest that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there followed a sore season of raine and fowle weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and staid the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they sent messengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to giue knowledge of the small number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great spoile to be gotten, and occasion to deliuer themselues from further danger for euer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Herevpon a great multitude both of horssemen and footmen of the Britains were speedilie got togither, and approched the Romane campe.

Cesar although he saw that the same would come to passe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulse, they would easilie escape the danger with swiftnesse of foot; yet hauing now with him thirtie horssemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, when he was sent from Cesar as an ambassador vnto the Britains) he placed his legions in order of battell before his campe, and so comming to ioine with the Britains, they were not able to susteine the violent impression of the armed men, and so fled. The Romans pursued them so farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and so slaieng manie of them, & burning vp all their houses all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatlie wherevpon, euen the same day, they sent ambassadors to Cesar to sue for peace, who gladlie accepting their offer, commanded them to send ouer into Gallia, after he should be returned thither, hostages in number duble to those that were agreed vpon at the first.

After

After that these things were thus ordered, Cesar because the moneth of September was well-neare halfe spent, and that winter hasted on (a season not méet for his weake and bruised ships to brooke the seas) determined not to staie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpose, got himselfe aboord with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Cæsar de bello Gallico. lib. 4.

¶ Thus writeth Cesar touching his first iournie made into Britaine. But the British historie (which Polydor calleth the new historie) declareth that Cesar in a pitcht field was vanquished at the first encounter, and so withdrew backe into France. Beda also writeth, that Cesar comming into the countrie of Gallia, where the people then called Morini inhabited (which are at this day the same that inhabit the diocesse of Terwine) from whence lieth the shortest passage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got togither 80 saile of great ships and row gallies, wherewith he passed ouer into Britaine, & there at the first being wearied with sharpe and sore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempest, he lost the greater part of his nauie, with no small number of his souldiers, and almost all his horssemen: and therwith being returned into Gallia, placed his souldiors in stéeds to soiourne there for the winter season. Thus saith Bede. The British historie moreouer maketh mention of thrée vnder-kings that aided Cassibellane in this first battell fought with Cesar, as Cridiorus alias Ederus, king of Albania, now called Scotland: Guitethus king of Venedocia, that is Northwales: and Britaell king of Demetia, at this day called Southwales.

The same historie also maketh mention of one Belinus that was generall of Cassibellanes armie, and likewise of Nenius brother to Cassibellane, who in fight happened to get Cesars swoord fastened in his shield by a blow which Cesar stroke at him. Androgeus also and Tenancius were at the battell in aid of Cassibellane. But Nenius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Cesars hand, although after he was so hurt, he slue Labienus one of the Romane tribunes: all which may well be true, sith Cesar either maketh the best of things for his owne honour, or else coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the néedeles circumstances, or anie more of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

Hector Boet.

Againe, the Scotish historiographers write, that when it was first knowne to the Britains, that Cesar would inuade them, there came from Cassibellane king of Britaine an ambassador vnto Ederus king of Scots, who in the name of king Cassibellane required aid against the common enimies the Romains, which request was granted, and 10 thousand Scots sent to the aid of Cassibellane. At their comming to London, they were most ioifullie receiued of Cassibellane, who at the same time had knowledge that the Romans were come on land, and had beaten such Britains backe as were appointed to resist their landing. Wherevpon Cassibellane with all his whole puissance mightilie augmented, not onlie with the succours of the Scots, but also of the Picts (which in that common cause had sent also of their people to aid the Britains) set forward towards the place where he vnderstood the enimies to be.

At their first approch togither, Cassibellane sent foorth his horssemen and charets called *Esseda*, by the which he thought to disorder the araie of the enimies. Twice they incountred togither with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioined puissance against puissance, and fought a verie sore and cruell battell, till finally at the sudden comming of the Welshmen and Cornishmen, so huge a noise was raised by the sound of bels hanging at their trappers and charets, that the Romans astonied therewith, were more easilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and Picts following the chase without order or araie, so that by reason the Romans kept themselues close togither, the Britains, Scots, & Picts did scarse so much harme to the enimies as they themselues receiued. But yet they followed on still vpon the Romans till it was darke night.

Cesar after he had perceiued them once withdrawne, did what he could to assemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to séeke his reuenge of the former daies disaduantage. But forsomuch as knowledge was giuen him that his ships (by reason of a sore tempest) were so beaten and rent, that manie of them were past seruice, he doubted least such newes would incourage his enimies, and bring his people into despaire. Wherfore he determined

determined not to fight till time more conuenient, sending all his wounded folks vnto the ships, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, keeping his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without issuing foorth, he shortlie drew to the sea side, where his ships laie at anchor, and there within a strong place fortified for the purpose he lodged his host, and finallie without hope to atchieue anie other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the sea with such ships as were apt for sailing, and so repassed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the spoile and baggage for want of vessels and leisure to conueie it ouer. ¶ Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romane histories, than according to the report of our British and English writers: and therefore we haue thought good to shew it heere, that the diuersitie of writers and their affections may the better appeere.

Of this sudden departing also, or rather fleeing of Iulius Cesar out of Britaine, Lucanus the poet maketh mention, reciting the saieng of Pompeius in an oration made by him vnto his souldiers, wherin he reprochfullie and disdainfullie reprooued the dooings of Cesar in Britaine, saieng:

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

Cæsar taketh a new occasion to make warre against the Britains, he arriueth on the coast without resistance, the number of his ships, both armies incounter, why Cæsar forbad the Romans to pursue the discomfited Britains, he repaireth his nauie, the Britains choose Cassibellane their cheefe gouernour, and skirmish afresh with their enimies, but haue the repulse in the end.

THE XIIIJ. CHAPTER.

NOW will we returne to the sequele of the matter, as Cesar himselfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that sent ouer their hostages according to their couenant, which gaue occasion to Cesar to picke a new quarrell against them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not) haue found some other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conquest of that Ile. Therefore purposing to passe againe thither, as he that had a great desire to bring the Britains vnder the obedience of the Romane estate, he caused a great number of ships to be prouided in the winter season and put in a readinesse, so that against the next spring there were found to be readie rigged six hundred ships, beside 28 gallies. Heerevpon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his absence, about the beginning of the spring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him prescribed) all his ships were come, except 40 which by tempest were driuen backe, and could not as yet come to him. *Dion. Cassius.* *Cæsar de bello Gal. lib. 5.*

After he had staied at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certeine daies, at length when the weather so changed that it serued his purpose, he tooke the sea, & hauing with him fiue legions of souldiers, and about two thousand horssemen, he departed out of Calice hauen about sun setting with a soft southwest wind, directing his course forward: about midnight the wind fell, & so by a calme he was carried alongst with the tide, so that in the morning when the day appeered, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the streame as the course of the tide changed, he forced with oares to fetch the shore vpon that part of the coast, which he had discouered, and tried the last yeere to be the best landing place for the armie. The diligence of the souldiers was shewed heere to be great, who with continuall toile droue foorth the heauie ships, to keepe course with the gallies, & so at length they landed in Britaine about noone on the next day, finding not one to resist his comming ashore: for as he learned by certeine prisoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being assembled in purpose to haue resisted him, through feare striken into their harts, at the discouering of such

such an huge number of ships, they forsooke the shore and got them vnto the mountaines. There were in deed of vessels one and other, what with vittellers, & those which priuat men had prouided and furnished foorth for their owne yse, being ioined to the ordinarie number, at the least eight hundred saile, which appeering in sight all at one time, made a wonderfull muster, and right terrible in the eies of the Britains.

But to procéed: Cesar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place conuenient: and after learning by the prisoners, into what part the enimies were withdrawne, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the safegard of the nauie, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horssemen: and anon after midnight marched foorth himselfe with the residue of his people toward the Britains, and hauing made 12 miles of way, he got sight of his enimies host, who sending downe their horssemen and charets vnto the riuer side, skirmished with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being assailed of the Romane horssemen, they were repelled, & tooke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie strong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had béene fortified before, in time of some ciuill warre amongst them: for all the entries were closed with trées which had béene cut downe for that purpose. Howbeit the souldiers of the 7 legion casting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Britains from their defenses, and so entring vpon them, droue them out of the woods. But Cesar would not suffer the Romans to follow the Britains, bicause the nature of the countrie was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre spent, so that he would haue the residue thereof bestowed in fortifieng his campe.

The next day, as he had sent foorth such as should haue pursued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a sore and hideous tempest was gréeuously molested, and throwne vpon the shore, so that the cabels and tackle being broken and destroied with force of the vnmercifull rage of wind, the maisters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cesar calling backe those which he had sent foorth, returned to his ships, and finding them in such state as he had heard, tooke order for the repairing of those that were not vtterlie destroied, and caused them so to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might so compasse in a plot of ground, that might serue both for defense of his ships, and also for the incamping of those men of warre, which he should leaue to attend vpon the safegard of the same. And bicause there were at the least a fortie ships lost by violence of this tempest, so as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he saw yet how the rest with great labour and cost might be repaired: wherefore he chose out wrights among the legions, sent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to such as he had left there in charge with the gouernment of the countrie, to prouide so manie ships as they could, and to send them ouer vnto him. He spent a ten daies about the repairing of his nauie, and in fortifieng the campe for defense thereof, which done, he left those within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enimies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there readie to resist him, hauing their numbers hugelie increased: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with such a mightie number of ships assembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general consent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Cassiuellane or Cassibelane, whose dominion was diuided from the cities situat néere to the sea coast, by the riuer of Thames, 80 miles distant from the sea coast. This Cassibellane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moued with the comming of the Romans, chose him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defense of their countrie against the Romans onelie to him. Their horssemen and charets skirmished by the waie with the Romans, but so as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills adioining: yet the Britains slue diuers of the Romans as they followed anie thing egerlie in the pursute.

Cassibellane as shouldséeme, ruled in the parties of Oxfordshire, Barkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire.

Also

Also within a while after, as the Romans were busie in fortifieng their campe, the Britains suddenlie issued out of the woods, and fierselie assailed those that warded before the campe, vnto whose aid Cesar sent two of the chiefest cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a little distance one from another, when the Romans began to be discouraged with this kind of fight, the Britains therewith burst through their enimies, and came backe from thence in safetie. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune was slaine. At length Cesar sending sundrie other cohorts to the succour of his people that were in fight, and shrewdlie handled as it appéered, the Britains in the end were put backe. Neuerthelesse, that repulse was but at the pleasure of fortune; for they quited themselues afterwards like men, defending their territories with such munition as they had, vntill such time as either by policie or inequalitie of power they were vanquished; as you shall sée after in the course of the historie. Howbeit in fine they were ouer-run and vtterlie subdued, but not without much bloudshed and slaughter.

The Romans heauie armor their great hinderance, the maner of the Britains fighting in warre, their incounter with their enimies, their discomfiture, the worthie stratagems or martiall exploits of Cassibellane, the Troinouants submission to Cæsar, and their sute touching Mandubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and slaine of the Romans.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

IN all this maner of skirmishing and fight which chanced before the campe, euen in the sight and view of all men, it was perceiued that the Romans, by reason of their heauie armour (being not able either to follow the Britains as they retired, or so bold as to depart from their ensignes, except they would runne into danger of casting themselues awaie) were nothing méete to match with such kind of enimies: and as for their horssemen, they fought likewise in great hazard, bicause the Britains would oftentimes of purpose retire, and when they had trained the Romane horssemen a litle from their legions of footmen, they would leape out of their charrets and incounter with them on foot. And so the battell of horssemen was dangerous, and like in all points whether they pursued or retired. The Romans heauie armour.

This also was the maner of the Britains: they fought not close togither, but in sunder, and diuided into companies one separated from another by a good distance, and had their troopes standing in places conuenient, to the which they might retire, and so relęque one another with sending new fresh men to supplie the roomes of them that were hurt or wearie. The next day after they had thus fought before the campe of the Romans, they shewed themselues aloft on the hills, and began to skirmish with the Romane horssemen, but not so hotlie as they had doone the day before. But about noone, when Cesar had sent foorth thrée legions of footemen and all his horssemen vnder the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in forrage, they suddenlie brake out on euerie side, and set vpon the forragers. The Romans so far foorth as they might, not breaking their arraie, nor going from their ensignes or guidons, gaue the charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, so that the horssemen hauing the legions of footemen at their backs, followed the Britains so long as they might haue the said legions in sight readie to succour them if need were: by reason whereof, they slue a great number of the Britains, not giuing them leasure to recouer themselues, nor to staie that they might haue time to get out of their charrets. After this chase and discomfiture, all such as were come from other parties to the aid of their fellowes departed home, & after that day the Britains aduentured to fight against Cesar with their maine power, and withdrawing beyond the riuer of * Thames, determined to stop the enimies from passing the same, if by anie meanes they might: and whereas

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Cassius saith, that the Britains vanquished the Roman footmen at this time, but were put to the worst by the horssemen.

* (which is to be supposed was at Kingston) or not far from thence.

whereas there was but one foord by the which they might come ouer, Cassibellane caused the same to be set full of sharpe stakes, not onlie in the middest of the water, but also at the comming foorth on that side where he was lodged with his armie in good order, readie to defend the passage. Cesar learning by relation of prisoners which he tooke, what the Britains intended to doo, marched foorth to the riuer side, where the foord was, by the which his armie might passe the same on foot though verie hardlie. At his comming thither, he might perceiue how the Britains were readie on the further side to impeach his passage, and how that the banke at the comming foorth of the water was pight full of sharpe stakes, and so likewise was the chanell of the riuer set with piles which were couered with the water.

These things yet staied not Cesar, who appointing his horssemen to passe on before, commanded the footemen to follow. The souldiers entring the water, waded through with such spéed and violence (nothing appéering of them aboue water but their heads) that the Britains were constreined to giue place, being not able to susteine the brunt of the Romane horssemen, and the legions of their footemen, and so abandoning the place betooke them to flight. Cassibellane not minding to trie the matter anie more by battell, sent awaie the most part of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thousand charretmen or wagoners, and still watched what waie the Romans tooke, coasting them euer as they marched, and kept somewhat aside within the couert of woods, and other combersome places. And out of those quarters through which he vnderstood the Romans wold passe, he gathered both men and cattell into the woods & thicke forrests, leauing nothing of value abroad in the champion countrie. And when the Roman horssemen did come abroad into the countrie to séeke booties, he sent out his charrets vnto the knowne waies and passages to skirmish with the same horssemen, so much to the disaduantage of the Romans, that they durst not straie farre from their maine armie. Neither would Cesar permit them (least they might haue béene vtterlie distressed by the Britains) to depart further than the maine battels of the footemen kept pace with them, by reason whereof the countrie was not indamaged by fire and spoile, but onlie where the armie marched.

Troinouants where they inhabited.

In the meane time, the Troinouants which some take to be Middlesex & Essex men, whose citie was the best fensed of all those parties, and thought to be the same that now is called London, sent ambassadours vnto Cesar, offering to submit themselues vnto him, and to obeie his ordinances, and further besought him to defend Mandubratius from the iniuries of K. Cassibellane, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Cesar into France, after that Cassibellane had slaine his father named Imanuentius, that was chiefe lord and king of the Troinouants, and so now by their ambassadors the same Troinouants requested Cesar, not onelie to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but also to send him vnto them, that he might take the gouernment and rule of their citie into his hands. Cesar commanded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hostages, and graine for his armie, and therewith sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Troinouants accomplished his commandements with all spéed, sending both the appointed number of hostages, and also graine for the armie. And being thus defended and preserued from iniurie of the souldiers, the people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, submitted themselues vnto Cesar, by whom he vnderstood that the towne of Cassibellane was not far from the place where he was then incamped fensed with wooddes and marishes, into the which a great number of people with their cattell and other substance was withdrawne. The Britains in those daies (as Cesar writeth) called that a towne or hold, which they had fortified with anie thicke combersome wood, with trench and rampire, into the which they vsed to get themselues for the auoiding of inuasion.

Imanuentius.

Some take the Troinouants to be Londoners.

Cesar with his legions of souldiers therfore marched thither, and finding the place verie strong both by nature and helpe of hand, assaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their strength a while, at length not able longer to endure the impression of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie side of the towne where the enimies were not. Within this place

a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Romans taken by the Britains that followed them in chase, and manie also slaine.

Cassibellane dooth send vnto the foure kings of Kent for aid against Cæsars host, he offereth submission to Cæsar, the Britains become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia with the remnant of his armie; the differing report of Cæsars commentaries and our historiographers touching these warlike affaires; of a sore fray with bloudshed and manslaughter vpon a light occasion; Cæsar taketh opportunitie to get the conquest of the land by the diuision betweene Cassibellane and Androgeus, the time of the Britains subiection to the Romans.

THE XVJ. CHAPTER.

NOW whilest these thinges passed on this sort in those parts, Cassibellane sent messengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that side of the land in those daies) Cingetorix, Caruilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that assembling togither their whole puissance, they should assaile the campe of the Romans by the sea side where certeine bands lay (as ye haue heard) for safegard of the nauie. They according to his appointment came suddenlie thither, and by the Romans that sailed forth vpon them were sharplie fought with, and lost diuers of their men that were slaine and taken, and amongst the prisoners that the Romans tooke, Cingetorix was one. When Cassibellane heard these newes, being sore troubled for these losses thus chancing one in the necke of an other, but namelie most discouraged, for that diuers cities had yeelded vnto the Romans: he sent ambassadours by means of Romius of Arras vnto Cesar, offering to submit himselfe. Foure kings in Kent.

Cesar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore because summer drew towards an end, willing to dispatch in Britaine, commanded that hostages should be deliuered, and appointed what tribute the Britains should yeerelie send vnto the Romans. He also forbad and commanded Cassibellane, that he should not in anie wise trouble or indamage Madubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hostages, he brought his armie to the sea, and there found his ships well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they should be had downe to the sea. And because he had a great number of prisoners, and diuers of his ships were lost in the tempest, he appointed to transport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was doone with good successe about the middest of September, though the ships returning for the residue of the armie, after the first conueie, were driuen so with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: so that Cesar was constreined to fraught those that he could get with a greater burden, and so departed from the coast of Britaine, and safelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good speed as he could haue desired. He thought not good to leaue anie of his people behind him, knowing that if he should so doo, they were in danger to be cast awaie. And so because he could not well remaine there all the winter season for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, sith he had doone sufficientlie for the time, least in coueting the more, he might haue come in perill to lose that which he had alreadie obteined. *Dion Cassius.*

Thus according to that which Cesar himselfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the same Cesar. ¶ But our histores farre differ from this, affirming that Cesar comming the second time, was by the Britains with valiancie and martiall prowesse beaten and repelled, as he was at the first, and speciallie by meanes that Cassibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trées piked *Gal. Mon. Matt. West.*

piked with yron, through which his ships being entred the riuer, were perished and lost. And after his comming a land, he was vanquished in battell, and constrained to flee into Gallia with those ships that remained. For ioy of this second victorie (saith Galfrid) Cassibellane made a great feast at London, and there did sacrifice to the gods.

At this feast there fell variance betwixt two yoong gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Cassibellane, and the other Euelie or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell at discord about wrestling, and after multiplieng of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by meanes whereof parts were taken, so that there ensued a sore fraie, in the which diuerse were wounded and hurt, and amongst other Hirilda the kings nephew was slaine by the hands of Eweline. The king sore displeased herewith, meant to punish Eweline according to the order of his lawes, so that he was summoned to appeare in due forme to make answer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus disobeied the summons, & departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiuing himselfe not able to withstand the kings puissance, sent letters to Iulius Cesar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promising to aid the Romans in all that he might. Iulius Cesar ioifull of this message, prepared his nauie, and with all spéed with a mightie host imbarked in the same, came toward Britaine: but yer he would land, doubting some treason in Androgeus, he receiued from him in hostage his sonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the best and most noble personages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and ioining with Androgeus, came into a vallie néere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortlie after came Cassibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themselues in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and so sharplie assailed them, that the Britains were constrained to forsake the field, and tooke themselues to flight. The which flight so discomforted them, that finallie they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which pursued and slue them without mercie, so that Cassibellane with the residue of his people withdrew to a place of suertie, but being enuironed about with the puissance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him seuen thousand men there in the aid of the Romans, Cassibellane in the end was forced to fall to a composition, in couenanting to paie a yearelie tribute of three thousand pounds. When Cesar had ordered his businesse as he thought conuenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the displeasure of Cassibellane.

So saith *Campion*, but *Galfrid Monu.* saith fiue thousand.

The reuerend father Bede writing of this matter, saith thus: After that Cesar being returned into Gallia, had placed his souldiors abroad in the countrie to soiorne for the winter season, he caused ships to be made readie, to the number of 600, with the which repassing into Britaine, whilest he marched foorth with a mightie armie against the enimies, his ships that lay at anchor being taken with a sore tempest, were either beaten one against another, or else cast vpon the flats and sands, and so broken; so that fortie of them were vtterlie perished, and the residue with great difficultie were repaired. The horssemen of the Romans at the first encounter were put to the worsse, and Labienus the tribune slaine. In the second conflict he vanquished the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was passable by foord onelie in one place and not else, as the report goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Cassibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pitcht and set the banke, and almost all the foord vnder the water full of sharpe stakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be séene, and it séemeth to the beholders that euerie of these stakes are as big as a mans thigh, sticking fast in the bottome of the riuer closed with lead. This being perceiued of the Romans, and auoided, the Britains not able to susteine the violent impression of the Roman legions, hid themselues in the woods, out of the which by often issues, they gréeuouslie and manie times assailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane

The stakes remained to be séene in Bedes daies.

meane time the strong citie of Troinouant with hir duke Androgeus deliuering fortie hostages, yéelded vnto Cesar, whose example manie other cities following, allied themselues with the Romans, by whose information Cesar with sore fight tooke at length the towne of Cassibellane, situat betwixt two marches, fensed also with the couert of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Cesar returned into France, and bestowed his armie in places to soiorne there for the winter season.

The Scotish writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the first time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refused to receiue the aid of the Scotish men the second time, and so were vanquished, as in the Scotish historie ye may sée more at length expressed. Thus much touching the war which Iulius Cesar made against the Britains, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie subiection was hardlie mainteined for a season.

¶ Now here is to be noted, that Cesar did not vanquish all the Britains: for he came not amongst the northerne men, onlie discouering and subduing that part which lieth towards the French seas: so that sith other of the Roman emperors did most earnestlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their subiection (which were euer redie to rebell so manie sundrie times) Cesar might séeme rather to haue shewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the possession of the same. This subiection, to the which he brought this Ile (what maner of one soeuer it was) chanced about the yeare of the world 3913, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our sauior 53, the first and second yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the comming of Brute 1060, before the conquest made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeres before this present yere of our Lord 1585, after Harisons account.

Cornelius Tacitus. In vit. Agr. Dion Cassius.

The state of Britaine when Cæsar offered to conquer it, and the maner of their gouernement, as diuerse authors report the same in their bookes: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be obserued.

THE XVIJ. CHAPTER.

AFTER that Iulius Cesar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Cassibellane reigned 7 yeares, and was vanquished in the ninth or tenth yeare after he began first to reigne so that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as some haue 17 yeares, and then died, leauing no issue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recordeth) which he saw and followeth much in his booke, wherein is conteined, that this Cassibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldest sonne to him: for otherwise as may be thought (saith he) Cesar hauing the vpper hand, would haue displaced him from the gouernement, and set vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as sonne to the said Lud. But whatsoeuer our chronicles or the British histories report of this matter, it should appere by that which Cesar writeth (as partlie ye haue heard) that Britaine in those daies was not gouerned by one sole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were estates of themselues, so that the land was diuided into sundrie gouernements, much after the forme and maner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where some cities are gouerned by one onelie prince, some by the nobilitie, and some by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in those daies here in this land were called kings, those had more large seigniories than the other, as Cassibellane, who was therefore called a king.

Fabian.

Cæsar.

Cassibellane a king.

And though we doo admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brute entered the land, there was ordeined by him a monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his posteritie manie yeares after, and yet at length before the comming

ming of Cesar, through ciuil dissention, might happilie be broken, and diuided into parts, and so remained not onelie in the time of this Cassibellane, but also long after, whilest they liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finallie they were subdued by the Saxons. In which meane time, through the discord, negligence, or rather vnaduised rashnes of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receiued in their writings for a truth; namelie, concerning the succession of the kings that are said to haue reigned betwixt the daies of Cassibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namelie Tacitus) report, that the Britains in times past were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawne so by princes into sundrie factions, that to defend and keepe off a common ieopardie, scarselie would two or three cities agree togither, and take weapon in hand with one accord, so that while they fought by parts, the whole was ouercome. And after this sort they say that Britaine was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romans, from whom gouernors vnder the name of legats and procurators were sent that had the rule of it.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Iu. Agr.

But yet the same authors make mention of certeine kings (as hereafter shall appeare) who while the Romane emperors had the most part of the earth in subiection, reigned in Britaine. The same witnesseth Gildas, saieng: Britaine hath kings, but they are tyrants: iudges it hath, but the same are wicked, oftentimes spoiling and tormenting the innocent people. And Cesar (as ye haue heard) speaketh of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and thereabouts. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Prasutagus, and Cogidunus, that were kings in Britaine: and Iuuenal speaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers, of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one or mo, yet kings there were in Britain, bearing rule vnder the Romane emperors.

Gildas in epist.

Some take Prasutagus and Aruiragus to be one man.

Gal. Mon.

On the other part, the common opinion of our chronicle-writers is, that the chiefe gouernment remained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane senat receiuing a yearelie tribute, sent at certeine times (*Ex officio*) their emperors and lieutenants into this Ile, to represse the rebellious tumults therein begun, or to beat backe the inuasion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus would these writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeied their king, till at length they were put beside the gouernement by the Saxons. But whereas in the common historie of England, the succession of kings ought to be kept, so oft as it chanceth in the same that there is not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane emperors are placed in their steads, and another while their lieutenants, and are said to be created kings of the Britains, as though the emperors were inferiors vnto the kings of Britaine, and that the Romane lieutenants at their appointments, and not by prescript of the senat or emperours, administred the prouince.

This may suffice here to aduertise you of the contrarietie in writers. Now we will go foorth in following our historie, as we haue doone heretofore, sauing that where the Romane histories write of things done here by emperors, or their lieutenants, it shall be shewed as reason requireth, sith there is a great appearance of truth oftentimes in the same, as those that be authorised and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Of Theomantius, the tearme of yeares that he reigned, and where he was interred; of Kymbeline, within the time of whose gouernment Christ Iesus our sauiour was borne, all nations content to obeie the Romane emperors and consequentlie Britaine, the customes that the Britaines paie the Romans as Strabo reporteth.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

THEOMĀTIUS.

AFTER the death of Cassibellane, Theomantius or Tenantius the yoongest sonne of Lud was made king of Britaine in the yeere of the world 3921, after the building of Rome 706,

706, & before the comming of Christ 45. He is named also in one of the English chronicles Tormace: in the same chronicle it is conteined, that not he, but his brother Androgeus was king, where Geffrey of Monmouth & others testifie, that Androgeus abandoned the land clerelie, & continued still at Rome, because he knew the Britains hated him for treason he had committed in aiding Iulius Cesar against Cassibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Cassibellane had granted, and finallie departed this life after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at London. *Fabian.* *Gal. Mon.*

KYMBELINE.

KYMBELINE or CIMBELINE the sonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the deceasse of his father, in the yeare of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Sauiour 33. This man (as some write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Augustus Cesar, vnder whome he serued in the warres, and was in such fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little other mention is made of his dooings, except that during his reigne, the Sauiour of the world our Lord Iesus Christ the onelie sonne of God was borne of a virgine, about the 23 yeare of the reigne of this Kymbeline, & in the 42 yeare of the emperour Octauius Augustus, that is to wit, in the yeare of the world 3966, in the second yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the vniuersall floud 2311, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Israelits out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by Salomon 1034, & from the arriuall of Brute 1116, complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbelines reigne, some writers doo varie, but the best approoued affirme, that he reigned 35 years and then died, & was buried at London, leauing behind him two sonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus. *Fabian out of Guido de Columna.* Christ our sauiour borne. 3966.

¶ But here is to be noted, that although our histories doo affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as also his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the Romans, and continuallie to them paied the tributes which the Britains had couenanted with Iulius Cesar to pay, yet we find in the Romane writers, that after Iulius Cesars death, when Augustus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the Britains refused to paie that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Augustus (being otherwise occupied) was contented to winke; howbeit, through earnest calling vpon to recouer his right by such as were desirous to see the vttermost of the British kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Iulius Cesar, which was about the thirteenth yeare of the said Theomantius, Augustus made prouision to passe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his iournie into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie saie, into these hither parts of France. *Cor. Tacitus in vita Iu. Agr.* *Dion Cassius.* *Dion Cassius.*

But here receiuing aduertisements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the countrie now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thought it best first to subdue those rebells neere home, rather than to seeke new countries, and leaue such in hazard whereof he had present possession, and so turning his power against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land remained without feare of anie inuasion to be made by the Romans, till the yeare after the building of the citie of Rome 725, and about the 19 yeare of king Theomantius reigne, that Augustus with an armie departed once againe from Rome to passe ouer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after his comming into Gallia, when the Britains sent to him certeine ambassadours to treat with him of peace, he staied there to settle the state of things among the Galles, for that they were not in verie good order. And hauing finished there, he went into Spaine, and so his iournie into Britaine was put off till the next yeare, that is, the 726 after the building of Rome, which fell before the birth of our sauiour 25, about which time Augustus eftsoons meant the third time to haue made a voiage into Britaine, because they could not agree vpon couenants. But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians had aforetime staied him, when (as before is said) he meant to haue gone against the Britains: so euen now the Salassians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switserland) the Cantabrians and Asturians by

He kept not promise with the Romans. Those of Calice and Biskaie.

by such rebellious sturrs as they raised, withdrew him from his purposed iournie. But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britains and Augustus, was occasioned by Kymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to auouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Kymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chieflie was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be depriued of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselues like ciuill men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feats of warre.

But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almightie God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. That this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which are in effect as followeth. "At this present (saith he) certeine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the emperour Augustus, haue offered in the capitoll vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and familiar to the Romans. They are burdened with sore customs which they paie for wares, either to be sent foorth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are commonlie yuorie vessels, sheeres, ouches, or earerings, and other conceits made of amber & glasses, and such like manner of merchandize: so that now there is no need of anie armie or garrison of men of warre to keepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of footmen, or some wing of horssemen, to gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise it should be needfull to abate the customs, if the tributes were also raised: and if anie violence should be vsed, it were dangerous least they might be prouoked to rebellion." Thus farre Strabo.

Strab. Geog.

Of Guiderius, who denied to paie tribute to the Romans, preparation for war on both sides, of the ridiculous voiage of the Emperour Caligula against the Britains, his vanitie and delight in mischiefe: Aulus Plautius a Romane senator accompanied with souldiers arriue on the British coasts without resistance, the Britains take flight and hide themselues.

THE XIX. CHAPTER.

GUIDERIUS. GUIDERIUS the first sonne of Kymbeline (of whom Harison saieth nothing) began his reigne in the seuententh yeere after th' incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gyldas saith. Wherevpon the emperour Caligula (as some thinke) tooke occasion to leauie a power, and as one vtterlie misliking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus and Tiberius his predecessors, he ment not onlie to reduce the Iland vnto the former subiection, but also to search out the vttermost bounds thereof, to the behoofe of himselfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Caligula.

Great prouision therefore was made by the said Caligula to performe that noble enterprise, and this was in the fourth yeere of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other side by Guiderius, to resist the forren enimies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he ceassed not dailie to looke for the comming of the emperour, whome he ment to receiue with hard enterteinment if he durst aduenture to set toward Britaine. But see the sequele: the maine armie being thus in a readinesse, departed from Rome in the 79 yeere after the building of the citie, and marching foorth, at length came vnto the Belgike shore, from whence they

Dion Cassius. lib. 59.

they might looke ouer, and behold the cliffes and coast of Britaine, which Caligula and his men stood gazing vpon with great admiration and woonder.

Furthermore he caused them to stand in battell arraie vpon the coast, where he heard how the Britains were in a redinesse to withstand his entrance. But entring into his gallie, as nothing discouraged with these newes, he rowed a flight shot or two from the shore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and set vp there for the nonce, he gaue the token to fight vnto his souldiers by sound of trumpet, and therewith was ech man charged to gather cockle shells vpon the shore, which he called the spoile of the Ocean, and caused them to be laid vp vntill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he séemed greatlie exalted, thinking that now he had subdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highlie rewarded his souldiers for their paines susteined in that collection of cockle shells, as if they had doone him some notable péece of seruice. He also caried of the same shells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boast of his voyage, and brag how well he had sped: and required therefore verie earnestlie haue of * a triumph decreed vnto him for the accomplishment of this enterprise. The spoile of the Ocean. [* *Sic.*]

But when he saw the senat grudge at the free & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refused to attribute diuine honors vnto him, in recompense of so foolish an enterprise, it wanted little that he had not slaine them euerie one. From thence therefore he went vp into a throne or royall seate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conquest of the Ocean. And when he had perceiued them to shout and crie, as if they had consented that he should haue béene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowesse, he to increase their clamour, caused great quantities of gold & siluer to be scattered amongst them, in the gathering whereof, manie were pressed to death, and diuers also slaine with the inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did cast out with the same monie, of purpose to doo mischiefe, the same caltrops being in forme small & sharp, so that by reason of the prease of people, much hurt was doone by them yer they were perceiued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted against the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperour Claudius (as Suetonius saith) moued warre against the Britains, because of a sturre and rebellion raised in that land, for that such fugitiues as were fled from thence, were not againe restored when request was made for the same. *Suetonius.*

Dion Cassius writeth, that one Bericus, being expelled out of Britaine, persuaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time against the Britains, so that one Aulus Plautius a senatour, and as then pretor, was appointed to take the armie that soiourned in France then called Gallia, and to passe ouer with the same into Britaine. The souldiers hearing of this voiage, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delaied time, till at length one Narcissus was sent from Claudius, as it were to appease the souldiers, & procure them to set forward. But when this Narcissus went vp into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cause of his comming, the souldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *O Saturnalia*, as if they should haue celebrated their feast daie so called. *Dion Cassius.*

When the seruants apparelled in their maisters robes, represented the roome of their maisters, and were serued by them, as if they had béene their seruants, and thus at length constreined, through verie shame, they agréed to follow Plautius. Herevpon being embarked, he diuided his nauie into three parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ships suffered some impeachment in their passage by a contrarie wind that droue them backe againe: but yet the marriners and men of warre taking good courage vnto them, the rather because there was séene a fierie leame to shoot out of the east towards the west, which way their course lay, made forwards againe with their ships, and landed without finding anie resistance. For the

Britains looked not for their comming: wherefore, when they heard how their enimies were on land, they got them into the woods and marishes, trusting that by lingering of time the Romans would be constreined to depart, as it had chanced in time past to Iulius Cesar aforesaid.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOKE.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

The Britains discomfited, sore wounded, slaine, and disabled by Plautius and his power, Claudius the Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbeline the king of Britaine, he bereaueth the Britains of their armour, and by vertue of his conquest ouer part of the land is surnamed Britannicus.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

NOW Plautius had much adoo to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and couerts; howbeit when he had traced them out, first he vanquished Cataratacus, and after Togodumnus the sonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. These therefore fleeing their waies, Plautus receiued part of the people called Bodumni (which were subiects vnto them that were called Catuellani) into the obeisance of the Romans: and so leauing there a garrison of souldiors, passed further till he came to a riuer which could not well be passed without a bridge: wherevpon the Britains tooke small regard to defend the passage, as though they had beene sure inough. But Plautius appointed a certeine number of Germans which he had there with him (being vsed to swim ouer riuers although neuer so swift) to get ouer, which they did, sleaing and wounding the Britains horsses, which were fastened to their wagons or chariots, so that the Britains were not able to doo anie peece of their accustomed seruice with the same.

Bodumni. Catuellani.

Herewithall was Flauius Vespasianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabinus sent ouer that riuer, which being got to the further side, slue a great number of the enimies. The residue of the Britains fled, but the next day proffered a new battell, in the which they fought so stoutlie, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Sidius Geta being almost at point to be taken, did so handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honors were bestowed vpon him, although he was no consull.

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, neere to the place where it

it falleth into the sea, and knowing the shallowes and firme places thereof, easilie passed ouer to the further side, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the marish grounds, and so came to lose manie of their men, namelie of the Germans, which were the first that passed ouer the riuer to follow the Britains, partlie by a bridge which lay within the countrie ouer the said riuer, and partlie by swimming, and other such shift as they presentlie made.

The Britains hauing lost one of their rulers, namelie Togodumnus (of whom ye haue heard before) were nothing discouraged, but rather more egerlie set on reuenge. Plautius perceiuing their fiercenesse, went no further, but staid and placed garrisons in steeds where néed required, to keepe those places which he had gotten, and with all spéed sent aduertisement vnto Claudius, according to that he had in commandement, if anie vrgent necessitie should so mooue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readinesse, straightwaies vpon the receiuing of the aduertisement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Ostia, and from thence vnto Massilia, and so through France sped his iournies till he came to the side of the Ocean sea, and then imbarking himselfe with his people, passed ouer into Britaine, and came to his armie which abode his comming néere the Thames side, where being ioined, they passed the riuer againe, fought with the Britains in a pitcht field, and getting the victorie, tooke the towne of Camelodunum (which some count to be Colchester) being the chiefest citie apperteining vnto Cynobelinus. He reduced also manie other people into his subiection, some by force, and some by surrender, whereof he was called oftentimes by the name of emperour, which was against the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him oftener than once in anie one voiage. Moreouer, Claudius tooke from the Britains their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernment of them vnto Plautius, commanding him to endeuour himselfe to subdue the residue. Togodumnus.

Thus hauing brought vnder a part of Britaine, and hauing made his abode therin not past a sixtene daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome with victorie in the sixt month after his setting foorth from thence, giuing after his returne, to his sonne, the surname of Britannicus. This warre he finished in maner as before is said, in the fourth yéere of his reigne, which fell in the yéere of the world 4011, after the birth of our Sauiour 44, and after the building of Rome 79. *Dion Cassius.* *Suetonius.*

The diuerse opinions and variable reports of writers touching the partile conquest of this Iland by the Romans, the death of Guiderius.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

THERE be that write, how Claudius subdued and added to the Romane empire, the Iles of Orknie situate in the north Ocean beyond Britaine: which might well be accomplished either by Plautius, or some other his lieutenant: for Plautius indéed for his noble prowesse and valiant acts atchieued in Britaine, afterwards triumphed. Titus the sonne of Vespasian also wan no small praise for deliuering his father out of danger in his time, being beset with a companie of Britains, which the said Titus bare downe, and put to flight with great slaughter. Beda following the authoritie of Suetonius, writeth brééflie of this matter, and saith, that Claudius passing ouer into this Ile, to the which neither before Iulius Cesar, neither after him anie stranger durst come, within few daies receiued the most part of the countrie into his subiection without battell or bloudshed.

Gyldas also writing of this reuolting of the Britains, saith thus: "When information thereof was giuen to the senate, and that hast was made with a spéedie armie to reuenge

the same, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the sea to fight valiantlie for the defense of the countrie, no square battell, no right wing, nor anie other prouision appointed on the shore to be seene, but the backes of the Britains in stead of a shield are shewed to the persecutors, and their necks readie to be cut off with the sword through cold feare running through their bones, which stretched foorth their hands to be bound like womanlie creatures; so that a common prouerbe followed thereof, to wit, That the Britains were neither valiant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and so the Romans sleaing manie of the rebels, reseruing some, and bringing them to bondage, that the land should not lie altogither vntilled and desert, returned into Italie out of that land which was void of wine and oile, leauing some of their men there for gouernors to chastise the people, not so much with an armie of men, as with scourge and whip, and if the matter so required, to applie the naked sword vnto their sides: so that it might be accounted Rome and not Britaine. And what coine either of brasse, siluer or gold there was, the same to be stamped with the image of the emperour." Thus farre Gildas.

Gal. Mon. Matth. West.

In the British historie we find other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming aland at Porchester, besieged that towne, to the rescue whereof came Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put them to the woorse, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans side, changed his shield and armour, apparelling himselfe like a Britaine, and so entring into the thickest prease of the British host, came at length where the king was, and there slue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this mischiefe, to the end the Britains should not be discouraged therewith, caused himselfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armor, and other abiliments, and so as king continued the fight with such manhood, that the Romans were put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ships, and Hamo to the next woods, whom Aruiragus pursued, and at length droue him vnto the sea side, and there slue him yer he could take the hauen which was there at hand; so that the same tooke name of him, and was called a long time after, Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of speach it was called Hampton, and so continueth vnto this day, commonlie called by the name of Southhampton. Thus haue you heard how Guiderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his end, which chanced (as some write) in the 28 yeere of his reigne.

Hampton, why so called.

Aruiragus the Britaine & Claudius the Romane with their armies doo incounter, a composition concerning mariage concluded betweene them, Claudius returneth to Rome.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

ARUIRAGUS. *Hector Boet.*

ARUIRAGUS the yoongest son of Kymbeline, and brother to Guinderius (bicause the same Guinderius left no issue to succeed him) was admitted king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 45, or rather 46.

Caxton.

This Aruiragus, otherwise called by the Britains Meuricus or Mauus, of Tacitus Prasutagus, is also named Armiger in the English chronicle, by which chronicle (as appeereth) he bare himselfe right manfullie against Claudius and his Romans in the war which they made against him: in so much that when Claudius had renewed his force and woone Porchester, and after came to besiege Winchester (in the which Aruiragus as then was inclosed) Aruiragus assembling his power, was readie to come foorth and giue Claudius battell; wherevpon Claudius doubting the sequele of the thing, sent messengers vnto Aruiragus to treat of concord, and so by composition the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius should giue his daughter Genissa in marriage vnto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus should acknowledge to hold his kingdome of the Romans.

Gal. Mon.

Ranulfus Cestrensis.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant prowesse which he saw & found in Aruiragus,

Aruiragus, honored not onlie him with the mariage of his daughter the said Genissa, but also to the end to make the towne more famous where this marriage was solemnized, he therefore called it Claudiocestria, after his name, the which in the British toong was called before that daie Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a duke that ruled in Demetia that hight Glunie, but now it is called Glocester.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquished in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the said Aruiragus to giue vnto him his said daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned king of Britaine. But Sueconius maie séeme to reprooue this part of the British historie, which in the life of Claudius witnesseth, that he had by three wiues onlie three daughters, that is to saie, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, caused hir to be cast downe at the doore of his wife Herculanilla, whome he had forsaken by waie of diuorcement: & that he bestowed his daughter Antonia first on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Faustus Silla, verie noble yoong gentlemen; and Octauia he matched with Nero his wiues son. Whereby it should appéere, that this supposed marriage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale. *Sueton.*

¶ And héere to speake my fansie also what I thinke of this Aruiragus, and other the kings (whome Galfrid and such as haue followed him doo register in order, to succéed one after another) I will not denie but such persons there were, and the same happilie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as absolute kings ouer the whole, or that they succéeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the same writers, it seemeth most vnlike to be true: for rather it maie be gessed by that, which as well Gyldas as the old approoued Romane writers haue written, that diuerse of these kings liued about one time, or in times greatlie differing from those times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Iuuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For my part therefore, sith this order of the British kinglie succession in this place is more easie to be flatlie denied and vtterlie reprooued, than either wiselie defended or truelie amended, I will referre the reforming therof vnto those that haue perhaps séene more than I haue, or more dépelie considered the thing, to trie out an vndoubted truth: in the meane time, I haue thought good, both to shew what I find in our histories, and likewise in forren writers, to the which we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whilest the Romans gouerned there) we maie safelie giue most credit, doo we otherwise neuer so much content our selues with other vaine and fond conceits.

To procéed yet with the historie as we find it by our writers set foorth: it is reported, that after the solemnization of this marriage, which was doone with all honour that might be deuised, Claudius sent certeine legions of souldiers foorth to go into Ireland to subdue that countrie, and returned himselfe to Rome. Legions of souldiers sent into Ireland.

Aruiragus denieth subiection to the Romans, Vespasian is sent to represse him and his power, the Romane host is kept backe from landing, queene Genissa pacifieth them after a sharpe conflict: & what the Romane writers say of Vespasians being in Britaine, the end of Aruiragus.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

THEN did king Aruiragus ride about to view the state of his realme, repairing cities and townes decaied by the warre of the Romans, and saw his people gouerned with such iustice, and good order, that he was both feared and greatlie beloued: so that in tract of time he grew verie welthie, and by reason thereof fell into pride, so that he denied his subiection

Vespasian in Britaine. *Cornel. Tacit. in vit. Agr. lib. 5. & li. 6. Gal. Mon. Rutupium.*

to the Romans. Wherevpon Claudius appointed Vespasian with an armie to go as lieutenant into Britaine. This iournie was to him the beginning of his aduancement to that honour, which after to him most luckilie befell. But if we shall credit our Britaine writers, he gained not much at Aruiragus hands, for where he would haue landed at Sandwich or Richborough, Aruiragus was readie to resist him, so as he durst not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there such a puissant number of armed men, that the Romans were afraid to approach the land.

Vespasian therefore withdrew from thence, and coasting westward, landed at Totnesse, and comming to Excester, besieged that citie: but about the seuenth day after he had planted his siege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the armies susteined great losse of men, and neither part got anie aduantage of the other. On the morrow after quéene Genissa made them friends, and so the warres ceassed for that time, by hir good mediation.

¶ But séeing (as before I haue said) the truth of this historie maie be greatlie mistrusted, ye shall heare what the Romane writers saie of Vespasianus being héere in Britaine, beside that which we haue alreadie recited out of Dion in the life of Guiderius.

In the daies of the emperor Claudius, through fauour of Narcissus (one that might doo all with Claudius) the said Vespasian was sent as coronell or lieutenant of a legion of souldiers into Germanie, and being remooued from thence into Britaine, he fought thirtie seuerall times with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romane obeisance two most mightie nations, and aboue twentie townes, togither with the Ile of Wight; and these exploits he atchiued, partlie vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius ruler of Britaine for the emperor Claudius, and partlie vnder the same emperor himselfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credit, he came first ouer into Britaine with the said Aulus Plautius, and serued verie valiantlie vnder him, as before in place we haue partlie touched. By Tacitus it appeereth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britaine with Claudius, and had such successe, as it appéered to what estate of honour he was predestinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken kings prisoners. But now to make an end with Aruiragus: when he perceiued that his force was too weake to preuaile against the Romane empire, and that he should striue but in vaine to shake the yoke of subiection from the necks of the Britains, he made a finall peace with them in his old age, and so continued in quiet the residue of his reigne, which he lastlie ended by death, after he had gouerned the land by the space of thirtie yéeres, or but eight and twentie, as some other imagine. He died in the yéere of Grace 73, as one author affirmeth, and was buried at Glocester.

Vespasian. *Suetonius. Sabellicus.*

Gal. Mon.

73.

Matth. West.

Ioseph of Arimathia came into Britaine and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian religion, Britaine gouerned by Lieutenants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Oxfordshire, he vanquisheth the Welshmen, appeaseth the Yorkshiremen, and brideleth the rage of the Silures.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

IN the daies of the said Aruiragus, about the yeare of Christ 53, Ioseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our sauiour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as Iohn Bale following the authoritie of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with diuers other godlie christian men, & preaching the gospell there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, conuerted manie to the true beliefe, and baptised them in the wholsome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obteining of the king a plot

Polydorus.

of ground where to inhabit, not past a foure miles from Wells, and there with his fellowes began to laie the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or néere therevnto) was afterward erected the abbeie of Glastenburie.

Nicephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9. booke "De curandis Græcorum affectibus," sheweth that Paule being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the gospell to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner dooth Sophronius the patriarch of Ierusalem witnesse. Tertullian also maie be a witnesse of the ancientnes of the faith receiued here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approch, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others. ¶ Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortlie after Christes time, although it certeinlie appeareth not who were the first that preached the gospell to the Britains, nor whether they were Greeks or Latins.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season gouerned this land by lieutenants and treasurers, the which were called by the name of legats and procurators, thereby to keepe the vnrulie inhabitants the better in order. Treasurers or receiuers.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in maner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasion into the countrie of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuouslie, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him vnacquainted and come ouer now in the beginning of winter, would not be hastie to march foorth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, hasted forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the countrie he slue out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come togither againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he tooke from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the riuers of Auon & Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in camps fortified néere to the same. But the Oxfordshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplish his purpose in anie quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willinglie at the first had ioined in amitie with the Romans. The countries adioining also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fensed with a mightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horssemen could not haue anie easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certeine bands of aids, marched foorth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their owne inclosures which they had raised for defense of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercie at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

Aulus Plautius. Ostorius Scapula. *Cor. Tacitus lib.* 12. *Cornelius Tacit. lib.* 12.

In this battell, the sonne of Ostorius the lieutenant deserued the price and commendation of preseruing a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Oxfordshire men, diuers of the Britains that stood doubtfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonable order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cangi, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which countrie he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if anie of them aduentured priuilie to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsids of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Wherevpon he marched straight to their campe and giuing them battell, vanquished them: and vsing the victorie as reason moued him, he lead his

which was a certaine crowne, to be set on his head called *ciuica corona.* Cangi.

his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on euerie side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approched neere vnto the sea side, which lieth ouer against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Yorkshire men, whome forthwith vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first authors of that tumult with death.

Cor. Tacitus. lib. 12. In the meane time, the people called Silures, being a verie fierce kind of men, and valiant, prepared to make warre against the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughnesse, nor yet with any courteous handling, so that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie souldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to restraine the furious rage of those people and their neighbours, Ostorious peopled a towne neere to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old souldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and children, according to such maner as was vsed in like cases of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more suertie and defense of the same. Here also was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddesse Victoria, and an other of Claudius himselfe.

The coniectures of writers touching the situation of Camelodunum supposed to be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains go miserablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners; his brethren yeeld themselues to their enimies.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

BUT now there resteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did stand, of some (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered vpon the aduised consideration of the circumstances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colchester. But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather seeme to be some other towne, situat more westward than Colchester, sith a colonie of Romane souldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the repressing of the vnquiet Silures, which by consent of most writers inhabited in Southwales, or neere the Welsh marshes.

Camelodunum, Colchester.

Silures where they inhabited.

There was a castell of great fame in times past that hight Camaletum, or in British Caermalet, which stood in the marshes of Summersetshire: but sith there is none that hath so written before this time, I will not saie that happilie some error hath growne by mistaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by such as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet so it might be doon by such as found it short or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by such strangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer seene nor heard of. As for example, an Englishman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Wexford, might in taking foorth a copie of some writing easilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention also of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithstanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, supposing the one to be Colchester in deed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaster or Pontfret. Leland esteeming it to be certeinelie Colchester taketh the Iceni men also to be the Northfolke men. But howsoeuer we shall take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum stood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to seeke it with Hector Boetius

in Scotland, or with Polydor Virgil so far as Doncaster or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine error.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter so doubtfull, we will proceed with the historie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whome (trusting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiancie of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduentures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better prouided than the Romans: so in power of souldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that misliked of the Romane gouernment, he ioined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermost hazard of battell.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. Anna. 12.

Hu. Lhoyd.

The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hils. And if there were anie easie passage to enter it vpon anie side, the same was shut vp with mightie huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuer without anie certeine foord to passe ouer it. This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directlie one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On three sides thereof the clime is verie steepe and headlong, and no waie easie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratac hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recouered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be susteined. He rehersed also speciallie by name those their elders, which had resisted Iulius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wiues and children safe and vndefiled. Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, each one for him selfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owght to the gods of his countrie, not to shrinke for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

This cheerefulnesse of the Britains greatlie astonished the Romane lieutenant. The hideous course also of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie higth of the hils, all set full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he saw afore him, but that which seemed dreadfull to those that should assaile. But the souldiers yet seemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble prowes. Herewith the capteins and tribunes discoursing the like, pricked forward the earnest willes which their souldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiuing such courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capteins, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing vndone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire to battell. And hauing aduisedlie considered which waies were hard and vnpossible to be entered vpon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them foorth, being most earnestlie bent to cope with the enimie.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts; but after that the Romans couering themselues with their targets, came once close togither, and approched vnder the rampire, they remooued away the stones which the Britains had

roughlie couched togither, and so came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and wracke of them on ech side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yéelded themselues. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person vnto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, the maner how he and his alies were led captiues by the Romans in triumph, his courage and manlie speech to the emperour Claudius, whereby he and his obteine mercie and pardon: the Britains vndertake a new reuenge against the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Carataks name renowmed.

THE name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie spred ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to sée what maner of man he was that had so manie yéeres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperour whilest he went about to preferre his owne honour, aduanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called foorth as vnto some great notable sight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had béene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewd anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperour Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he vttered this speach as followeth.

"If there had béene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was no-
[* Sic.] bilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a capteine*: neither should I haue thought scorne, being borne of most noble parents, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by waie of ioining with you in league. My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horsses, men, armor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall looke to gouerne all men, it must néeds follow that all men must be your slaues. If I had at the first yéelded my selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had béene set foorth to the world, & vpon mine execution I should straight haue béene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I shall be a witnesse for euer of your mercifull clemencie."

The emperour with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being loosed from their bands, went also to the place where the empresse

empresse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had doone before to the emperour. After this the senat was called togither, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchiued by the taking of Caratake, estéeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perses, or other Romane capteins anie such king whom they had vanquished. Siphax. L. Paulus.

Héerevpon it was determined, that Ostorius should enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror; for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his procéedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remooued out of the waie, or bicause the Romans (as though the warre had béene finished) looked negligentlie to themselues, either else for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to reuenge his quarrell. Héerevpon they incompassed the maister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next towns and castels, the Romans had béene destroied by siege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one else of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortlie after they set vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horssemen as were appointed to gard them. Héerevpon Ostorius set foorth certeine bands of light horssemen, but neither could he staie the flight by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whose force they were staid, and at length the Romans obteined the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the daie was spent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, & oftentimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enimies at some aduantage in woods and bogs, as hap or force ministred occasion vpon malice conceiued, or in hope of prey, sometimes by commandement, and sometimes without either commandement or knowledge of capteine or officer.

At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and sent foorth to forreie abroad vnaduisedlie, through couetousnesse of the capteins. This feat was atchiued by the Silures also, the which in bestowing prisoners and part of the spoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewise to rebell against the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earnestlie set against the Romans, by occasion of words which the emperor Claudius had vttered in their disfauour, as thus: that euen as the Sicambres were destroied and remooued into Gallia, so likewise must the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguished. These words being blowne abroad, and knowne ouer all, caused the Silures to conceiue a woonderfull hatred against the Romans, so that they were fullie bent, either to reteine their libertie, or to die in defense thereof vpon the enimies swoord.

In the meane time Ostorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by litle & litle insuing the steps of Aulus Plautius his predecessor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accomplished.

There be some led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduised considerations, that suppose this Ostorius Scapula began to build the citie of Chester after the ouerthrow of Caratacus: for in those parties he fortified sundrie holds, and placed a number of old souldiers either there in that selfe place, or in some other néere therevnto by waie of a colonie. And for so much (saie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planted the same in Chester, where his successors did afterwards vse to harbour their legions for the winter season, and in time of rest from iournies which they haue to make against their common enimies. *W. H.* in his chronologie.

In déed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built those vaults or tauerns (which in that citie are vnder the ground) with some part of the

Ran. Hig. alias *Cestrensis.*

castell. And verelie as Ranulfe Higden saith, a man that shall view and well consider those buildings, maie thinke the same to be the woorke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man séene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name *Caer leon ardour dewy*, that is, The citie of legions vpon the water of Dée, proueth it sufficientlie enough.

Corn. Tacit.

Cogidune a king in Britaine.

But to returne vnto Ostorius Scapula, we find in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certeine cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the daies of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the said Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was doone after an old receiued custom of the people of Rome, to haue both subiects and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who so shall note the acts and déeds of the Roman emperours from C. Iulius Cesar (who chased Pompeie out of Italie, and was the first that obteined the Romane empire to himselfe; of whom also the princes and emperours succéeding him were called Cesars) to Octauian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c: maie easilie marke and obserue. For they were a people of singular magnanimitie, of an ambitious spirit, gréedie of honour and renowme, and not vnaptlie termed "Romani rerum domini, &c."

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and lecherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius keepeth the kingdome in spite of the Romans, by what meanes their confines in this Ile were inlarged; the error of Hector Boetius and others touching the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a shamefull ouerthrow.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

A. Didius lieutenant.

AFTER the deceasse of Ostorius Scapula, one A Didius was sent to supplie his roome, but yer he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had vanquished the legion whereof Manlius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was set foorth by the Britains to the vttermost, that with the bruit thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first comming ouer. And he himselfe reported it by letters to the emperour after the largest manner, to the end that if he appeased the matter, he might win the more praise; or if he were put to the woorst, and should not preuaile, that then his excuse might séeme the more reasonable and woorthie of pardon. The Silures were they that had atchiued this victorie, and kept a fowle stur ouer all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius against them, they were driuen backe and repelled.

Venutius ruler of the Iugants.

Cartimanda,

But héerewith began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefest and most skillfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Iugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enimies, who had married with Cartimanda queene of the Brigants or Yorkeshire men. This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Romans hands, thereby ministring matter for the emperour Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure shewed to the Romans, she increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satisfie hir wanton appetite, so as she

Vellocatus.

falling at square with hir husband, married Vellocatus, one of his esquires, to whom she gaue hir kingdome, and so dishonoured hir selfe. Héerevpon insued cruell warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enimie also to the Romans. But first they tugged togither betwixt themselues, & the quéene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and coosens of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therewith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against hir, ceassed not to go forward with their purpose.

Manie of the Brigants disdaining to be subiect vnto a womans rule that had so reiected hir husband, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet the quéenes sensuall lust mixed with crueltie, mainteined the adulterer. Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the reuolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romans forséeing, vpon suit made, sent certeine bands of horssemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diuerse incounters with the enimies at the first, with doubtfull successe: but at length they preuailed, and so deliuered the quéene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were constreined still to mainteine warre.

Venutius keepeth the kingdome in despite of the Romans.

About the same time, the legion also which Cesius Nasica led, got the vpper hand of those Britains against whom he was sent. For Didius being aged, and by victories past inough renowmed, thought it sufficient for him to make warre by his capteins, so to staie and kéepe off the enimie. Certeine castels and holds in déed he caused to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had béene afore attempted by anie of his predecessors, and so thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile somewhat inlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what successe the Britains mainteined warre in defense of their libertie against the Romans, whilest Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Romane writers.)

¶ But here you must note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & also of Campbell, remooueth the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants, so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of those countries which the Scots haue now in possession, and were euen then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partlie by the Scots, and partlie by the Picts (as in the Scotish historie ye may sée more at large) so that what notable feat soeuer was atchiued by the old Britains against the Romans, the same by him is ascribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole historie, whereas (in verie truth) forsomuch as may be gathered by coniecture und presumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited Yorkshire, the Silures Wales and the Marches, and the Nouants the countrie of Cumberland.

The error of *Hector Boetius.*

But forsomuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what maner the warres were mainteined by those people against the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finished thorough their stoutnesse and valiancie, ye may there read the same, and iudge at your pleasure what people they were whome he so much praiseth: aduertising you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expressed, none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Constantius, father of Constantine the great: so that if they had béene in this Ile then so famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the same Boetius; maruell might it séeme, that the Romane writers would so passe them ouer with silence.

A note to be considered in the reading of *Hect. Boetius.*

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero succéeded him in gouernement of the empire. In the seuenth yéere of whose reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great ouerthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieutenant A. Didius Gallus (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Auitus) could during the time of his rule doo no more but hold that which was alreadie gotten, beside the building of certeine castels (as before ye haue heard) neither his successor Verannius, beating and forreieng the woods, could atchiue anie further enterprise, for he was by death preuented, so as he could not procéed forward with his purpose touching the warres which he had ment to haue folowed, whose last words (in his testament expressed) detected him of manifest ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wished to haue liued but two yéeres longer, in which space he might haue subdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning therby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, sauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

Cor. Tac. lib. annal. 16.

The

The gouernment of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Anglesey, and winneth it, a strange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miserie and seruitude, and take aduise by weapon to redresse it against the Romans their enimies.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

P. Suetonius lieutenant.

BUT now when this great losse chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man most plentifullie furnished with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right skilfull warrior. This Suetonius therefore wishing to tame such of

Anglesey inuaded.

the Britains as kept out, prepared to assaile the Ile of Anglesey, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certeine brigantins with flat kéeles to serue for the ebbes and shallow shelues here and there, lieng vncerteinlie in the straits which he had to passe. The footmen ferried ouer in those vessels, the horssemen following by the foords, and swimming when they came into the deepe, got likewise to the shore, where stood in order of battell and huge number of armed men close togither, redie

A strange maner of women.

to beat backe the Romans, and to staie them from comming to land. Amongst the men, a number of women were also running vp and downe as they had béene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their shoulders, and

The Druids.

bearing firebrands in their hands. There was also a companie of their priests or philosophers called Druides, who with stretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curssings against the Romans in most bitter wise.

The souldiers were so amazed with the strangenesse of this sight, that (as men benummed of their lims and senses) they suffred themselues to be wounded and slaine like senselesse creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and ech one incouraging other in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distract women, they preassed forward vnder their ensignes, bearing downe such as stood in their way, and with their owne fire smoolderd and burnt them to ashes.

Anglesey won by the Romans.

To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got possession of the whole Ile, wherein he placed garisons of men of warre to kéepe the people there in subiection. He also caused their

Woods cut downe.

woods to be cut downe, that were consecrated to their gods, within the which they were accustomed to sacrifice sush as they tooke prisoners, and by the view of their intrailes, in dismembring them, to learne of their gods some oracles and such other things as should come to passe.

But now in the meane time, whilest Paulinus was abroad about this enterprise, the Britains began to conferre togither of they great and importable miseries, of their grieuous state of seruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they dailie susteined: how that by sufferance they profited nothing, but still were oppressed with more heauie burthens. Ech countrie

Lieutenant & procurator.

in times past had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenant by his capteins and souldiers spilling their bloud, and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and substance. The concord or discord betwixt those that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the subiects, the lieutenant oppressing them by his capteins and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force and reprochfull demeanours, polling them by insufferable exactions.

There was nothing frée from the couetous extortion and filthie concupiscence of these vnsatiable persons, for in these daies (say they) the greatest spoiler is the valiantest man, and most commonlie our houses are robbed and ransacked by a sort of cowardlie raskals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. Our children are taken from us, we are forced to go to the musters, and are set foorth to serue in forren parties, as those that are ignorant which way to spend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrie. What a number of souldiers haue beene transported ouer from hence to serue in other lands, if a

iust account were taken thereof! The Germans by manhood haue cast (said they) from their shoulders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean sea, but onelie with a riuer. Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wiues and parents, as iust causes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a couetous desire to gaine by rapine, and to satisfie their excessiue lusts.

They might easilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Iulius Cesar was, if the Britains would shew some proofe of the noble prowesse that was euidentlie found in their woorthie ancestors, and not shrinke or quaile in courage for the misaduenture that should happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. Greatest force and constancie alwaies remaineth with those that séek to deliuer themselues from miserie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken some pitie of the poore Britains, who by their diuine power did withhold the chiefe capteine of the Romans with his armie, as it were banished in an other Iland. Let vs then (said they) take the oportunitie of time and good occasion offered, and foorthwith procéed in our businesse: for lesse danger it is manfullie to aduenture, and to go forward with our purpose, than to be bewraied and taken in these our consultations. Thus hauing taken aduise togither, and wholie misliking their present state, they determined to take weapon in hand, and so by force to seeke for reformation.

Occasion not to be neglected.

A catalog of causes or greeuances inciting the Britains to rebell against the Romans, wherein is shewed what iniuries they susteined: of diuers strange wonders and apparitions; the chiefe cause of the Britains insurging against the Romans, they admitted as well women as meu to publike gouernement. A description of queene Voadicia, hir personage and maner of áttire.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

THE Britains indeed were occasioned to doo as they purposed, thorough manie euill parts practised by the Romans greatlie to their griefs and displeasures. For whereas Prasutagus (who is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Aruiragus, king of the people called Iceni) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, supposing by that meane to haue his kingdome and familie preserued from all iniurie: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdome was spoiled by the Romane capteins, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the souldiers, his daughters rauished, the péeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaues. *Cor. Tac. lib. 14.* Prasutagus. The Oxfordshire and Glocestershire men. Voadicia alias Bunduica.

There was also an other great cause that stirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the confiscating of their goods: for whereas Claudius himselfe had pardoned the chiefest persons of the forfeitures, Decianus Catus the procurator of that Ile mainteined that the same ought to be renewed againe. To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred sestercies, ech hundred being 500000 pounds starling, or thereabout, vpon great interest, he required the whole summe togither by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the first to take this monie to vsurie. *Dion Cassius.* Vsurie.

Also such old souldiers as were placed by waie of a colonie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houses, droue them out of their possessions and lands, and accounted the Britains as slaues, and as though they had bene captiue prisoners or bondmen. Besides this, the temple there that was built in honor of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouernment, was serued with préests, the which vnder colour of religion did spoile, consume and deuoure the goods of all men.

Moreouer, such strange sights and woonders as chanced about the same time, pricked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddesse Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum,

Camelodunum, slipping downe, turned hir backe (as who should saie she gaue place as vanquished) to the enimies. Also in the hall where the courts of iustice were kept, there was a maruellous great noise heard, with much laughing, and a sturre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at such time as it was certeinlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noise. The sea at a spring tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide was gone backe, there were seene on the sands the shapes & figures of mens bodies. Women also as rauished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare.

Dion Cassius.

Strange woonders.

Dion Cassius.

But those things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illusion of the diuell; or whether they proceeded of some naturall cause, which the common people oftentimes taketh superstitiouslie, in place of strange woonders signifieng things to follow, we would let passe, least we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be doone by the prouidence of God, despiseth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an historie (saith Polydor Virgil) would so permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to passe.

Polydor.

But the Britains were chiefelie mooued to rebellion by the iust complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vnseemelie she had beene vsed and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and because she was most earnestlie bent to seeke reuenge of their iniuries, and hated the name of the Romans most of all other, they chose hir to be capteine (for they in rule and gouernement made no difference then of sex, whether they committed the same to man or woman) and so by a generall conspiracie, the more part of the people hauing also allured the Essex men vnto rebellion, rose and assembled themselues togither to make warre against the Romans. There were of them a hundred and twentie thousand got togither in one armie vnder the leading of the said Voadicia, or Bunduica (as some name hir.)

Cor. Tac. li. 15. Voadicia by Dion Cassius is called Bunuica.

The ancient Britains admitted as well women as men to publike gouernment.

She therefore to encourage hir people against the enimies, mounted vp into an high place raised vp of turfes & sods made for the nonce, out ot the which she made a long & verie pithie oration. Hir mightie tall personage, comelie shape, seuere countenance, and sharpe voice, with hir long and yellow tresses of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell also caused the people to haue hir in great reuerence. She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie massie, and was clad in a lose kirtle of sundrie colours, and aloft therevpon she had a thicke Irish mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir custome was) she bare a speare, to shew hirselfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of queene Voadicia full of prudence and spirit to the Britains, for their encouragement against the Romans, wherein she rippeth vp the vile seruitude and shamefull wrongs which their enimies inflicted vpon them, with other matters verie motiue, both concerning themselues and their enimies, hir supplication and praier for victorie.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

NOW Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) set foorth with such maiestie, that she greatlie incouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, she vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

The oration of Voadicia.

"I doo suppose (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but dooth well vnderstand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene anie of you so deceiued with the Romane persuasions, that ye did not for a time see a difference betweene them, and iudged whether of both is most to be desired:

desired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouersight, and forsake your former error. Againe, in that a number of you haue rashlie preferred an externall souereigntie before the customes and lawes of your owne countrie, you doo at this time (I doubt not) perfectlie vnderstand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, wherevnto seruitude is annexed; and much wealth in respect of captiuitie vnder forren magistrats, wherevpon slauerie attendeth. For what thing (I beséech you) can there be so vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, sithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Iland?

"Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & possessions? Doo not we (beside other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our owne carcases? How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and false title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a fréedome? How much is it more commendable to lose our liues in defense of our countrie, than to carie about not so much as our heads toll frée, but dailie oppressed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end doo I remember and speake of these things, since they will not suffer by death to become frée? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he dooth well vnderstand. Among other nations such as are brought into seruitude, are alwaies by death discharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead doo still liue, and all to increaes their commoditie and gaine.

"If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we should come by anie) then are we left naked, & spoiled of that which remaineth in our houses, & we our selues as men left desolate & dead. How shall we looke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale so vncourteouslie with vs: since there is no man that taketh so much as a wild beast, but at the first he will cherish it, and with some gentlenesse win it to familiaritie? But we ourselues (to saie the trueth) are authors of our owne mischiefe, which suffered them at the first to set foot within our Iland, and did not by and by driue them backe as we did Cesar, or slue them with our swords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did sometime to Augustus and Caligula.

"We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean sea, diuiding vs from other nations, so that we séeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a seuerall heauen: we, euen we (I saie) whose name hath béene long kept hid from the wisest of them all, are now contemned and troden vnder foot, of them who studie nothings else but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinsfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, since we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I saie, because we haue not doone it heretofore, and whilest the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) sticke togither, and performe that thing which dooth perteine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie inioie, not onelie the name of libertie, but also freédome it selfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our posteritie: for if we which haue béene liberallie and in honest maner brought vp, should vtterlie forget our pristinate felicitie: what may we hope for in those that shall sucéed vs, and are like to be brought vp in miserie and thraldome?

"I doo not make rehearsall of these things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to mislike of this present estate of things (for well I know you abhorre it sufficientlie alreadie) neither to put you in feare of those things that are likelie to fall hereafter (because you doo feare and sée them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thankes and woorthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine so well to prouide for things necessarie (thereby to helpe both mé

and your selues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puissance.

" If you consider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their strength, they are no stronger than you: and all this dooth easilie appéere by the bassinets, habergeons, & greiues wherewith you be armed; and also by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your own defense, to kéepe off their excursions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand strokes, as our custome of the warres and martiall discipline dooth require. Wherefore we doo so farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more strong than stone walls, and one of our targets woorth all the armour that they doo beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we shall soone make them captiues: or if we lose the field, we shall easilie escape the danger.

" Furthermore, if after the flight we shall indeuour to méet anie where, we haue the marishes héere beneath to hide vs in, and the hils round about to kéepe them off, so that by no meanes they shall haue their purpose of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with heavie armour, shall neither be able to follow, if we flée; nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as desirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to their appointed places, where we maie take them as birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they can not indure hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunneshine, as we can doo.

" In their houses also and tents, they make much account of their baked meates, wine, oile, and abroad of the shadow, that if anie of these doo faile them, they either die foorthwith, or else in time they languish and consume: whereas to vs euerie hearbe and root is meat, euerie iuice an oile, all water pleasant wine, and euerie trée an house. Beside this, there is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet vnfriendlie to succour vs at néed; whereas to the Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and altogither dangerous, if they should stand in néed: we can with ease swim ouer euerie riuer both naked and clad, which they with their great ships are scarse able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good lucke let vs set vpon them couragiouslie, and teach them to vnderstand, that since they are no better than hares and foxes, they attempt a wrong match, when they indeuour to subdue the grehounds and the woolues." With which words the quéene let an hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue prognostication of hir successe, which comming well to passe, all the companie showted, and cried out vpon such as not long before had doone such violence to so noble a personage. Presentlie vpon this action, Voadicia calling them togither againe, procéeded forward with hir praier, which she made before them all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

" I giue thée thanks O Adraste, and call vpon thee thou woman of women, which reignest not ouer the burthen-bearing Aegyptians, as Nitocris; neither ouer their merchants, as dooth Semiramis, for these trifles we haue learned latelie of the Romans: neither ouer the people of Rome, as a little héeretofore Messalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is called by the name of a man, but is in déed a verie woman, as dooth appéere by his voice, his harpe, and his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a goddesse which gouernest the Britains, that haue learned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men, but to lead their liues in the warres after the best manner: who also as they haue all other things, so haue they likewise their wiues and children common, whereby the women haue the like audacitie with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres than they.

" Therefore sithens I haue obteined a kingdome among such a mightie people, I beséech thée to grant them victorie, health, and libertie, against these contentious, wicked, and vnsatiable men (if they maie be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate fare, hot wines, swéet oiles, soft beds, fine musicke, and so vnkindlie lusts) who are altogither giuen to couetousnesse and crueltie, as their doings doo declare. Let not I beséech thée, the Neronian or Domitian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, or (to saie truth) vpon thée,

thée, but let them rather serue thée, whose heauie oppression thou hast borne withall a long season, and that thou wilt still be our helper onlie, our defender, our fauourer, and our furtherer, O noble ladie, I hartilie beséech thee."

Queene Voadicia marcheth against the Romans, to whom she giueth a shamefull and bloudie ouerthrow without anie motion of mercie, dredfull examples of the Britains crueltie indifferentlie executed without exception of age or sex.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

WHEN Voadicia had made an end of hir praier, she set forward against hir enimies, who at that time were destitute in déed of their lieutenant Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Anglesey (as before ye haue heard.) Wherefore the Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the emperours agent, treasurer, or receiuer, for in that citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there was no great garrison of able men. Wherevpon the procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and those not sufficientlie furnished either with weapon or armour.

Corn. Tacit. Catus Decianus procurator.

The citie was not compassed with anie rampire or ditch for defense, such as happilie were priuie to the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romans that no fortification néeded: neither were the aged men nor women sent awaie, whereby the yoong able personages might without trouble of them the better attend to the defense of the citie: but euen as they had béene in all suertie of peace, and frée from suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went to spoile and fire that could be found without the inclosure of the temple, into the which the Romane souldiers (striken with sudden feare by this sudden comming of the enimies) had thronged themselues. Where being assieged by the Britains, within the space of two daies the place was woonne, and they that were found within it, slaine euerie mothers sonne.

After this, the Britains incouraged with this victorie, went to méet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie incountering with the same legion, gaue the Romans the ouerthrow and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis with much adoo escaped with his horssemen, and got him backe to the campe, and saued himselfe within the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiuing what hatred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertised of these dooings, came backe out of Anglesey, and with marueilous constancie marched through the middest of his enimies to London, being as then not greatlie peopled with Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but full of merchants, and well prouided of vittels: he was in great doubt at his comming thither, whether he might best staie there as in a place most conuenient, or rather séeke some other more easie to be defended. At length considering the small number of his men of warre, and remembring how Cerealis had sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with the losing of one towne to saue the whole, than to put all in danger of irrecouerable losse. And therewith nothing mooued at the praier & teares of them which besought him of aid and succour, he departed, and those that would go with him he receiued into his armie, those that taried behind were oppressed by the enimies: and the like destruction happened to them of Verolanium, a towne in those daies of great fame, situat néere to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now standeth.

The Britains leauing the castels and fortresses vnassaulted, followed their gaine in spoiling of those places which were easie to get, and where great plentie of riches was to be found, vsing their victorie with such crueltie, that they slue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thousand Romans, and such as tooke their part in the said places by the Britains thus woon and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but slaughter, fire, gallowes, and such like, so earnestlie were they set on reuenge. They spared neither age nor sex: women of great nobilitie and woorthie fame they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, sowed them to their mouthes, that they might seeme as if they sucked and fed on them, and some of their bodies they stretched out in length, and thrust them on sharpe stakes. All these things they did in great despite whilest they sacrificed in their temples, and made feasts, namelie in the wood consecrated to the honour of Andates, for so they called the goddesse of victorie whom they worshipped most reuerentlie.

80000. saith *Dion.*

P. Suetonius the Romane with a fresh power assalteth the Britains, whose armie consisted as well of women as men: queene Voadicia incourageth hir souldiers, so dooth Suetonius his warriors, both armies haue a sharpe conflict, the Britains are discomfited and miserablie slaine, the queene dieth, Penius Posthumus killeth himselfe, the Britains are persecuted with fire, swoord, and famine, the grudge betweene Cassicianus and Suetonius, whome Polycletus is sent to reconcile, of his traine, and how the Britains repined at him.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

IN this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion surnamed the 14, and other bands of souldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thousand in the whole, wherevpon (chieflie bicause vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enimies, and chose out a plot of ground verie strong within straits, and backed with a wood, so that the enimies could not assault his campe but on the front: yet by reason of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceiued by their late prosperous successe, the Britains vnder the conduct of queene Voadicia aduentured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witnesses of the victorie, whome they placed in charrets at the vttermost side of their field.

The Britains were at that time 230000. men, (as *Dion* writeth.)

Voadicia, or Boudicia (for so we find hir written by some copies, and Bonuica also by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as she passed by the souldiers of ech sundrie countrie, told them "it was a thing accustomed among the Britains to go to the warres vnder the leading of women; but she was not now come foorth as one borne of such noble ancestors as she was descended from, to fight for hir kingdome and riches; but as one of the meaner sort, rather to defend hir lost libertie, and to reuenge hir selfe of the enimie, for their crueltie shewed in scourging hir like a vagabond, and shamefull deflouring of hir daughters: for the licentious lust of the Romans was so farre spred and increased, that they spared neither the bodies of old nor yoong, but were readie most shamefullie to abuse them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to satisfie their filthie concupiscence: but (saith she) the gods are at hand readie to take iust reuenge.

Corn. Tacit. li. 15. Dion Cassius.

"The legion that presumed to incounter with vs is slaine and beaten downe. The residue keepe them close within their holds, or else seeke waies how to flee out of the countrie: they shall not be once able so much as to abide the noise and clamor of so manie thousands as we are heere assembled, much lesse the force of our great puissance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (said she) would wey and consider with your selues your huge numbers of men of warre, and the causes why ye haue mooued this warre, ye would surelie determine either

either in this battell to die with honour, or else to vanquish the enimie by plaine force, for so (quoth she) I being a woman am fullie resolued, as for you men ye maie (if ye list) liue and be brought into bondage."

"Neither did Suetonius ceasse to exhort his people: for though he trusted in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battels, so did he make vnto ech of them a seuerall oration, willing them not to feare the shrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, sith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no skill in warrelike discipline, and heereto being naked without furniture of armour, would foorthwith giue place when they should feele the sharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had so often beene put to flight. In manie legions (saith he) the number is small of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore should be the more, for that they being a small number should win the fame due to the whole armie, if they would (thronging togither) bestow their weapons freelie, and with their swoords and targets preasse forward vpon their enimies, continuing the slaughter without regard to the spoile, they might assure themselues when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleasures."

Such forwardnesse in the souldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himselfe so readilie to doo his dutie, and that with such a shew of skill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceiued an assured hope of good lucke to follow, caused the trumpets to sound to the battell. The onset was giuen in the straits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in comparison to their enimies. The fight in the beginning was verie sharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reason of the narrownesse of the place) were not able to susteine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, so that they were constreind to giue backe, and so being disordered were put to flight, and vtterlie discomfited.

There were slaine of the Britains that day few lesse than 80000 thousand *, as Tacitus writeth. For the straits being stopped with the charrets, staied the flight of the Britains, so as they could not easilie escape: and the Romans were so set on reuenge, that they spared neither man nor woman, so that manie were slaine in the battell, manie amongst the charrets, and a great number at the woods side, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken prisoners. Those that escaped, would haue fought a new battell, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuica deceassed of a naturall infirmitie, as Dion Cassius writeth, but other say that she poisoned hir selfe, and so died, because she would not come into the hands of hir bloodthirstie enimies. There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 400, and about the like number were grieuouslie hurt and most pitifullie wounded. 80000. Britains slaine. [* Sic.]

Penius Posthumus maister of the campe of the second legion, vnderstanding the prosperous successe of the other Romane capteins, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refused to obeie the commandements of the generall, contrarie to the vse of warre, slue himselfe. Penius Posthumus sleieth himselfe.

After this all the Romane armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperour caused a supplie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie souldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horssemen, by whose comming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie souldiers, and those bands and wings of horssemen were appointed to places where they might winter, and such people of the Britains as were either enimies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enimies indeed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilest euerie man gaue himselfe to the warre, and purposed to haue liued vpon the prouision of the Romans and other their enimies, they applied not themselues to tillage, nor to anie husbanding of the ground, and long it was yer they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that Iulius Cassicianus, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his priuat grudge hindered the prosperous successe of publike affaires. He sticked Iulius Cassicianus procurator.

not to write to Rome, that except an other were sent to succéed in the roome that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Herevpon one Polycletus, which sometime had béene a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioner to surueie the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, &c. also to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

The port which Polycletus bare was great, for he was furnished with no small traine that attended vpon him, so that his presence seemed verie dreadfull to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great scorne to see such honorable capteins and men of warre as the Romans were, to submit themselues to the order of such a one as had béene a bondslaue.

In what state the Iland stood whiles Aruiragus reigned; the dissolute and loose gouernement of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Victius Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Iulius Frontinus who vanquished the Silures.

THE XIIII. CHAPTER.

PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS LIEUTENANT.

IN place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (who had latelie béene consull) appointed to haue the gouernance of the armie in Britaine, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor being of the enimie in anie wise troubled or prouoked, did colour slouthfull rest with the honest name of peace and quietnesse, and so sat still without exploiting anie notable enterprise.

TREBELLIUS MAXIMUS LIEUTENANT.

AFTER Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewise with courteous demeanour sought to kéepe the Britains in rest, rather than by force to compell them. And now began the people of the Ile to beare with pleasant faults and flattering vices, so that the ciuill warres that chanced in those daies after the death of the emperour Nero at home, might easilie excuse the slouthfulnesse of the Romane lieutenants.

Moreouer, there rose dissention amongest their men of warre, which being vsed to lie abroad in the field, could not agrée with the idle life; so that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himselfe from the sight of the souldiers being in an vprore against him, till at length humbling himselfe vnto them further than became his estate, he gouerned by waie of intreatie, or rather at their courtesie. And so was the commotion staied without bloudshed, the armie as it were hauing by couenant obteined to liue licentiouslie, and the capteine suertie to liue without danger to be murthered.

VICTIUS VOLANUS LIEUTENĀT.

NEITHER Victius Volanus that succéeded Maximus whilest the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, vsing the same slacknesse and slouth that the other lieutenants had vsed before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for anie notable crime or vice: so that he purchased fauour, although authoritie wanted.

But after that the emperour Vsepasianus had subdued his aduersaries, and atteined the imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were sent hither right noble capteins, with diuers notable bands of souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by inuading the Brigants the mightiest nation of all the whole Iland: and fighting manie battels, and some right bloudie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last.

Cor. Tacitus.

IULIUS FRONTINUS LIEUTENĀT.

AFTER him succéeded as lieutenant of Britaine, one Iulius Frontinus, who vanquished and brought to the Romane subiection by force of armes the people called Silures, striuing not

not onelie against the stout resistance of the men, but also with the hardnesse & combersome troubles of the places.

¶ Thus may you perceiue in what state this Ile stood in the time that Aruiragus reigned in the same, as is supposed by the best histories of the old Britains: so that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not hauing so reduced the countrie into the forme of a prouince, but that the Britains bare rule in diuerse parts thereof, and that by the permission of the Romans, which neuerthelesse had their lieutenants and procuratours here, that bare the greatest rule vnder the aforesaid emperours.

The state of this Iland under Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, the comming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots enter into mutuall aliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie ouer the Picts, his death and interrement.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

AFTER the decease of Aruiragus, his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old English chronicle he is fondlie called Westmer, & was a verie wise man, gouerning the Britains in great prosperitie, honour and wealth. MARIUS. *Hector Boetius* saith that this Marius was a Romane. 73.

In the time of this mans reigne, the people called Picts inuaded this land, who are iudged to be descended of the nation of the Scithians, neare kinsmen to the Goths, both by countrie and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres. This people with their ringleader Roderike, or (as some name him) Londorike, entering the Ocean sea after the maner of rouers, arriued on the coasts of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new seats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as some thinke) were also descended of the Scithians, did as then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it should not be for their profit to receiue so warlike a nation into that Ile, feining as it were a friendship, and excusing the matter by the narrownesse of the countrie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine was not farre from thence, being a large countrie and a plentifull, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore they counselled them to go thither, promising vnto them all the aid that might be. Of these you maie reade more in pag. *Matth. West.*

The Picts more desirous of spoile than of rule or gouernment without delaie returned to the sea, and sailed towards Britaine, where being arriued, they first inuaded the north parts thereof, and finding there but few inhabiters, they began to wast and forrey the countrie: whereof when king Marius was aduertised, with all speed he assembled his people, and made towards his enimies, and giuing them battell, obteined the victorie, so that Roderike was there slaine in the field, and his people vanquished. Roderike king of Picts slaine.

Vnto those that escaped with life, Marius granted licence that they might inhabit in the north part of Scotland called Catnesse, being as then a countrie in maner desolate without habitation: wherevpon they withdrew thither, and setled themselues in those parties. And bicause the Britains disdained to grant vnto them their daughters in mariage, they sent vnto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to haue wiues of their nation. The Scots agréed to their request, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull issue of the kings linage to succéed in the kingdome of the Picts, then should they name one of the womans side to be their king: which ordinance was receiued and obserued euer after amongst the Picts, so long as their kingdome endured.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the first of anie strangers that came into this land to inhabit as most writers affirme, although the Scotish chronicles auouch the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our sauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteined *Polydor. Matth. West.*

teined against their king Roderike, chanced in the yéere after the incarnation 87. In remembrance of which victorie, Marius caused a stone to be erected in the same place where the battell was fought, in which stone was grauen these words, *Marij victoria.* The English chronicle saith that this stone was set vp on Stanesmoore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marius, was Westmaria, now called Westmerland.

King Marius hauing thus subdued his enimies, and escaped the danger of their dreadfull inuasion, gaue his mind to the good gouernement of his people, and the aduancement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the residue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finallie departed this life, after he had reigned (as most writers say) 52, or 53 yeeres. Howbeit there be that write, that he died in the yéere of our Lord 78, and so reigned not past fiue or six yéeres at the most. He was buried at Caerleill, leauing a sonne behind him called Coill.

Matt. West. Thus find we in the British and English histories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhoyd séemeth to take this man and his father Aruiragus to be all one person, whether mooued thereto by some catalog of kings which he saw, or otherwise, I cannot affirme: but speaking of the time when the Picts and Scots should first come to settle themselues in this land, he hath these words; Neither was there anie writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Vespasianus time, about the yeere of the incarnation 72: at what time Meurig or Maw, or Aruiragus reigned in Britaine, in which time our annales doo report, that a certeine kind of people liuing by pirasie and rouing on the sea, came foorth of Sueden, or Norwaie, vnder the guiding of one Rhithercus, who landed in Albania, wasting all the countrie with robbing and spoiling so farre as Caerleill, where he was vanquished in battell, and slaine by Murágus, with a great part of his people; the residue that escaped by flight, fled to their ships, and so conueied themselues into the Iles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to shew of the foresaid Lhoyds booke, for that it seemeth to carie a great likelihood of truth with it, for the historie of the Picts, which vndoubtedlie I thinke were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather first placing themselues in the Iles of Orkney, made inuasion into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occasion was offred. In the British toong they are called Pightiaid, that is Pightians, and so likewise were they called in the Scotish, and in their owne toong. Now will we shew what chanced in this Ile, during the time of the foresaid Marius his supposed reigne, as is found in the Romane histories.

Iulius Agricola is deputed by Vespasian to gouerne Britaine, he inuadeth the Ile of Anglesey, the inhabitants yeeld vp them selues, the commendable gouernement of Agricola, his worthie practises to traine the Britains to ciuilitie, his exploits fortunatelie atchiued against diuerse people, as the Irish, &c.

THE 16. CHAPTER.

AFTER Iulius Frontinus, the emperor Vespasian sent Iulius Agricola to succéed in the gouernement of Britaine, who comming ouer about the midst of summer, found the men of warre thorough want of a lieutenant negligent inough, as those that looking for no trouble, thought themselues out of all danger, where the enimies neuerthelesse watched vpon the next occasion to worke some displeasure, and were readie on ech hand to mooue rebellion. For the people called Ordouices, that inhabited in the countrie of Chesshire, Lancashire and part of Shropshire, had latelie before ouerthrowne, and in maner vtterlie destroied a wing of such horssemen as soiourned in their parties, by reason whereof all the prouince was brought almost into an assured hope to recouer libertie.

Iulius Agrícola lieutenant.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agr.

The first yéere of Agricola his gouernement.

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though summer was now halfe past, and that the souldiers lodging

lodging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more disposed to take rest, than to set forward into the field against the enimies, determined yet to resist the present danger: and therewith assembling the men of warre of the Romans, and such other aids as he might make, he inuaded their countrie that had done this foresaid displeasure, and slue the most part of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented (for that he thought good to follow the steps of fauourable fortune, and knowing that as the begining proued, so would the whole sequele of his affaires by likelihood come to passe) he purposed to make a full conquest of the Ile of Anglesey, from the conquest wherof the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as before ye haue heard. The Ile of Anglesey.

But whereas he wanted ships for the furnishing of his enterprise, his wit and policie found a shift to supplie that defect: for choosing out a piked number of such Britains as he had there with him in aid, which knew the foords and shallow places of the streames there, and withall were verie skilfull in swimming (as the maner of the countrie then was) he appointed them to passe ouer on the sudden into the Ile, onelie with their horsses, armor, and weapon: which enterprise they so spéedilie, and with so good successe atchiued, that the inhabitants much amazed with that dooing (which looked for a nauie of ships to haue transported ouer their enimies by sea, and therefore watched on the coast) began to thinke that nothing was able to be defended against such kind of warriors that got ouer into the Ile after such sort and maner.

And therefore making sute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whose fame by these victories dailie much increased, as of one that tooke pleasure in trauell, and attempting to atchiue dangerous enterprises, in stead whereof his predecessors had delighted, to shew the maiesties of their office by vaine brags, statelie ports, and ambitious pomps. For Agricola turned not the prosperous successe of his procéedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, increased it to the vttermost, among them that iudged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchiued, which with silence kept secret these his so woorthie dooings. Anglesey yéelded to Agricola.

Moreouer, perceiuing the nature of the people in this Ile of Britaine, and sufficientlie taught by other mens example, that armor should little auaile where iniuries followed to the disquieting of the people, he thought best to take away and remoone all occasions of warre. And first beginning with himselfe and his souldiers, tooke order for a reformation to be had in his owne houshold, yéelding nothing to fauor, but altogither in respect of vertue, accounting them most faithfull which therein most excelled. He sought to know all things, but not to doo otherwise than reason mooued, pardoning small faults, and sharpelie punishing great and heinous offenses, neither yet deliting alwaies in punishment, but oftentimes in repentance of the offendor. Exactions and tributes he lessened, qualifieng the same by reasonable equitie. And thus in reforming the state of things, he wan him great praise in time of peace, the which either by negligence or sufferance of the former lieutenants, was euer feared, and accounted woorse than open warre. This was his practise in the winter time of his first yeere. Agricola his good gouernment.

But when summer was come, he assembled his armie, and leading foorth the same, trained his souldiers in all honest warlike discipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnrulie. He himselfe to giue example, tooke vpon him all dangers that came to hand, and suffered not the enimies to liue in rest, but wasted their countries with sudden inuasions. And when he had sufficientlie chastised them, and put them in feare by such manner of dealing, he spared them, that they might againe conceiue some hope of peace. By which meanes manie countries which vnto those daies had kept themselues out of bondage, laid rancor aside, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to suffer castels to be builded within them, and to be kept with garrisons, so that no part of Britaine was frée from the Romane power, but stood still in danger to be brought vnder more and more. His diligence.

In the winter following, Agricola tooke paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and customs, vnto a more ciuill sort and trade of liuing, that changing their naturall fiercenesse The second yéere of Agricola his gouernment.

The woorthie practises of Agricola to traine the Britains to ciuilitie.

fiercenesse and apt disposition to warre, they might through tasting pleasures be so inured therewith, that they should desire to liue in rest and quietnesse: and therefore he exhorted them priuilie, and holpe them publikelie to build temples, common halls where plées of law might be kept, and other houses, commending them that were diligent in such dooings, and blaming them that were negligent, so that of necessitie they were driuen to striue who should preuent ech other in ciuilitie. He also procured that noble mens sonnes should learne the liberall sciences, and praised the nature of the Britains more than the people of Gallia, bicause they studied to atteine to the knowledge of the Romane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in short time were brought to the vse of good and commendable manners, and sorted themselues to go in comelie apparell after the Romane fashion, and by little and little fell to accustome themselues to fine fare and delicate pleasures, the readie prouokers of vices, as to walke in galleries, to wash themselues in bathes, to vse banketting, and such like, which amongst the vnskilfull was called humanitie or courtesie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and seruitude, namelie being too excessiuelie vsed.

The third yéere.

In the third yéere of Agricola his gouernment in Britaine, he inuaded the north parts thereof (vnknowne till those daies of the Romans) being the same where the Scots now inhabit: for he wasted the countrie vnto the water of Tay, in such wise putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durst not once set vpon his armie, though it were so that the same was verie sore disquieted and vexed by tempest and rage of weather. Wherevpon finding no great let or hinderance by the enimies, he builded certeine castels and fortresses, which he placed in such conuenient stéeds, that they greatlie annoied his aduersaries, and were so able to be defended, that there was none of those castels which he builded, either woon by force out of the Romans hands, or giuen ouer by composition, for feare to be taken: so that the same beeing furnished with competent numbers of men of warre, were safelie kept from the enimies, the which were dailie vexed by the often issues made foorth by the souldiers that laie thus in garrison within them: so that where in times past the said enimies would recouer their losses susteined in summer by the winters aduantage, now they were put to the woorse, and kept backe as well in the winter as in the summer.

The water of Tay.

The fourth yéere of Agricola his gouernment. Clota. Bodotria.

In the fourth summer, after that Agricola was appointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to bring vnder subiection those people, the which before time he had by incursions and forreies sore vexed and disquieted: and therevpon comming to the waters of Clide and Loughleuen, he built certeine fortresses to defend the passages and entries there, driuing the enimies beyond the same waters, as it had beene into a new Iland.

The fift yéere.

In the fift summer, Agricola causing his ships to be brought about, and appointing them to arriue on the north coasts of Scotland, he passed with his armie ouer the riuer of Clide; and subdued such people as inhabited those further parts of Scotland, which till those daies had not beene discouered by the Romans. And bicause he thought it should serue well to purpose, for some conquest to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotland which bordereth on the Irish seas might be kept in due obedience, he placed garrisons of souldiers in those parties, in hope verelie vpon occasion to passe ouer into Ireland, and for the more easie aduancement of his purpose therein, he interteined with honourable prouision one of the kings of Ireland, which by ciuill discord was expelled and driuen out of his countrie. In déed Agricola perceiued, that with one legion of souldiers, and a small aid of other men of warre, it should be an easie matter to conquer Ireland, and to bring it vnder the dominion of the Romans: which enterprise he iudged verie necessarie to be exploited, for better kéeping of the Britains in obedience, if they should sée the iurisdiction of the Romans euerie where extended, and the libertie of their neighbours suppressed.

An Irish king expelled out of his countrie.

The sixt yéere of Agricola his gouernment.

In the sixt summer of Agricola his gouernment, he proceeded in subduing the furthermost parts of Scotland northwards, causing his nauie to kéepe course against him by the coast as he marched foorth by land, so that the Britains perceiuing how the secret hauens and créekes of their countries were now discouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cut off from them, were in maruellous feare. On the other part the Romans were sore troubled with

with the rough mounteins and craggie rocks, by the which they were constreined to passe beside the dangerous riuers, lakes, woods, streicts, and other combersome waies and passages.

The danger also of them that were in the ships by sea was not small, by reason of winds and tempests, and high spring tides, which tossed and turmoiled their vessels verie cruellie: but by the painfull diligence of them that had béene brought vp and inured with continuall trauell and hardnesse, all those discommodities were ouercome to their great reioising, when they met and fell in talke of their passed perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamped so by the shore, that those which kept the sea came on land to make merrie in the campe, and then ech one would recount to others the aduentures that had happened, as the manner is in semblable cases.

The Britains of Calenderwood assalt the Romans vpon aduantage, bloudie battels fought betwixt them, great numbers slaine on both sides, the villanous dealing of certeine Dutch souldiers against their capteins and fellowes in armes, the miserie that they were driuen vnto by famine to eate one another, a sharpe conflict betweene the Romans and Britains, with the losse of manie a mans life, and effusion of much bloud.

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

THE Britains that inhabited in those daies about the parts of Calenderwood, perceiuing in what danger they were to be vtterlie subdued, assembled themselues togither, in purpose to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertised, marched foorth with his armie diuided in three battels, so that the enimies doubting to trie the matter in open field, espied their time in the night, and with all their whole puissance set vpon one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be most féeble and weake, trusting by a camisado to distresse the same: and first sleaing the watch, they entred the campe, where the said legion laie, and finding the souldiers in great disorder, betwixt sléepe and feare, began the fight euen within the campe. Calenderwood.

Agricola had knowledge of their purposed intent, and therefore with all speed hasted foorth to come to the succours of his people, sending first his light horssemen, and certeine light armed footmen to assaile the enimies on their backs, and shortlie after approched with his whole puissance, so that the Romane standards beginning to appéere in sight by the light of the daie that then began to spring, the Britains were sore discouraged, and the Romans renewing their force, fiercelie preassed vpon them, so that euen in the entrie of the campe, there was a sore conflict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and chased, so that if the mareshes and woods had not saued them from the pursute of the Romans, there had beene an end made of the whole warre euen by that one daies worke. But the Britains escaping as well as they might, and reputing the victorie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romane soldiers, but by occasion, and the prudent policie of their capteine, were nothing abashed with that their present losse, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and therevpon they remooued their wiues and children into safe places, and then assembling the chiefest gouernours togither, concluded a league amongst themselues, ech to aid other, confirming their articles with dooing of sacrifice (as the manner in those daies was.)

The same summer, a band of such Dutch or Germaine souldiers as had béene leuied in Germanie & sent ouer into Britaine to the aid of the Romans, attempted a great and woonderfull act, in sleaing their capteine, and such other of the Romane souldiers which were appointed to haue the training and leading of them, as officers and instructors to them in the feats of warre: and when they had committed that murther, they got into three pinesses, The seuenth yéere.

and became rouers on the coasts of Britaine, and incountring with diuerse of the Britains that were readie to defend their countrie from spoile, oftentimes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chased awaie, insomuch that in the end they were brought to such extremitie for want of vittels, that they did eate such amongst them as were the weakest, and after, such as the lot touched, being indifferentlie cast amongst them: and so being caried about the coasts of Britaine, & losing their vessels through want of skill to gouerne them, they were reputed for robbers, and therevpon were apprehended, first by the Suabeners, and shortlie after by the Frizers, the which sold diuerse of them to the Romans and other, whereby the true vnderstanding of their aduentures came certeinlie to light.

The eight yéere of Agricola his gouernment.

In summer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the mounteine of Granziben, where he vnderstood that his enimies were incamped, to the number of 30 thousand and aboue, and dailie there came to them more companie of the British youth, and such aged persons also as were lustie and in strength, able to weld weapon and beare armour.

Galgagus whome the Scots name Gald and will néeds haue him a Scotish man.

Amongst the capteins the chiefest was one Galgagus whom the Scotish chronicles name Gald. This man as chiefteine and head capteine of all the Britains there assembled, made to them a pithie oration, to incourage them to fight manfullie, and likewise did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both sides were put in order of battell. Agricola placed 8 thousand footmen of strangers which he had there in aid with him in the midst, appointing thrée thousand horssemen to stand on the sides of them as wings. The Romane legions stood at their backs in stéed of a bulworke. The Britains were imbattelled in such order, that their fore ward stood in the plaine ground, and the other on the side of an hill, as though they had risen on heigth one ranke aboue another. The midst of the field was couered with their charrets and horssemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enimies, least his people should be assailed not onlie afront, but also vpon euerie side the battels, he caused the ranks so to place themselues, as their battels might stretch farre further in bredth than otherwise the order of warre required: but he tooke this to be a good remedie against such inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrownesse of the fronts of his battels should haue hemmed them in on ech side.

Corn. Tacit.

This done, and hauing conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horsse from him, he stood before the standards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the first they bestowed their shot and darts fréelie on both sides. The Britains aswell with constant manhood, as skilfull practise, with broad swords and little round bucklers auoided and beat from them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their shot and darts, so that the Romans were néere hand oppressed therewith, bicause they came so thicke in their faces, till at length Agricola caused thrée cohorts of Hollanders, & two of Lukeners to presse forward, & ioine with them at hand-strokes, so as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the swoord, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it stood greatlie with their aduantage, so to the Britains it was verie dangerous, that were to defend themselues with their mightie huge swoords and small bucklers. Also by reason their swoords were broad at the ends, and pointlesse, they auailed little to hurt the armed enimie. Wherevpon when the Hollanders came to ioine with them, they made fowle worke in sleaing and wounding them in most horrible wise.

Betaui, Congri.

The horssemen also that made resistance they pulled from their horsses, and began to clime the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands desirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchiue the victorie, followed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: manie were ouerrun and left halfe dead, and some not once touched with anie weapon, were likewise ouerpressed, such hast the Romans made to follow vpon the Britains. Whilest the British horssemen fled, their charets ioined themselues with their footmen, and restoring the battell, put the Romans in such feare, that they were

Hollanders.

at

at a sudden stay: but the charets being troubled with prease of enimies, & vnéeuennesse of the ground, they could not worke their feat to anie purpose, neither had that fight anie resemblance of a battell of horssemen, when ech one so encumbred other, that they had no roome to stirre themselues. The charets oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried awaie with the horsses, that being put in feare with the noise and stur, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomsoeuer else they met withall.

Now the Britains that kept the top of the hils, and had not yet fought at all, despising the small number of the Romans, began to come downewards and to cast about, that they might set vpon the backs of their enimies, in hope so to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no lesse, but that some such thing would come to passe, had aforehand foreséene the danger, and hauing reserued foure wings of horssemen for such sudden chances, sent them foorth against those Britains, the which horssemen with full randon charging vpon them as they rashlie came forwards, quicklie disordered them and put them all to flight, and so that purposed deuise and policie of the Britains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horssemen by their capteins appointment trauersing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, set vpon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in those open and plaine places a greeuous & heauie sight it was to behold, how they pursued, wounded, and tooke their enimies: and as they were aduised of other to slea those that they had before taken, to the end they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fléeing, taking, and chasing, slaughter, spilling of bloud, scattering of weapons, grunting and groning of men and horsses that lay on the ground, gasping for breath, & readie to die.

The Britains now and then as they saw their aduantage, namelie when they approched néere to the woods, gathered themselues togither, and set vpon the Romans as they followed vnaduisedlie, and further (through ignorance of the places) than stood with their suertie, insomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, and sent foorth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horssebacke to close in the enimies, and also to beat the wood, some greater losse would haue followed through too much boldnes of them that too rashlie pursued vpon the Britains: who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they slipt awaie and tooke them to flight, ech one seeking to saue himselfe, and kept not togither in plumps as before they had doone. The night made an end of the chase which the Romans had followed till they were throughlie wearied. There were slaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus a capteine of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horssebacke (through his owne too much youthfull courage, and fierce vnrulines of his horsse) was caried into the middle throng of his enimies, and there slaine.

Ten thousand Britains slaine.
Aulus Atticus slaine.

The lamentable distresse and pitifull perplexitie of the Britains after their ouerthrow, Domitian enuieth Agricola the glorie of his victories, he is subtilie depriued of his deputiship, and Cneus Trebellius surrogated in his roome.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

THE night insuing the foresaid ouerthrow of the Britains was spent of the Romans in great ioy & gladnes for the victorie atchiued. But among the Britains there was nothing else heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled togither, some busie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dresse their hurts; other calling for their sonnes, kinsfolkes and friends that were wanting. Manie of them forsooke their houses,

Britains, not Scots, neither yet Picts.

houses, and in their desperate mood set them on fire, and choosing foorth places for their better refuge and safegard, foorthwith misliking of the same, left them and sought others: herewith diuerse of them tooke counsell togither what they were best to doo, one while they were in hope, an other while they fainted, as people cast into vtter despaire: the beholding of their wiues and children oftentimes mooued them to attempt some new enterprise for the preseruation of their countrie and liberties. And certeine it is that some of them slue their wiues and children, as mooued thereto with a certeine fond regard of pitie to rid them out of further miserie and danger of thraldome.

The next day the certeintie of the victorie more plainlie was disclosed, for all was quiet about, and no noise heard anie where: the houses appeared burning on ech side, and such as were sent foorth to discouer the countrie into euerie part thereof, saw not a creature stirring, for all the people were auoided and withdrawne a farre off.

When Agricola had thus ouerthrowne his enimies in a pitcht field at the mountaine of Granziben, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enimies: bicause the summer of this eight yéere of his gouernement was now almost spent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horrestians, which inhabited the countries now called Angus & Merne, and there intended to winter, and tooke hostages of the people for assurance of their loialtie and subiection. This doone, he appointed the admirall of the nauie to saile about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commission in that point receiued, luckilie accomplished his enterprise, and brought the nauie about againe into an hauen called Trutulensis.

Hector Boet.

Cor. Tacitus.

An hauen called Trutulensis, peraduenture Rutupensis.

In this meane time, whiles Iulius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperour Vespasianus, and also his brother Titus that succéeded him, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected emperor, who hearing of such prosperous successe as Agricola had against the Britains, did not so much reioise for the thing well doone, as he enuied to consider what glorie and renowme should redound to Agricola thereby, which he perceiued should much darken the glasse of his fame, hauing a priuate person vnder him, who in woorthinesse of noble exploits atchiued, farre excelled his dooings.

To find remedie therefore herein, he thought not good to vtter his malice as yet, whilest Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which so much fauoured him, and that with so good cause, sith by his policie and noble conduct the same had obteined so manie victories, so much honor, and such plentie of spoiles and booties. Wherevpon to dissemble his intent, he appointed to reuoke him foorth of Britaine, as it were to honor him, not onelie with deserued triumphs, but also with the lieutenantship of Syria, which as then was void by the death of Aulius Rufus. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliuered his prouince vnto his successor Cneus Trebellius, appointed thereto by the emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and safegard.

Cneus Trebellius alias Salustius Lucullus as some thinke.

¶ Thus may you sée in what state Britaine stood in the daies of king Marius, of whome Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the citie of Chester was builded by this Marius, though other (as before I haue said) thinke rather that it was the worke of Ostorius Scapula their legat. Touching other the dooings of Agricola, in the Scotish chronicle you maie find more at large set foorth: for that which I haue written héere, is but to shew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of that which Agricola did here in Britaine, without making mention either of Scots or Picts, onelie naming them Britains, Horrestians, and Calidoneans, who inhabited in those daies a part of this Ile which now we call Scotland, the originall of which countrie, and the inhabitants of the same, is greatlie controuersed among writers; diuerse diuerslie descanting therevpon, some fetching their reason from the etymon of the word which is Gréeke, some from the opening of their ancestors as they find the same remaining in records; other some from comparing antiquities togither, and aptlie collecting the truth as néere as they can. But to omit them, and returne to the continuation of our owne histórie.

Fabian.

Of

Of Coillus the sonne of Marius, his education in Rome, how long he reigned: of Lucius his sonne and successor, what time he assumed the gouernment of this land, he was an open professor of christian religion, he and his familie are baptised, Britaine receiueth the faith, 3 archbishops and 28 bishops at that time in this Iland, Westminster church and S. Peters in Cornehill builded, diuers opinions touching the time of Lucius his reigne, of his death, and when the christian faith was receiued in this Iland.

THE 19. CHAPTER.

COILLUS the sonne of Marius was after his fathers deceasse made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 125. This Coillus or Coill was brought vp in his youth amongst the Romans at Rome, where he spent his time not vnprofitablie, but applied himselfe to learning & seruice in the warres, by reason whereof he was much honored of the Romans, and he likewise honored and loued them, so that he paied his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore liued in peace and good quiet. He was also a prince of much bountie, and verie liberall, whereby he obteined great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some saie, that he made the towne of Colchester in Essex, but others write, that Coill which reigned next after Asclepiodotus was the first founder of that towne, but by other it should séeme to be built long before, being called Camelodunum. Finallie when this Coill had reigned the space of 54 yeares, he departed this life at Yorke, leauing after him a sonne named Lucius, which succéeded in the kingdome. COILLUS. 125. Colchester built.

LUCIUS the sonne of Coillus, whose surname (as saith William Harison) is not extant, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yeare of our Lord 180, as Fabian following the authoritie of Peter Pictauiensis saith, although other writers seeme to disagrée in that account, as by the same Fabian in the table before his booke partlie appeareth, wherevnto Matthæus Westmonasteriensis affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yeare 124, as successor to his father Coillus, which died the same yeare, being of great age yer the said Lucius was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4132 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the comming of Cesar into Britaine, and 165 after Christ, whose accounts I follow in this treatise. LUCIUS. 165.

This Lucius is highlie renowmed of the writers, for that he was the first king of the Britains that receiued the faith of Iesus Christ: for being inspired by the spirit of grace and truth, euen from the beginning of his reigne, he somewhat leaned to the fauoring of Christian religion, being moued with the manifest miracles which the Christians dailie wrought in witnesse and proofe of their sound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the daies of Ioseph of Arimathia and his fellowes, or what other godlie men first taught the Britains the gospell of our Sauiour, there remained amongest the same Britains some christians which ceased not to teach and preach the word of God most sincerelie vnto them: but yet no king amongst them openlie professed that religion, till at length this Lucius perceiuing not onelie some of the Romane lieutenants in Britaine as Trebellius and Pertinax, with others, to haue submitted themselues to that profession, but also the emperour himselfe to begin to be fauorable to them that professed it, he tooke occasion by their good example to giue eare more attentiuelie vnto the gospell, and at length sent vnto Eleutherius bishop of Rome two learned men of the British nation, Eluane and Meduine, requiring him to send some such ministers as might instruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifullie, and to baptise them according to the rules of christian religion.

¶ The reuerend father Iohn Iewell, sometime bishop of Salisburie, writeth in his * replie vnto Hardings answer, that the said Eleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme * Fol. 119.

and churches héere, wrote his aduice to Lucius in maner and forme following. "You haue receiued in the kingdome of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the law and faith of Christ; ye haue both the new and the old testament, out of the same through Gods grace, by the aduise of your realme make a law, and by the same through Gods sufferance rule you your kingdome of Britaine, for in that kingdome you are Gods vicar."

Britaine receiueth the faith.

Herevpon were sent from the said Eleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Fugatius, and the other Damianus, the which baptised the king with all his familie and people, and therewith remoued the worshipping of idols and false gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worship the true and immortall God. There were in those daies within the bounds of Britaine 28 Flamines, & thrée Archflamines, which were as bishops and archbishops, or superintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whose place (they being remoued) were instituted 28 bishops & thrée archbishops of the christian religion. One of the which archbishops held his sée at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon Arwiske in Glamorganshire. Vnto the archbishop of London was subiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the archbishop of Yorke all the north parts of Britaine from the riuer of Humber vnto the furthest partes of Scotland. And to the archbishop of Caerleon was subiect all Wales, within which countrie as then were seuen bishops, where now there are but foure. The riuer of Seuern in those daies diuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine partlie by the meanes of Ioseph of Arimathia (of whome ye haue heard before) & partlie by the wholesome instructions & doctrines of Fugatius and Damianus, was the first of all other regions that openlie receiued the gospell, and continued most stedfast in that profession, till the cruell furie of Dioclesian persecuted the same, in such sort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the christian religion was in manner extinguished, and vtterlie destroied.

Matth. West.

Iosephus of Arimathia.

Polydor.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius should build the church of saint Peter at Westminster, though manie attribute that act vnto Sibert king of the east Saxons, and write how the place was then ouergrowne with thornes and bushes, and thereof tooke the name, and was called Thorney. They ad moreouer that Thomas archbishop of London preached, read, and ministred the sacraments there to such as made resort vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuestrie of saint Paules at London, and also a table sometime hanging in saint Peters church in Cornehill, it should séeme that the said church of saint Peter in Cornehill was the same that Lucius builded. But herein (saith Harison *anno mundi* 4174) dooth lie a scruple. Sure Cornell might soone be mistaken for Thorney, speciallie in such old records, as time, age, & euill handling haue oftentimes defaced.

Westminster Church built.

But howsoeuer the case standeth, truth it is, that Lucius reioising much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderstanding of the true God, that they néeded not to be deceiued anie longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked spirits, he abolished all prophane worshippings of false gods, and conuerted all such temples as had béene dedicated to their seruice, vnto the vse of christian religion: and thus studieng onlie how to aduance the glorie of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his word, without seeking the vaine glorie of worldlie triumph, which is got with slaughter and bloudshed of manie a giltlesse person, he left his kingdome; though not inlarged with broder dominion than he receiued it, yet greatlie augmented and inriched with quiet rest, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be esteemed than all the rest) adorned with Christes religion, and perfectlie instructed with his most holie word and doctrine. He reigned (as some write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelue yeares. Againe, some testifie that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Polydor. Fabian. Iohn Hard.

Moreouer here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Christ to be planted within this realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romane bishop, the same chanced in the daies of the emperour Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was seuen yéere

after the death of Lucius Aelius, Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, as by some chronologies is easie to be collected. For Eleutherius began to gouerne the sée of Rome in the yéere 169, according to the opinion of the most diligent chronographers of our time, and gouerned fiftéene yeeres and thirtéene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Glocester in the yéere of our Lord 156. Other say that he died in the yere 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this historie is brought into doubt by the discord of writers, concerning the time and other circumstances, although they all agrée that in this kings daies the christian faith was first by publike consent openlie receiued and professed in this land, which as some affirme, should chance in the twelfe yéere of his reigne, and in the yéere of our Lord 177. Other iudge that it came to passe in the eight yeere of his regiment, and in the yéere of our Lord 188, where other (as before is said) alledge that it was in the yéere of the Lord 179. Nauclerus saith, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herfordea supposeth, that it was in the yéere of our Lord 169, and in the nintéenth yéere of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus: and after other, about the sixt yéere of the emperor Commodus.

Gal. Mon. Matth. Wes. *Polydor.* *Nauclerus.* *Hen. Herf.*

But to conclude, king Lucius died without issue, by reason whereof after his deceasse the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the space of fiftéene yéeres (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old English chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixt them remained fiftie yéeres, though Harding affirmeth but foure yéeres. And thus much of the Britains, and their kings Coilus and Lucius. Now it resteth to speake somewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namelie those that inhabited beyond Tweed) partlie being weakned of their former strength, and partlie in consideration of their pledges, which they had deliuered to the Romans, remained in peace certeine yéeres.

Fabian. *Caxton.* *Iohn Hard.*

The Britains after the deceasse of Lucius (who died without issue) rebell against the Romans, the emperor Adrian comming in his owne person into Britaine appeaseth the broile, they go about to recouer their libertie against the Romans, but are suppressed by Lollius the Romane lieutenant; the vigilantnesse or wakefulnesie of Marcellus, and his policie to keepe the souldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certeine meane gentlemen of Perhennis appointing doo falselie accuse him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murthered of his souldiers.

THE XX. CHAPTER.

IN the meane time the Romane lieutenant Cneus Trebellius that succéeded Iulius Agricola, could not foresee all things so preciselie but that the souldiers waxing vnrulie by reason of long rest, fell at variance among themselues, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but disquieted the Britains beyond measure. Wherefore the Britains perceiuing themselues sore oppressed with intollerable bondage, and that dailie the same increased, they conspired togither, vpon hope to recouer libertie, and to defend their countrie by all meanes possible, and herewith they tooke weapon in hand against the Romans, and boldlie assailed them: but this they did yet warilie, and so, that they might flie vnto the woods and bogs for refuge vpon necessitie, according to the maner of their countrie. Herevpon diuers slaughters were committed on both parties, and all the countrie was now readie to rebell: whereof when the emperour Adrian was aduertised from Trebellius the lieutenant, with all conuenient speed he passed ouer into Britaine, and quieted all the Ile, vsing great humanitie towards the inhabitants; and making small account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either bicause of the barrennesse thereof, or for that by reason of the nature of the countrie

CNEUS TREBELLIUS LIEUTENANT.

he thought it would be hard to be kept vnder subiection, he deuised to diuide it from the residue of Britaine, and so caused a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine vnto the water of Eske, which wall conteined in length 80 miles.

The wall of Adrian built. *Spartianus.*

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romane souldiers, and repining to be kept vnder the bond of seruitude, eftsoones went about to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertisement being giuen, the emperour Pius Antoninus sent ouer Lollius Vrbicus as lieutenant into Britaine, who by sundrie battels striken, constreined the Britains to remaine in quiet, and causing those that inhabited in the north parts to remooue further off from the confines of the Romane prouince, raised another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be supposed, for the more suertie of the Romane subiects against the inuasion of the enimies. But yet Lollius did not so make an end of the warrs, but that the Britains shortlie after attempted afresh, either to reduce their state into libertie, or to bring the same into further danger.

Lollius Vrbicus lieutenant.

Iulius Capitol.

An other wall built.

CALPHURNIUS AGRICOLA. Of the doings of this Calphurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the Scotish chronicle. *Dion Cassius.*

WHEREVPON Marcus Antonius that succéeded Pius, sent Calphurnius Agricola to succéed Lollius in the gouernement of Britaine, the which easilie ouercame and subdued all his enimies. After this there chanced some trouble in the daies of the emperour Commodus the son of Marcus Antonius and his successor in the empire: for the Britans that dwelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the same, and spoiled a great part of the countrie, against whom the Romane lieutenant for that time being come foorth, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romane souldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and slaine.

Vlpius Marcellus lieutenant.

With which newes Commodus being sore amazed, sent against the Britains one Vlpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but therewith rough and nothing gentle. He vsed the same kind of diet that the common souldiers did vse. He was a capteine much watchfull, as one contented with verie little sléepe, and desirous to haue his souldiers also vigilant and carefull to kéepe sure watch in the night season. Euerie euening he would write twelue tables, such as they vsed to make on the lind trée, and deliuering them to one of his seruants, appointed him to beare them at seuerall houres of the night to sundrie souldiers, whereby supposing that their generall was still watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to sléepe.

And although of nature he could well absteine from sléepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vsed a maruellous spare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himselfe too much with bread, he would eat none but such as was brought to him from Rome, so that more than necessitie compelled him he could not eat, by reason that the stalenesse tooke awaie the pleasant tast thereof, and lesse prouoked his appetite. He was a maruellous contemner of monie, so that bribes might not moone him to doo otherwise than dutie required. This Marcellus being of such disposition, sore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great losses: through fame wherof, Cõmodus enuieng his renowme was after in mind to make him away, but yet spared him for a further purpose, and suffered him to depart.

Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard.

After he was remoued from the gouernment of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperors gard (or pretorian souldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Commodus, appointed certeine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which fond substituting of such petie officers to ouersée and ouerrule the people, was to them an occasion of hartgrudge, and to him a meanes of finall mischeefe: both which it is likelie he might haue auoided, had he béene prouident in his deputation. For the souldiers in the same armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of base degrée, in respect of those that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable personages, as senators, and of the consular dignitie, they fell at square among themselues, and about fiftéene hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint against Perhennis: for whatsoeuer was amisse, the blame was still laid to him. They passed foorth without impeachment

Aelius Lampridius.

peachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperour himselfe came foorth to vnderstand what they meant by this their comming in such sort from the place where they were appointed to serue. Their answer was, that they were come to informe him of the treason which Perhennis had deuised to his destruction, that he might make his son emperor. To the which accusation when Commodus too lightlie gaue eare, & beléeued it to be true, namelie, through the setting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he brideled him from dooing diuerse vnlawfull acts, which he went about vpon a wilfull mind (without all reason and modestie) to practise; the matter was so handled in the end, that Perhennis was deliuered to the souldiers, who cruellie mangled him, and presentlie put him to a pitifull death.

Pertinax is sent as lieutenant into Britaine, he is in danger to be slaine of the souldiers, he riddeth himselfe of that perilous office: Albinus with an armie of Britains fighteth against Seuerus and his power neere to Lions, Seuerus is slaine in a conflict against the Picts, Geta and Bassianus two brethren make mutuall warre for the regiment of the land, the one is slaine, the other ruleth.

THE XXJ. CHAPTER.

NOW will we saie somewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought néedfull to send some sufficient capteine of autoritie thither; and therefore was one Pertinax that had béene consull and ruler ouer foure seuerall consular prouinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man most méet for such a charge, and also to satisfie his credit, for that he had béene discharged by Perhennis of bearing anie rule, and sent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to haue béene slaine by a mutinie raised by one of the legions: for he was stricken downe, and left for dead among the slaine carcasses. But he woorthilie reuenged himselfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chastised the rebels, and brought the Ile into méetelie good quiet, he sued and obteined to be discharged of that roome, because as he alledged, the souldiers could not brooke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting such as offended the lawes of armes.

Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine.

The lieutenant in danger.

THEN was Clodius Albinus appointed to haue the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whose destruction when Seuerus the emperour sought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore choosing foorth a great power of Britains, passed with the same ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, so that néere to the citie of Lions they ioined in battell and fought right sore, in so much that Seuerus was at point to haue receiued the ouerthrow by the high prowesse and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus lost the field, and was slaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to gouerne Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being sent thither by Seuerus for that purpose before. And such was the state of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which season, because that king Lucius was dead, and had left no issue to succéed him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongst themselues, and so continued till the comming of Seuerus, whome the British chronographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of succession in bloud, as descended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Iulius Cesar, as before ye haue heard.

CLODIUS ALBINUS LIEUTENANT.

THIS Seuerus as then emperour of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the yeare of our Lord 207, and gouerned the same 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that

SEUERUS.

that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entred into the borders of his countrie on this side Durham, he raised an host of Britains and Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies: and meeting with the said Fulgentius in a place neere vnto Yorke, in the end after sore fight Seuerus was slaine, when he had ruled this land for the space almost of fiue yeares, as before is said, and was after buried at Yorke, leauing behind him two sonnes, the one named Geta, and the other Bassianus. This Bassianus being borne of a British woman, succeeded his father in the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would haue had Geta created king of Britaine, bearing more fauour to him because he had a Romane ladie to his mother: but the Britains moued with the like respect, held with Bassianus. And thervpon warre was raised betwixt the two brethren, who comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was slaine, and Bassianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and so continued king, till at length he was slaine by one Carausius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well esteemed. In somuch that obteining of the senat of Rome the keeping of the coasts of Britaine, that he might defend the same from the malice of strangers, as Picts and others, he drew to him a great number of souldiers and speciallie of Britains, to whome he promised that if they would make him king, he would cleerelie deliuer them from the oppression of the Roman seruitude. Wherevpon the Britains rebelling against Bassianus, ioined themselues to Carausius, who by their support vanquished and slue the said Bassianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as some affirme) 30 yeares.

¶ Thus farre out of the English and British writers, the which how farre they varie from likelihood of truth, you shall heare in the next chapter what the approued historiographers, Greekes and Latines, writing of these matters, haue recorded.

Herodianus.

The ambitious mind of the old emperour Seuerus, he arriueth in Britaine with a mightie power to suppresse the rebellious Britains, the emperours politike prouision for his souldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitie of the Britains, their nimblenesse, the painting of their bodies with diuerse colours, their furniture, their great sufferance of hunger, cold, &c: diuerse conflicts betweene the Romans and the Britains, their subtile traines to deceiue their enimies, the Romans pitifullie distressed, Seuerus constreineth the Caledonians to conclude a league with him; he falleth sicke, his owne sonne practiseth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and slea all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and sepulchre: Bassianus ambitiouslie vsurpeth the whole regiment, he killeth his brother Geta, and is slaine himselfe by one of his owne souldiers.

THE XXII. CHAPTER.

THE emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertisment from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there mooued rebellion, & wasted the countrie with roads and forraies, so that it was needful to haue the prince himselfe to come thither with a great power to resist the enimies, he of an ambitious mind reioised not a little for those newes, bicause he saw occasion offered to aduance his renowme and fame with increase of new victories now in the west, after so manie triumphs purchased and got by him in the east and north parts of the world. Heerevpon though he was of great age, yet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iournie into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessarie, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that beside his feeblenesse of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He tooke with him his

two

two sonnes, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, vpon purpose as was thought, to auoid occasions of such inconuenience as he perceiued might grow by discord mooued betwixt them through flatterers and malicious sycophants, which sought to set them at variance: which to bring to passe, he perceiued there should want no meane whilest they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures & idle pastimes as were dailie there frequented: and therefore he caused them to attend him in this iournie into Britaine, that they might learne to liue soberlie, and after the manner of men of warre. Antoninus and Geta.

Seuerus being thus on his iournie towards Britaine, staied not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him foorth, and passing the sea verie swiftlie, entred this Ile, and assembled a mightie power togither, meaning to assaile his enimies, and to pursue the warre against them to the vttermost. The Britains greatlie amazed with this sudden arriuall of the emperour, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadours to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious doings. But Seuerus delaieng time for answere, as he that was desirous to atchiue some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserue the surname of Britannicus, which he greatlie coueted, still was busie to prepare all things necessarie for the warre; and namelie, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay ouer the bogs and mareshes, so that his souldiers might haue place to stand vpon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enimies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fens & maresh ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which maresh grounds the enimies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mires, for they knew not the vse of wearing cloths, but ware hoopes of iron about their middles and necks, esteeming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold. The emperour Seuerus arriueth in Britaine. *Herodianus.* He meaneth of the north Britains or sauage Britains as we may call them.

Moreouer they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diuerse sorts and with sundrie shapes and figures of beasts and fowles, and therefore they vsed not to weare anie garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more apparantlie be scene, which they estéemed a great brauerie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people giuen much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloudshed, vsing none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a iaueline, and a swoord tied to their naked bodies: as for headpéece or habergeon, they estéemed not, bicause they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe ouer anie maresh, or be driuen to swim anie waters, or flée to the bogs. The furniture of the sauage Britains.

Moreouer, to suffer hunger, cold, and trauell, they were so vsed and inured therewith, that they would not passe to lie in the bogs and mires couered vp to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diuerse daies togither: and in the woods they would liue vpon roots and barks of trées. Also they vsed to prepare for themselues a certeine kind of meate, of the which if they receiued but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themselues satisfied, and féele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little lesse was subiect vnto the Romans, the other was gouerned of themselues, the people for the most part hauing the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and vnderstanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiance of them and helpe of his owne souldiers, and appointing his sonne Geta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subiect to the Romans, he tooke with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched foorth, and entred into the confines of the enimies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrie, whereby there insued diuerse conflicts and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enimies easilie escaped without anie great losse vnto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romans durst not follow, nor once approch, for feare to be intrapped and inclosed by the Britains that were

readie to returne and assaile their enimies vpon euerie occasion of aduantage that might be offered.

This maner of dealing sore troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their procéedings, that no spéedie end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, shéepe, and such like, in places conuenient, to be as a stale to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same awaie, being distant from the residue of the armie a good space, they would fall vpon them and distresse them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoied with the vnwholesomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to straie abroad, they were snapped vp by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so féeble that they could not through want of strength kéepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellowes, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enimies. Héereby there died in this iournie of the Romane armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the vttermost parts of all the countrie now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subiect to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) *Meatæ*. But first he forced the other, whom the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, vpon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrie, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.

Dion Cassius.

In the meane time, the emperour Seuerus being worne with age fell sicke, so that he was constreined to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obeied the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enimies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the fauour of the souldiers and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he dailie looked) he might haue their aid and assistance to be admitted emperour in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sicknesse longer time than he would haue wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers seruants to dispatch him by one meane or other.

Whilest Antoninus thus negligentlie looked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were latelie ioined in league with the emperour, but the other also which were subiects to the Romane empire. Seuerus tooke such displeasure, that he called togither the souldiers, and commanded them to inuade the countrie, and to kill all such as they might méet within anie place without respect, and that his cruell commandement he expressed in these verses taken out of Homer:

Iliados. 3.

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cædémque cruentam,
Non fœtus grauida mater quem gessit in aluo
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

But while he was thus disquieted with the rebellion of the Britains, and the disloiall practises of his sonne Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowne, (for the wicked sonne had by diuers attempts discouered his traitorous and vnnaturall meanings) at length, rather through sorrow and griefe, than by force of sicknesse, he wasted awaie, and departed this life at Yorke, the third daie before the nones of Februarie, after he had gouerned the empire by the space of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yeres, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Cassius, of the maners & vsages of those people, against whome Seuerus held warre here in Britaine, it maie be coniectured, that they were the Picts, the which possessed in those daies a great part of Scotland, and with continuall incursions and rodes wasted and destroied the borders of those countries which were subiect to the Romans. To kéepe them backe therefore and to represse their inuasions, Seuerus (as some write) either restored the former wall made by Adrian, or else newlie built an other ouerthwart the Ile, from the east

Herodianus. Dion Cassius. Eutropius. Dion Cassius.

Eutropius. Orosius. Dion Cassius

sea

sea to the west, conteining in length 232 miles. This wall was not made of stone, but of turfe and earth supported with stakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deepe trench or ditch, and also fortified with diuerse towers and turrets built & erected vpon the same wall or rampire so neere togither, that the sound of trumpets being placed in the same, might be heard betwixt, and so warning giuen from one to another vpon the first descrieng of the enimies. *Beda.* *Hector Boetius.*

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our Lord 211, his son Antoninus otherwise called also Bassianus, would faine haue vsurped the whole gouernment into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promises to corrupt the minds of the souldiers: but when he perceiued that his purpose would not forward as he wished in that behalfe, he concluded a league with the enimies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Yorke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whome he tooke order for the buriall of his father. And first his bodie being burnt (as the maner was) the ashes were put into a vessell of gold, and so conueied to Rome by the two brethren and the empresse Iulia, who was mother to Geta the yonger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Bassianus, & by all meanes possible sought to maintaine loue and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the first tooke vpon them to rule the empire equallie togither. But the ambition of Bassianus was such, that finallie vpon desire to haue the whole rule himselfe, he found meanes to dispatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and slaieng him euen in his mothers lap, and so possessed the gouernment alone, till at length he was slaine at Edessa a citie in Mesopotamia by one of his owne souldiers, as he was about to vntrusse his points to doo the office of nature, after he had reigned the space of 6 yeares, as is aforesaid. Where we are to note Gods iudgment, prouiding that he which had shed mans bloud, should also die by the sword. *Polydorus.* *Herodianus.* 211. *Sextus Aurelius.*

Of Carausius an obscure Britaine, what countries he gaue the Picts, and whereupon, his death by Alectus his successor, the Romans foiled by Asclepiodotus duke of Cornewall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the couetous practise of Carausius the vsurper.

THE XXIIJ. CHAPTER.

CARAUSIUS a Britan of vnknowne birth, as witnesseth the British histories, after he had vanquisht & slaine Bassianus (as the same histories make mention) was of the Britains made king and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of our Lord 218, as Galfridus saith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yeare 286. This Carausius either to haue the aid & support of the Picts, as in the British historie is conteined, either else to be at quietnesse with them, being not otherwise able to resist them, gaue to them the countries in the south parts of Scotland, which ioine to England on the east marshes, as Mers, Louthian, and others. CARAUSIUS. 218. *Galfrid.* *Polychron.* *Fabian.*

¶ But here is to be noted, that the British writers affirme, that these Picts which were thus placed in the south parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scithia by Fulgentius, to aid him against Seuerus, and that after the death of Seuerus, and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts receiued in the batell fought betwixt them at Yorke: the Picts tooke part with Bassianus, and at length betraied him in the battell which he fought against Carausius: for he corrupting them by such subtile practises as he vsed, they turned to his side, to the ouerthrow and vtter destruction of Bassianus: for the which traitorous part they had those south countries of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scotish writers it should appeare, that those Picts which aided Fulgentius and also Carausius, were the same that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britaine, now called Scotland. But whatsoeuer they were, truth it is (as the British *Galfridus.*

histories record) that at length one Alectus was sent from Rome by the senat with 8 legions of souldiers to subdue Carausius, which he did, and slue him in the field, as the same histories make mention, after he had reigned the space of 7, or 8, yeares: and in the yeare of our saluation two hundred, ninetie, three.

ALECTUS. Of whom our British histories doo write after their maner.

ALECTUS in hauing vanquished and slaine Carausius tooke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 293. This Alectus, when he had restored the land to the subiection of the Romans, did vse great crueltie against such Britains as had maintained the part of Carausius, by reason whereof he purchased much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conspired against him, and purposing to chase the Romans altogither out of their countrie, they procured one Asclepiodotus (whome the British chronicles name duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterprise. Whervpon the same Asclepiodotus assembling a great armie, made such sharpe warres on the Romans, that they being chased from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Asclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romans so much, that in the end they issued foorth of the citie, and gaue battell to the Britans, in the which much people on both parts were slaine, but the greatest number died on the Romans side: and amongst others, Alectus himselfe was slaine, the residue of the Romans that were left aliue, retired backe into the citie with a capteine of theirs named Liuius Gallus, and defended themselues within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alectus slaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as some suppose) about the terme of six yeares, or (as some other write) three yeares.

293.

Fabian. *Matth. West.*

ASCLEPIODOTUS. *Gal. Mon.* *Matt. West.*

ASCLEPIODOTUS, duke of Cornewall, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 232. After he had vanquished the Romans in battell, as before is recited, he laid his siege about the citie of London, and finallie by knightlie force entred the same, and slue the forenamed Liuius Gallus néere vnto a brooke, which in those daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the same brooke: by reason whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus brooke. And at this present the streete where the same brooke did run, is called Walbrooke.

Walbrooke.

Then after Asclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimies, he held this land a certeine space in good rest and quiet, and ministred iustice vprightlie, in rewarding the good, and punishing the euill. Till at length, through slanderous toongs of malicious persons, discord was raised betwixt the king and one Coill or Coilus, that was gouernour of Colchester: the occasion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatsoeuer the matter was, there insued such hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raised, and méeting in the field, they fought a sore and mightie battell, in the which Asclepiodotus was slaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares. Thus haue Geffrey of Monmouth and our common chroniclers written of Carausius, Alectus, and Asclepiodotus, which gouerned héere in Britaine.

Asclepiodotus slaine. *Matt. West.* hath x. yeares.

Eutropius.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane histories, in the acts of Dioclesian hath in effect these woords. " About the same time Carausius, the which being borne of most base ofspring, atteined to high honour and dignitie by order of renowmed chiualrie & seruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to kéepe the seas quiet alongst the coasts of Britaine, France, and Flanders, and other countries thereabouts, bicause the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Saxons sore troubled those seas. Carausius taking oftentimes manie of the enimies, neither restored the goods to them of the countrie from whome the enimies had bereft the same, nor yet sent anie part therof to the emperours, but kept the whole to his owne use. Whervpon when suspicion arose, that he should of purpose suffer the enimies to passe by him, till they had taken some prises, that in their returne with the same he might incounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which subtile practise he was thought greatly to haue inriched him selfe) Maximianus that was fellow in gouernment of the empire with Dioclesianus, remaining

The couetous practising of Carausius.

maining then in Gallia, and aduertised of these dooings, commanded that Carausius should be slaine, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and vsurping the imperiall ornaments and title, got possession of Britaine, against whom (being a man of great experience in all warlike knowledge) when warres had béene attempted and folowed in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and so he enioied the possession of Britaine by the space of seuen yéeres, & then was slaine by his companion Alectus, the which after him ruled Britaine for the space of three yéeres, and was in the end oppressed by the guile of Asclepiodotus gouernour of the pretorie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of some precinct and iurisdiction perteining to the Romane empire. And so was Britaine recouered by the foresaid Asclepiodotus about ten yeeres after that Carausius had first vsurped the gouernment there, and about the yéere of our Lord 300, as Polydor iudgeth, wherein he varieth much from Fabian and others.

Maximianus purposeth to slea Carausius.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

300.

¶ But to shew what we find further written of the subduing of Alectus, I thinke it not amisse to set downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praise of Maximianus dooth report of this matter, which shall be performed in the chapter following.

Mamertinus.

The substance of that which is written touching Britaine in a panegyrike oration ascribed to Mamertinus, which he set foorth in praise of the emperors Dioclesian and Maximian: it is intituled onelie to Maximian, whereas neuerthelesse both the emperors are praised; and likewise (as ye may perceiue) Constantius who was father to Constantine the great is here spoken of, being chosen by the two foresaid emperors, to assist them by the name of Cæsar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more shall be said.

THE XXIIIJ. CHAPTER.

" ALL the compasse of the earth (most victorious emperor) being now recouered through your noble prowesse, not onelie so farre as the limits of the Romane empire had before extended, but also the enimies borders beeing subdued, when Almaine had beene so often vanquished, and Sarmatia so often restreined & brought vnder, the people called Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi so often put to flight, the Goth submitting himselfe, the king of Persia by offering gifts suing for peace: one despitefull reproch of so mightie an empire and gouernement ouer the whole greeued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not sticke to confesse, and to vs it seemed the more intollerable, bicause it onlie remained to the accomplishing of your perfect renowme and glorie. And verilie as there is but one name of Britaine, so was the losse to be esteemed smal to the common wealth of a land so plentifull of corne, so abundant with store of pastures, so flowing with veines of mettall, so gainfull with reuenues rising of customs and tributes, so enuironed with hauens, so huge in circuit, the which when Cesar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the first that entered into it, writ that he had found an other world, supposing it to be so big, that it was not compassed with the sea, but that rather by resemblance the great Ocean was compassed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furnished with ships of warre; so that the Romans, soone after the warres of Carthage and Asia, had latelie beene exercised by sea against pirats, and afterwards by reason of the warres against Mithridates, were practised as well to fight by sea as land; besides this, the British nation then alone was accustomed but onelie to the Picts and Irishmen, enimies halfe naked as yet & not vsed to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romane puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that voiage onelie glorie in this, that he had sailed and passed ouer the Ocean sea.

Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germanie and Polonie.

Picts and Irishmen.

" But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his waies: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Romane souldiers was woon, and brought to take part with the enimie, and diuers bands of strangers that were also souldiers were shut vp in the ships to serue also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought togither to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to inrich themselues by the spoile of the prouinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischieuous practise.

" And although our armies were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the fame of a greeuous and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in ech mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Vnto the enimies forces was added a long sufferance of their wicked practises without punishment, which had puffed vp the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had bene for feare of them, whereas the disaduantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to deferre our victorie: neither did they beleeue that the warre was put off for a time by aduise and counsell, but rather to be omitted through despaire of dooing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aside, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obteine the whole gouernement into his hands.

Long sufferance of euill increaseth boldnesse in the authors.

Carausius slaine.

" This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so growne in time to a stubborne stiffenesse, and so well prouided for of the enimies part, you noble emperour did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiall maiestie against that enimie, ech man made account that the enterprise was alreadie atchiued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foreseene) it was prouided for aforehand by intercession made vnto your maiestie: for you your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperour, vouchedsafe to aduance the comming of your diuine excellencie by the neerest way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne. You therefore suddenlie came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horssemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontire: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counterwailed anie the greatest armies that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperour) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncerteine of his owne dooing and void of counsell, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

" Here commeth to mind how pleasant and easefull the good lucke of those princes in gouerning the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and surnames appointed them of such nations as their capteins did vanquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honor of the Romane eloquence, when he yeelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renowme of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and successe of that warre ouer vnto the same Fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperour sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserued the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprise. But you (most inuincible emperour) haue bene not onlie the appointer foorth how all this voiage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should bee demeaned, as apperteined to you by vertue of your imperiall rule and dignitie, but also you haue beene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselues, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchiued. For you taking the sea at Sluice, did put an irreuocable desire into their hearts that were readie to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, insomuch that when the capteins of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they

Fronto counted Ciceros match.

cried to haue the sailes hoised vp, and signe giuen to lanch foorth, that they might passe forward on their iournie, despising certeine tokens which threatened their wrecke, and so set forward on a rainie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serue their turne.

" But what was he that durst not commit himselfe vnto the sea, were the same neuer so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water, What doo we dout? what mean we to staie? He is now loosed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: Let vs put all things in proofe, let vs venter through anie dangers of sea whatsoeuer. What is there that we may stand in feare of? we follow the emperour. Neither did the opinion of your good hap deceiue them: for as by report of them selues we doo vnderstand, at that selfe time there fell such a mist and thicke fog vpon the seas, that the enimies nauie laid at the Ile of wight watching for their aduersaries, and lurking as it were in await, these your ships passed by, and were not once perceiued, neither did the enimie then staie although he could not resist.

" But now as concerning that the same vnuanquishable army fighting vnder your ensignes and name, streightwaies after it came to land, set fire on their ships; what mooued them so to doo, except the admonitions of your diuine motion? Or what other reason persuaded them to reserue no furtherance for their flight, if need were, nor to feare the doubtfull chances of war, nor (as the prouerbe saith) to thinke the hazard of martiall dealings to be common, but that by contemplation of your prosperous hap, it was verie certeine that there needed no doubt to be cast for victorie to be obteined? There were no sufficient forces at that present among them, no mightie or puissant strength of the Romans, but they had onelie consideration of your vnspeakable fortunate successe comming from the heauens aboue. For whatsoeuer battell dooth chance to be offered, to make full account of victorie, resteth not so much in the assurance of the souldiers, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the capteine generall. The good lucke in a capteine.

" That same ringleader of the vngratious faction, what ment he to depart from that shore which he possessed? Why did he forsake both his nauie and the hauen? But that (most inuincible emperour) he stood in feare of your comming, whose sailes he beheld readie to approch towards him, how soeuer the matter should fall out, he chose rather to trie his fortune with your capteins, than to abide the present force of your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderstood not, that whither so euer he fled, the power of your diuine maiestie to be present in all places where your countenance & banners are had in reuerence. But he fleeing from your presence, fell into the hands of your people, of you was he ouercome, of your armies was he oppressed.

" To be short, he was brought into such feare, and as it were still looking behind him, for doubt of your comming after him, that as one out of his wits and amazed, he wist not what to doo, he hasted forward to his death, so that he neither set his men in order of battell, nor marshalled such power as he had about him, but onlie with the old authors of that conspiracie, and the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetfull of so great preparation which he had made, ran headlong forwards to his destruction, insomuch (noble emperour) your felicitie yeeldeth this good hap to the common wealth, that the victorie being atchiued in the behalfe of the Romane empire, there almost died not one Romane: for as I heare, all those fields and hills lay couered with none but onelie with the bodies of most wicked enimies, the same being of the barbarous nations, or at the least-wise apparelled in the counterfet shapes of barbarous garments, glistering with their long yellow haires, but now with gashes of wounds and bloud all deformed, and lieng in sundrie manners, as the pangs of death occasioned by their wounds had caused them to stretch foorth or draw in their maimed lims and mangled parts of their dieng bodies. And among these, the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was found, who had put off those robes which in his life Alectus found dead.

He had despoiled himselfe of the imperiall robes, because he would not be knowne if he chanced to be slaine.

time he had vsurped and dishonoured, so as scarse was he couered with one peece of apparell whereby he might be knowne, so neere were his words true, vttered at the houre of his death, which he saw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderstood how he was slaine.

Francones siue Franci.

London in danger to be spoiled.

" Thus verelie (most inuincible emperour) so great a victorie was appointed to you by consent of the immortall gods ouer all the enimies whome you assailed, but namelie the slaughter of the Frankeners and those your souldiers also, which (as before I haue said) through missing their course by reason of the mist that lay on the seas, were now come to the citie of London, where they slue downe right in ech part of the same citie, what multitude soeuer remained of those hired barbarous people, which escaping from the battell, ment (after they had spoiled the citie) to haue got awaie by flight. But now being thus slaine by your souldiers, the subiects of your prouince were both preserued from further danger, and tooke pleasure to behold the slaughter of such cruell enimies. O what a manifold victorie was this, worthie vndoubtedlie of innumerable triumphes! by which victorie Britaine is restored to the empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlie destroied, & by which manie other nations found accessaries in the conspiracie of that wicked practise, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the seas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietnesse.

" Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperour, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in restoring to the Romane puissance the glory of conquest by sea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compasse of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue made an end of the warre (inuincible emperour) that seemed as present to threaten all prouinces, and might haue spred abroad and burst out in a flame, euen so largelie as the ocean seas stretch, and the mediterrane gulfs doo reach. Neither are we ignorant, although through feare of you that infection did fester within the bowels of Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would haue aduanced it selfe else where, if it might haue beene assured of means to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mounteine, nor riuer, which garrisons appointed were garded and defended but euen so as the ships, although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune redie to releeue vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

The piratie of the Frankeners called *Franci* or *Francones*.

" For that incredible boldnesse and vnwoorthie good hap of a few sillie captiues of the Frankeners in time of the emperour Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conueieng awaie certeine vessels from the coasts of Pontus, wasted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, ariuing vpon diuers parts of the shore of Libia, at length tooke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an hauen towne in times past highlie renowmed for victories gotten by sea:) & after this passing thorough the streicts of Giberalterra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate successe of their rash presumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue accesse. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the vse of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

" Now Spaine (to let passe the coasts of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is in suertie: now Italie, now Afrike, now all nations euen vnto the fens of Meotis are void of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioifull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feele as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioise so much the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furtherance of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by seamen is calmed, vpon the entring into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had giuen harbour to so long a mischiefe, is euidentlie knowne to haue tasted of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therfore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse,

Britains restored to quietnes.

came

came foorth and offered themselues to your presence, with their wiues and children, reuerencing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eies, as on one descended downe to them from heauen) but also euen the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought your diuine presence vnto their coasts: and when you should set foot on land, they were readie to lie downe at your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous were they of you. The Britains receiue Maximian with great ioy and humblenesse.

"Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed them selues so ioifull, sith after their miserable captiuitie so manie yeeres continued, after so long abusing of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and gouernement: for beside the fame of your clemencie and pitie, which was set forth by the report of all nations, in your countenance (Cesar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eies mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse they signified on high. To you they bound themselues by vow, to you they bound their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the posteritie of their race and ofspring.

"We trulie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortall gods with most earnest supplication and heartie praier, that our children and their children, and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicated vnto you, and to those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we wish to them that shall succeed vs, than to be enioiers of that felicitie which now we our selues enioy? The Romane common wealth dooth now comprehend in one coniunction of peace, all whatsoeuer at sundrie times haue belonged to the Romans, and that huge power which with too great a burden was shroonke downe, and riuen in sunder, is now brought to ioine againe in the assured ioints of the imperiall gouernment. For there is no part of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet through feare, or subdued by force of armies, or at the lestwise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should mooue men thereto, that might be obteined? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recouered by you, that those nations which are nere adioining to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commandements? There is no occasion that may mooue you to passe further, except the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours (most inuincible princes) which are accounted woorthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equallie prouide for euerie one, sith you haue the whole in your maiesties hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperour Dioclesian) by your commandement Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither, as afterward (most excellent emperour Maximian) by your appointment, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleasant subiection, and admitted to liue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacant fields of the Neruians, and those about the citie of Trier. And so now by your victories (inuincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoeuer did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, Trois, and Langres, beginneth to florish with inhabitants of sundrie nations: yea and moreouer that your most obedient citie of Autun, for whose sake I haue a peculiar cause to reioise, by meanes of this triumphant victorie in Britaine, it hath receiued manie & diuerse artificers, of whom those prouinces were ful, and now by their workemanship the same citie riseth vp by repairing of ancient houses, and restoring of publike buildings and temples, so that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorporation to Rome, is againe to hir restored, when she hath you eftsoones for hir founder. I haue said (inuincible emperour) almost more than I haue beene able, & not so much as I ought, that I may haue most iust cause by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & often hereafter to speake: and thus I ceasse."

Dioclesian and Maximian.

Nations néere to Britaine obeie the emperours.

The printed booke hath Heruij, but I take the H, to be thrust in for N.

Artificers foorth of Britaine.

What

What is to be obserued and noted out of the panegyrike oration of Mamertinus afore remembred, with necessarie collections out of other Antiquaries.

THE XXV. CHAPTER.

NOW let vs consider what is to be noted out of this part of the foresaid oration. It should seeme that when the emperour Maximian was sent into Gallia by appointment taken betwixt him and Dioclesian, after he had quieted things there, he set his mind foorthwith to reduce Britaine vnder the obedience of the empire, which was at that present kept vnder subiection of such princes as mainteined their state, by the mightie forces of such number of ships as they had got togither, furnished with all things necessarie, & namelie of able seamen, as well Britains as strangers, among whome the Frankeners were chiefe, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowmed for their puissance by sea, néere to the which they inhabited, so that there were no rouers comparable to them.

Franci, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.

But because none durst stirre on these our seas for feare of the British fléet that passed to and fro at pleasure, to the great annoiance of the Romane subiects inhabiting alongst the coasts of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer againe so wealthie and profitable a land vnto the obeisance of the empire, as Britaine then was, and also to deliuer the people of Gallia subiect to the Romans, from danger of being dailie spoiled by those rouers that were mainteined here in Britaine, he prouided with all diligence such numbers of ships as were thought requisite for so great an enterprise, and rigging them in sundrie places, tooke order for their setting forward to his most aduantage for the easie atchiuing of his enterprise. He appointed to passe himselfe from the coasts of Flanders, at what time other of capteines with their fleets from other parts should likewise make saile towards Britaine. By this meanes Alectus that had vsurped the title & dignitie of king or rather emperour ouer the Britains, knew not where to take héed, but yet vnderstanding of the nauie that was made readie in the mouth of Saine, he ment by that which maie be coniectured, to intercept that fléet, as it should come foorth and make saile forwards: and so for that purpose he laie with a great number of ships about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Asclepiodotus came ouer with that nauie which was rigged on the coasts of Flanders, or with some other, I will not presume to affirme either to or fro, because in déed Mamertinus maketh no expresse mention either of Alectus or Asclepiodotus: but notwithstanding it is euident by that which is conteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but some other of his capteins gouerned the armie, which slue Alectus, so that we maie suppose that Asclepiodotus was chiefteine ouer some number of ships directed by Maximians appointment to passe ouer into this Ile against the same Alectus: and so maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agrée with the truth of that which we doo find in Eutropius.

Eutropius.

Héere is to be remembred, that after Maximians had thus recouered Britaine out of their hands that vsurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it should séeme that not onelie great numbers of artificers & other people were conueied ouer into Gallia, there to inhabit and furnish such cities as were run into decaie, but also a power of warlike youths was transported thither to defend the countrie from the inuasion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expelling the Neruians out of the citie of Mons in Henaud, held a castell there, which was called Bretaimons after them, wherevpon the citie was afterward called Mons, reteining the last syllable onlie, as in such cases it hath often happened.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled "Fragmenta historiæ Britannicæ," Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration dooth make first mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the ancient Romane writers: so that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to returne where we left.

The

The state of this Iland vnder bloudie Dioclesian the persecuting tyrant, of Alban the first that suffered martyrdome in Britaine, what miracles were wrought at his death, whereof Lichfield tooke the name; of Coilus earle of Colchester, whose daughter Helen was maried to Constantius the emperour, as some authours suppose.

THE XXVJ. CHAPTER.

AFTER that Britaine was thus recouered by the Romans, Dioclesian and Maximian ruling the empire, the Iland tasted of the crueltie that Dioclesian exercised against the christians, in persecuting them with all extremities, continuallie for the space of ten yéeres. Amongst other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamchester, a towne now bearing his name, was the first that suffered here in Britaine in this persecution, being conuerted to the faith by the zealous christian Amphibalus, whom he receiued into his house: insomuch that when there came sergeants to séeke for the same Amphibalus, the foresaid Alban to preserue Amphibalus out of danger, presented himselfe in the apparell of the said Amphibalus, & so being apprehended in his stead, was brought before the iudge and examined: and for that he refused to doo sacrifice to the false gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer against the towne of Werlamchester aforesaid where afterwards was builded a church and monasterie in remembrance of his martyrdome, insomuch that the towne there restored, after that Werlamchester was destroied, tooke name of him, and so is vnto this day called saint Albons. *Beda and Gyldas.*

It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, insomuch that one which was appointed to doo the execution, was conuerted, and refusing to doo that office, suffered also with him: but he that tooke vpon him to doo it, reioised nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head downe to the ground, togither with the head of that holie man which he had then cut off. There were also martyred about the same time two constant witnesses of Christ his religion, Aaron and Iulius, citizens of Caerleon Arwiske. Moreouer, a great number of Christians which were assembled togither to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were slaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, whereof that towne tooke name, as you would say, The field of dead corpses. *Beda.* *Sée the booke of acts and monuments set forth by master Fox.* *Iohn Rossus. Warwicens. in lib. de Wigorniens. epis.* *Lichfield whereof it tooke name.*

To be briefe, this persecution was so great and greeuous, and thereto so vniuersall, that in maner the Christian religion was thereby destroied. The faithfull people were slaine, their bookes burnt, and churches ouerthrowne. It is recorded that in one moneths space in diuers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for professing the christian faith in the daies of that tyrant Dioclesian and his fellow Maximian. *Gyldas.* *Ran. Cestren.* *Matth. West.* *Constantius.*

COELUS earle of Colchester began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coell ruled the land for a certeine time, so as the Britains were well content with his gouernement, and liued the longer in rest from inuasion of the Romans, bicause they were occupied in other places: but finallie they finding time for their purpose, appointed one Constantius to passe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Constantius put Coelus in such dread, that immediatlie vpon his arriuall Coelus sent to him an ambassage, and concluded a peace with him, couenanting to pay the accustomed tribute, & gaue to Constantius his daughter in mariage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortlie after king Coell died, when he had reigned (as some write) 27 yeeres, or (as other haue) but 13 yeeres. COELUS. 262. *Fabian.* *Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton.*

¶ But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but assuredly such a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he maried vnto Constantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperor, I leaue that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole course of the liues, as well of the father and the sonne Constantius and Constantine,

Constantine, as likewise of the mother Helen, be consideratelie marked from time to time, and yeere to yéere, as out of authors both Greeke and Latine the same may be gathered, I feare least such doubt maie rise in this matter, that it will be harder to prooue Helen a Britaine, than Constantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth.) But forsomuch as I meane not to step from the course of our countrie writers in such points, where the receiued opinion may séeme to warrant the credit of the historie, I will with other admit both the mother and sonne to be Britains in the whole discourse of the historie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue said.

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

A further discourse of the forenamed Constantius and Helen, his regiment ouer this Iland, his behauiour and talke to his sonne and councellors as he lay on his death-bed, a deuise that he put in practise to vnderstand what true Christians he had in his court, his commendable vertues, that the Britains in his time imbraced the christian faith is prooued.

THE XXVIJ. CHAPTER.

CONSTANTIUS. *Matth. West.* saith 302. 289.

CONSTANTIUS a senatour of Rome began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 289, as our histories report. This Constantius (as before ye haue heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the foresaid king Coel, of whome he begat a sonne named Constantinus, which after was emperour, and for his woorthie dooings surnamed Constantine the great. S. Ambrose following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an inne: and some againe write, that she was concubine to Constantius, and not his wife. But whatsoeuer she was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane histories, that Constantius being the daughters sonne of one Crispus, that was brother to the emperour Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raised by the Britains, and there (as some write) maried the foresaid Helen, being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet [after] he was constreined to forsake, and to marrie Theodora the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whome he had six sonnes, and finallie was created emperour, togither with the said Galerius Maximianus, at what time Dioclesianus and his fellow Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the same vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, so that to Constantius the regions of Italie, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were assigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Grecia, and all the east parts. But Constantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leaue Italie and Affrike, supposing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius saith.)

Orosius. Beda. Cuspinian. Fabian.

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britains, we haue not to say further than as we find in our owne writers recorded: as for his gouernement in the empire, it is to be considered, that first he was admitted to rule as an assistant to Maximian vnder the title of Cesar: and so from that time if you shall account his reigne, it maie comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeeres, yea more or lesse, according to the diuersitie found in writers. Howbeit, if we shall reckon his reigne from the time onelie that Dioclesian and Maximian resigned their title vnto the empire, we shall find that he reigned not fullie thrée yéeres. For whereas betwéene the slaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Constantius, are accounted 8 yéeres and od moneths, not onelie those eight yéeres, but also some space of time before maie be ascribed vnto Constantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britaine now this last time (for he had béene here afore, as it well appéereth) Asclepiodotus gouerning as legat, albeit vnder Constantius, who had a great portion of the west parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue said, of Cesar, yet he was not said to reigne absolutelie, till Dioclesian and Maximian resigned. But now to conclude with the dooings of Constantius, at length he fell sicke at Yorke, and there died, about the yéere of our Lord 306.

306.

This

This is not to be forgotten, that whilest he laie on his death-bed, somewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his sonne Constantine was come, and escaped from the emperours Dioclesian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after shall be partlie touched) he receiued him with all ioy, and raising himselfe vp in his bed, in presence of his other sonnes & counsellours, with a great number of other people and strangers that were come to visit him, he set the crowne vpon his sonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall robes and garments, executing as it were him selfe the office of an herald, and withall spake these woords vnto his said sonne, and to his counsellours there about him: *Niceph.*

"Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleasant; I haue héere a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne sonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be emperour in my place, which by Gods good helpe shall wipe away the teares of the Christians, and reuenge the crueltie exercised by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in stéed of most felicitie." *Tripartit. histo.*

After this, turning himselfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of good comfort, meaning those that had not forsaken true vertue and godlinesse in Christ, which Christ he vndertooke should continue with his sonne Constantine in all enterprises, which in warres or otherwise he should take in hand. That deuise also is woorthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practise in his life time, to vnderstand what true and sincere Christians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had béene first a persecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter easie to persuade the world, that he was no earnest Christian: and so the policie which he thought to worke, was the sooner brought to passe, which was this.

He called togither all his officers and seruants, feining himselfe to choose out such as would doo sacrifice to diuels, and that those onelie should remaine with him and kéepe their office, and the rest that refused so to doo, should be thrust out, and banished the court. Héervpon all the courtiers diuided themselues into companies: and when some offered willinglie to doo sacrifice, and other some boldlie refused: the emperour marking their dealings, sharpelie rebuked those which were so readie to dishonour the liuing God, accounting them as treitours to his diuine maiestie, and not woorthie to remaine within the court gates: but those that constantlie stood in the profession of the christian faith, he greatlie commended, as men woorthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thencefoorth they should be as chiefe counsellours and defenders both of his person and kingdome, estéeming more of them than of all the treasure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a graue prince, sober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind euer frée from couetous desire of great riches: insomuch that when he should make anie great feast to his friends, he was not ashamed to borow plate and siluer vessell to serue his turne, and to furnish his cupbord for the time, being contented for himselfe to be serued in cruses & earthen vessels. He was woont to haue this saieng in his mouth, that better it was that the subiects should haue store of monie and riches, than the prince to kéepe it close in his treasurie, where it serued to no vse. By such courteous dealing the prouinces which were in his charge flourished in great wealth and quietnesse. He was a verie wise and politike prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, and verie skillfull in the practise of warres, so that he stood the Romane empire in great stéed, and was therefore highlie beloued of the souldiers, insomuch that immediatlie after his deceasse, they proclaimed his sonne Constantine emperour. *Pomponius Lætus.*

He died in the yéere 306. as *Matt. West.* hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britains but 11. yéeres as *Galf.* saith.

That the christian faith was imbraced of the Britains in this season, it maie appéere, in that Hilarius bishop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britaine, and Constantine in an epistle (as Theodoretus saith in his first booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which also Sozomenus dooth affirme. For the Britains after they had receiued the faith, defended the same euen with the shedding of their bloud, as Amphibalus, who in this Constantius daies being apprehended, suffered at Redburne neere to Werlamchester, about 15 yéeres after the martyrdome of his host S. Albane. 291. *Iohn Bale.*

Constantine created emperour in Britaine, he is sollicited to take vpon him the regiment of those countries that his father gouerned, he is requested to subdue Maxentius the vsurping tyrant, Maximianus his father seeketh to depose him, Constantines death is purposed by the said Maximianus the father & his sonne Maxentius, Fausta the daughter of Maximianus & wife to Constantine detecteth hir fathers trecherie to hir husband, Maximianus is strangled at Constantines commandement, league and alliance betweene him and Licinius, he is slaine, the empresse Helen commended, the crosse of Christ found with the inscription of the same, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes wherewith Christ was crucified, Constantine commended, the state of Britaine in his time.

THE XXVIII. CHAPTER.

CONSTANTINE. 306.

CONSTANTINE being the son of the forenamed Constantius, begot of his first wife Helen, the daughter (as some affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reigne in the yeere of our Lord 306. This worthie prince begotten of a British woman, & borne of hir in Britaine (as our writers doo affirme) and created certeinlie emperour in Britaine, did doubtlesse make his natiue countrie partaker of his high glorie and renowme, which by his great prowes, politike wisedome, woorthie gouernment, and other his princelie qualities most abundantlie planted in his noble person, he purchased and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, insomuch that for the high enterprises and noble acts by him happilie brought to passe and atchiued, he was surnamed (as before is said) the great Constantine. Whilest this Constantine remained at Rome in manner as he had béene a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he being then but yoong, fled from thence, and with all post hast returned to his father into Britaine, killing or howghing by the waie all such horsses as were appointed to stand at innes readie for such as should ride in post, least being pursued, he should haue béene ouertaken, and brought backe againe by such as might be sent to pursue him.

Eutropius. Sextus Aurelius Victor.

At his comming into Britaine, he found his father sore vexed with sicknesse, whereof shortlie after he died, and then was he by helpe of such as were about him, incouraged to take vpon him as emperour: and namelie one Erocus king of the Almains, which had accompanied his father thither, assisted him thereto, so that being proclaimed emperour, he tooke vpon him the rule of those countries which his father had in gouernment, that is to saie, France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with other prouinces héere in the west: and ruling the same with great equitie and wisdome, he greatly wan the fauour of the people, insomuch that the fame of his politike gouernment and courteous dealing being spred abroad, when Maxentius the tyrant that occupied the rule of the empire at Rome, and in Italie by wrongfull vsurping & abusing the same, was grown into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Constantine was earnestlie by them requested to come into Italie, and to helpe to subdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the state of things there.

Erocus king of the Almains.

Maxentius the tyrant.

This Maxentius was sonne to Herculeus Maximianus, and Constantine had married Fausta the daughter of the said Maximianus. Now so it was, that Maximianus, immediatlie after that his sonne Maxentius had taken the rule vpon him, sought meanes to haue deposed him, and to haue resumed and taken eftsoones into his owne hands the gouernment of the empire. But solliciting Dioclesian to doo the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreasonable and ambitious purpose: so that when he perceiued that neither Dioclesian would be thereto agreeable, nor induce the souldiers to admit him, they hauing alreadie established his sonne, began to deuise waies how to assure the state more stronglie to his said sonne. And hearing that his sonne in law Constantine was minded to come into Italie against him, he purposed to practise Constantines destruction, insomuch that it was iudged by this which followed, that Herculeus Maximianus did but for a colour séeme to mislike that which his said son Maxentius

Dissimulation.

tius had doone, to the end he might the sooner accomplish his intent for the dispatching of Constantine out of the waie.

Heerevpon (as it were) fleeing out of Italie, he came to Constantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britaine, remained in France, and with all ioy and honour that might be, receiued his father in law: the which being earnestlie bent to compasse his purpose, made his daughter Fausta priuie thereto: which ladie (either for feare least the concealing thereof might turne hir to displeasure, either else for the entire loue which she bare to hir husband) reuealed hir fathers wicked purpose. Wherevpon whilest Constantine went about to be reuenged of such a traitorous practise, Herculeus fled to Marsiles, purposing there to take the sea, and so to retire to his sonne Maxentius into Italie. But yer he could get awaie from thence, he was strangled by commandement of his sonne in law Constantine, and so ended his life, which he had spotted with manie cruell acts, as well in persecuting the professours of the christian name, as others.

Ranulphus Cestrensis.

Fausta the daughter of Maximianus and wife to Constantine.

Marsiles.

Maximianus slaine. *Ann. Chri.* 322.

In this meane time had Maximianus adopted one Licinius to assist him in gouernance of the empire, proclaiming him Cesar. So that now at one selfe time Constantine gouerned France and the west parts of the empire, Maxentius held Italie, Affrike, and Aegypt: and Maximianus which likewise had beene elected Cesar, ruled the east parts, and Licinius Illyrium and Grecia. But shortlie after, the emperour Constantine ioined in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his sister in marriage, named Constantia, for more suertie of faithfull friendship to indure betwixt them. He sent him also against Maximianus who gouerning in the east part of the empire, purposed the destruction of Constantine and all his partakers: but being vanquished by Licinius at Tarsus, he shortlie after died, being eaten with lice. Constantine after this was called into Italie, to deliuer the Romans and Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, which occasion so offered, Constantine gladlie accepting, passed into Italie, and after certeine victories got against Maxentius, at length slue him.

Licinius chosen fellow with Maximianus in the empire.

After this, when Maximianus was dead, who prepared to make warre against Licinius, that had married Constantia the sister of Constantine, he finallie made warre against his brother in law the said Licinius, by reason of such quarrels as fell out betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put to the woorse, and at length comming into the hands of Constantine, was put to death, so that Constantine by this meanes got the whole empire vnder his rule and subiection. He was a great fauourer of the Christian religion, insomuch that to aduance the same, he tooke order for the conuerting of the temples dedicated to the honour of idols, vnto the seruice of the true and almightie God. He commanded also, that none should be admitted to serue as a souldier in the warres, except he were a christian, nor yet to haue rule of anie countrie or armie. He also ordeined, the weeke before Easter, and that which followed to be kept as holie, and no person to doo anie bodilie woorks during the same.

Christians honoured and cherished.

He was much counselled by that noble and most vertuous ladie his mother, the empresse Helen, who being a godlie and deuout woman, did what in hir laie, to moone him to the setting foorth of Gods honour and increase of the christian faith, wherein as yet he was not fullie instructed. ¶ Some writers alledge, that she being at Ierusalem, made diligent search to find out the place of the sepulchre of our Lord, and at length found it, though with much adoo: for the infidels had stopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where yoong women vsed to sing songs in honour of that vnchast goddesse. Helen caused the same to be ouerthrowne, the earth to be remooued, and the place cleansed, so that at length the sepulchre appeered, and fast by were found there buried in the earth three crosses and the nailes. But the crosse wherevpon our Sauiour was crucified, was knowne by the title written vpon it, though almost worne out, in letters of Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine: the inscription was this, *Iesus Nazarenus rex Iudæorum.* It was also perceiued which was that crosse by a miracle (as it is reported, but how trulie I can not tell) that should be wrought thereby: for being laid to a sicke woman, onlie with the touching thereof she was healed. It was also said, that a dead

Polydor.

The praise of the empresse Helen.

328.

man was raised from death to life, his bodie onlie being touched therewith. Wherevpon Constantine mooued with these things, forbad that from thencefoorth anie should be put to death on the crosse, to the end that the thing which afore time was accounted infamous and reprochfull, might now be had in honour and reuerence.

The empresse Helen hauing thus found the crosse, builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes, returned with the same to hir sonne Constantine, who set one of them in the crest of his helmet, an other in the bridle of his horsse, and the third he cast into the sea, to asswage and pacifie the furious tempests and rage thereof. She also brought with hir a parcell of that holie crosse, and gaue it to hir sonne the said Constantine, the which he caused to be closed within an image that represented his person, standing vpon a piller in the market place of Constantine, or (as some late writers haue) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffer of gold, adorned with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called Sessoriana, the which church he indued with manie great gifts and precious ornaments. Manie works of great zeale and vertue are remembered by writers to haue béene doone by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting foorth of Gods glorie, and the aduancing of the faith of Christ. But to be briefe, he was a man in whome manie excellent vertues and good qualities both of mind and bodie manifestlie appéered, chieflie he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earnest louer of iustice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

Polydor.

Polydor.

The commendation of Constantine.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his time, ye shall vnderstand, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he left behind him in Britaine certeine gouernours to rule the land, and amongst other one Maximinus a right valiant capteine. He tooke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and diuerse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose approoued manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceiued a great hope to go thorough with all his enterprises, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italie, and in euerie place ouercame his enimies.

Gulielmus Malmes. Britains seruing in the warres vnder Constantine.

Some write that Constantine thus conueieng ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industrie obteining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posteritie remaine vnto this daie, maruellouslie increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welshmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he tooke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers doo testifie) were three vncles of his mother Helen, that is to say, Hoelmus, Trahernus, and Marius, whome he made senators of Rome.

Galfridus. Mait. West.

Of Octauius a British lord, his reigne ouer the Britains, he incountereth with Traherne first neere Winchester, and afterwards in Westmerland: Octauius being discomfited fleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octauius sendeth for Maximianus, on whom he bestoweth his daughter and the kingdome of Britaine: the death of Octauius, Helena builded the wals of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the prouinces that reteined the christian faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people, Martinus the lieutenant excuseth them as innocent, his vnluckie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

THE XXIX. CHAPTER.

NOW in the meane time that Constantine had obteined and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being hir king, had

got the gouernment of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had doone. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpretor thereof; there was a British lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the Gewisses, and appointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence, the which Octauius (after that Constantine had recouered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affaires of the empire in those parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) seized into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

Octauius. *Caxton.* Gewisses inhabited the countrie which the west Saxons after held. The name of Gewisses came in with the Saxons of Guuy, &c.

THIS Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britains in the yéere of our Lord 329, proucked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vncles, the foresaid Traherne. This Trahernus, or as some name him Traherne, entred this land with three legions of souldiers, & in a field néere vnto Winchester, was incountered by Octauius and his Britains, by whome after a sore battell there striken betwixt them, in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, insomuch that he was constreined to forsake that part of the land, and to draw towards Scotland. Octauius hauing knowledge of his passage, followed him, & in the countrie of Westmerland eftsoones gaue him battell, but in that battell Octauius was put to the woorsse, and constreined to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid: and being readie with such power as he there gathered, what of Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing he was aduertised that an earle of Britaine which bare him heartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne. Octauius then comming to land, eftsoones got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yéere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yéere of the reigne of the emperour Constantine, and about two yéeres after that the said Octauius first tooke vpon him to rule as king.

OCTAUIUS. *Galfridus.* 329.

Fabian. *Galfridus.* This agréeth not altogither with that which *Hector Boetius* writeth, as in the Scotish chronicle appéereth.

Traherne slaine. See in the Scotish chronicles more of these matters. *Matth. West.* saith 316.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerned the land right noblie, and greatlie to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble yoong man, coosine to the emperour Constantine, on the part of his mother Helena, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octauius, and so with hir to haue the kingdome. Octauius at the first meant to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, which was his nephue: but when the lords would not thereto agrée, at the length he appointed one Maurice sonne to the said Conan to go to Rome to fetch the forenamed Maximianus.

Maximianus is sent for. Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall. This agréeth not with that which is found in the Scotish chronicles.

Maurice according to his commission and instruction in that behalfe receiued, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that Maximianus consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a conuenient number, set forward, and did so much by his iournies, that finallie he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that Conan Meridoc past not so much to haue béene dooing with him, for malice that he conceiued towards him, because he saw that by his meanes he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus safelie brought to the kings presence, and of him honorablie receiued, and finallie the mariage was knit vp, and solemnized in all princelie maner. Shortlie after, Octauius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that which diuers authors doo write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be vnderstood of Gratian his reigne after the deceasse of his vncle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie rise, because Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yeare of our Lord 351.

Maximianus commeth into Britaine.

Octauius departeth this life.

382.

But to leaue the credit of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains since the time of Constantius, vnto our British and Scotish writers, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Constantine, and assured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthie ladie the empresse Helen, daughter to Coell

Coell earle of Colchester, and after king of Britaine (as our histories doo witnesse.) Vnto the which empresse Constantine bare such dutifull reuerence, that he did not onelie honour hir with the name of empresse, but also made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlie admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of those that professed the true christian religion. For the loue that she bare vnto Colchester and London, she walled them about, and caused great bricke and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the same, whereof there is great store to be séene euen yet to this present, both in the walls of the towne and castell of Colchester, as a testimonie of the woorkemanship of those daies. She liued 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeare of hir sonnes reigne. First she was buried at Rome without the walls of the citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir estate apperteined: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Constantinople, where it was eftsoones interred. Hir sonne the emperour Constantine liued till about the yeare of Christ 340, and then deceassed at Nicomedia in Asia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and od moneths.

Nicephorus. The empresse Helen departeth this life.

340.

The deceasse of the emperour Constantine.

We find not in the Romane writers of anie great stur here in Britaine during his reigne more than the British and Scotish writers haue recorded: so that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietnesse, it maie be supposed, that the Britains liued in rest vnder his gouernement, and likewise after vnder his sonnes that succéeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at what time the Picts and Scots inuaded the south parts of the land.

360.

But now to end with Octauius, that the christian faith remained still in Britaine, during the supposed time of this pretended kings reigne, it maie appeare, in that amongst the 36 prouinces, out of the which there were assembled aboue 300 bishops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a synod held there against the Eusebians, Britaine is numbred by Athanasius in his second apologie to be one. And againe, the said Athanasius in an epistle which he writeth to the emperour Iouinianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did consent with the churches of other nations in the confession of faith articuled in the Nicene councell. Also mention is made by writers of certeine godlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in those daies, as Restitutus bishop of London, which went ouer to the synod held at Arles in France, and also one Kibius Corinnius sonne to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and bishop of Anglesey, who instructed the people that inhabited the parts now called Northwales, and them of Anglesey aforesaid verie diligentlie.

Synodus anno. 351.

But now to speake somewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this season (as we find recorded by the Romane writers) some trouble was likelie to haue growne vnto the Britains by receiuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britaine, whome the emperour Constantius would haue punished, because they had taken part with Maxentius his aduersarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was sent ouer by him, with commission to make inquirie of them, and to sée them brought to light to answere their transgressions: which Paulus began to deale roughlie in the matter, whereof he was called Catera, and to rage against the Britains and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued and mainteined them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing least his extreame rigour might alienate the hearts of the inhabitants altogither, and cause them to withdraw their obedience from the Romane empire, he turned the execution of his furie from them vnto the Romans, and made hauocke of those that he suspected, till the said Martinus fell at square with him, & thinking on a time to kill him, he drew his sword and smote at him. But such was his age and weakenesse, that he was not able to kill him or giue him anie deadlie wound: wherefore he turned the point of his sword against himselfe, and so ended his life, being contented rather to die than sée his countriemen and subiects of the empire so to be abused. After this the said Paulus returned backe againe into Italie from whence he came, after whose departure, it was not long yer he also was slaine, and then all the Scots and Picts sore disquieted the Romane subiects, for the suppressing of whose attempts Lupicinus was sent ouer out of Gallia by Iulianus, as shall be declared out of

Marcellinus. lib. 14. Paulus a notarie.

Martinus lieutenant.

Amianus Marcellinus, after we haue first shewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots and Picts, who now began to rob and spoile the British inhabitants within the Romane prouinces here in this Ile, and that euen in most outragious maner.

Maximianus or Maximus gouerneth this Ile, why writers speake ill of him, strife betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornewall, Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine, he transporteth the British youth seruiceable for warres into France, little Britaine in France why so called, eleuen thousand maids sent thither to match with Conans people, whereof some were drowned, and other some murthered in the way by Guanius king of Hunnes and Melga king of Picts, they flie into Ireland, murther requited with murther, the words of Gyldas concerning Maximus.

THE XXX. CHAPTER.

MAXIMIANUS OR MAXIMUS. 383.

AFTER the deceasse of Octauius or Octauian (as the old English chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus (as the Romane writers call him) began to rule the Britains in the yéere of our Lord 383, he was the sonne of one Leonine, and coosen germane to Constantine the great, a valiant personage, & hardie of stomach: but yet because he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian saith) somewhat persecuted the christians, he was infamed by writers: but the chiefe cause why he was euil reported, was for that he slue his souereigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after shall appeare, for otherwise he is supposed woorthie to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in ech respect. Betwixt him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, chanced strife and debate, so that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchasing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, wasted the countrie on ech side. Maximianus thereof hauing aduertisement, raised his power and went against him, and so fighting with him diuers battels, sometime departed awaie with victorie, and sometime with losse. At length through mediation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them. Finallie this Maximianus, or (as the Romane histories say) Maximus, was by the souldiers chosen and proclaimed emperour here in Britaine: although some write that this was doone in Spaine.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton. Matth. West.

After he had taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, vpon desire to haue inlarged his dominion, he assembled togither all the chosen youth of this land méet to doo seruice in the warres, with the which he passed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he first subdued the countrie anciently called Armorica, and slue in battell the king thereof called Imball. This doone he gaue the countrie vnto Conan Meridoc, which was there with him, to hold the same of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for euer. He also commanded that the said countrie from thencefoorth should be called litle Britaine, and so was the name changed. What people soeuer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than anie other: for Armorica in the British toong signifieth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the sea.

The British youth led forth of the realme by Maximianus.

Britaine in France.

Conan then placing himselfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, auoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie onelie with Britains, which abhorring to ioine themselues with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counselled to send into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in mariage. Herevpon a messenger was dispatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and gouernour of Britaine vnder Maximianus, requiring him to send ouer into little Britaine 11000 maids, that is to say, 8000 to be bestowed vpon the meaner sort of Conans people, and 3000 to be ioined in mariage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans request, assembled the appointed number of maids, and amongst them he also appointed his daughter Vrsula, a ladie of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be giuen in mariage to the foresaid Conan Meridoc, as he had earnestlie requested.

Dionethus duke of Cornwall.

Maids sent foorth.

These

Vrsula the daughter of Dionethus.

These number of maids were shipped in Thames, and passing forward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind scattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the residue (among whom was the foresaid Vrsula) were slaine by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whose hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were sent by the emperour Gracian to the sea coasts of Germanie, to oppresse and subdue all such as were friends and mainteiners of the part of Maximianus. We find in some bookes, that there were sent ouer at that time 51000 maids, that is to say, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

Guanius and Melga.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the foresaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make sore warre on the Britains, whereof when Maximus was aduertised, he sent into Britaine one Gratianus with thrée legions of souldiers, who bare himselfe so manfullie against the enimies, that he constreined the said Guanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraw into Ireland. In this meane while, Maximus hauing slaine the emperor Gratian at Lions in France, and after entring into Italie, was slaine himselfe at Aquilia (after he had gouerned the Britains eight yéeres) by the emperour Theodosius, who came in aid of Valentinian, brother to the said emperor Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the histories of Italie.

¶ But here yet before we make an end with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thought good to set downe the words which we find in Gyldas, where he writeth of the same Maximus, vndoubtedlie a Britaine borne, nephue to the empresse Helen, and begotten by a Romane. " At length (saith Gyldas) the spring of tyrants budding vp, and now increasing into an huge wood, the Ile being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather casting the same from it, sendeth foorth a branch of hir most bitter planting, to wit Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes which he neuer ware as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wise, but (after the custome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutining souldiers: which Maximus at the first by craftie policie rather than by true manhood winding in (as nets of his periurie and false suggestion) vnto his wicked gouernement the countries & prouinces next adioining, against the imperiall state of Rome, stretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italie, placed the throne of his most vniust empire at Trier, and shewed such rage in his wood dealing against his souereigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperours he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his most religious and godlie life. Now without long tariance, compassed about with such a furious and bold gard as he had got togither, at the citie of Aquilia he loseth his wicked head, which had cast downe the most honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire.

Consobrinus Helenæ imperatricis.

" From thencefoorth Britaine being depriued of all hir warlike souldiers and armies, of hir gouernors also (though cruell) and of an huge number of hir youth (the which following the steps of the foresaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) such as remained being vtterlie vnskilfull in feats of warre, were troden downe by two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite dismaid, lament their miserable case, not knowing what else to doo for the space of manie yéeres togither. By reason of whose gréeuous inuasion and cruell oppression wherewith she was miserablie disquieted, she sendeth hir ambassadors vnto Rome, making lamentable sute euen with teares to haue some power of men of warre sent to defend hir against the enimies, promising to be true subiects with all faithfulnes of mind, if the enimie might be kept off and remooued."

Scotorum à circio, Pictorum ab aquilone.

¶ Thus farre Gyldas, and more, as in place hereafter you shall find recited.

What Gratianus it was that was sent ouer from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what estimation the British souldiers haue beene, the priuie treason of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his sonne Victor doo succeed him in the empire, they are both slaine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant suceeding them is murthered, Gratianus also his successour hath the same end, the election of Constantine a Britaine borne, his praise and dispraise reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his sonne Constance partaker with him of the empire, a sharpe incounter betwixt his power and two brethrens that had the keeping of the Pyrenine hils, the issue of the battell.

THE XXXJ. CHAPTER.

BUT now where the British histories, and such of our English writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, sent ouer with three legions of souldiers by Maximus, as before ye haue heard: we maie suppose that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards vsurped the imperiall dignitie héere in Britaine, in the daies of the emperour Honorius. For it standeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reason of the historie, that it should be Gratianus, surnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the emperour Gratianus, against whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers maketh mention of anie other Gratianus, being a stranger, that should be sent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romane armie, except of the foresaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appéereth by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie héere in this Ile, and at length being discharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in rest, was at length spoiled of his goods by the emperour Constantius as confiscate, for that in time of the ciuill warres he had receiued Maxentius, as he past thorough his countrie.

Sextus Aurelius.

Lib. 30.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or some other of that name, was sent ouer into Britaine (as before is said) by Maximus, least otherwise some errour may be doubted in the writers of the British histories, as hauing happilie mistaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to serue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them suppposed: and so thorough mistaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuerthelesse it standeth with great likelihood of truth, that some notable seruice of chiualrie was atchiued by the same Gratianus Funarius whilest he remained héere in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath béene written by authors, and happilie by the same Am. Marcellinus, if his first thirtéene bookes might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmesburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Constantine the great first peopled Armorica: but yet he agréeth, that both Maximus, and also Constantinus the vsurper, of whome after ye shall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Constantinus afterwards being slaine, the one by Theodosius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the residue escaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Constantine the great had first placed in Armorica. And so when the tyrants had left none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the townes but such as were giuen to slouth and gluttonie, Britaine being void of all aid of hir valiant youth, became a prey to hir next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Héere is yet to be considered, in what price the souldiers of the British nation were had in those daies, with whose onelie puissance Maximus durst take vpon him to go against all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he prospered in that dangerous aduenture, it is expressed sufficientlie in the Romane histories, by whose report it appéereth, that

H. H. out of Paulus Diaco. lib. 12. & alijs.

he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namelie on this side the Rhine, but also found meanes to intrap the emperour Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the seas perteining to the empire. It was therefore agréed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a chosen companie of the armie) should be carried in secret wise in a coch toward Lions, as if it had béene Constantia Posthumia the empresse, wife to the emperour Gratian, bruting abroad there withall, that the said empresse was comming forwards on hir waie to Lions, there to méet with hir husband, for that vpon occasion she was verie desirous to commune with him about certeine earnest businesse.

Tripart. hist. lil. 9. cap. 21.

When Gratian heard héereof, as one mistrusting no such dissimulation, he made hast to meete his wife, and comming at length without anie great gard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treason, approched the coch, where supposing to find his wife, he found those that streightwaies murthered him: & so was he there dispatched quite of life by the said Andragatius, who leapt foorth of the coch to woorke that feate when he had him once within his danger.

Thus did the emperour Gratian finish his life in the 29 yéere of his age, on the 25 of August, in the yéere of Christ 383, and then died. Maximus succéeded him (making his sonne Flauius Victor Nobilissimus his assistant in the empire) reigning fiue yéeres and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the yoonger made great suit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards also Maximus was earnestlie requested to come to an enteruiew with the same Valentinian, who promised him not onelie a safe conduct, but also manie other beneficiall good turnes beside. Howbeit Maximus durst not put himselfe in anie such hazard, but rather ment to pursue Valentinian as an vsurper, and so at length chased him into Slauonie, where he was driuen to such a streight, that if Theodosius had not come to releeue him, Maximus had driuen him thence also, or else by slaughter rid him out of the waie.

383.

This Flauius Victor he begat of his wife Helen the daughter of Eudes. *H. Lhoyd.*

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus.

But when Maximus thought himselfe most assured, and so established in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued carelesse of his owne safegard, and therfore dismissed his British souldiers, who retiring into the northwest parts of Gallia, placed themselues there among their countriemen, which were brought ouer by the emperour Constantius, whilest Maximus passing the residue of his time in delights and pleasures, was surprised in the end and slaine by Theodosius néere vnto Aquilia, the 27 of August, in the yéere of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the sixt yéere of his reigne, or rather vsurpation, as more rightlie it maie be tearmed. His sonne Flauius Victor surnamed Nobilissimus was also dispatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was slaine, by the practise of one Arbogastes a Goth, which Flauius Victor was by the said Maximus made regent of the Frankeners, and partaker (as before is said) with him in the empire.

Eutropius.

388.

Arbogastes.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in meetlie good quiet by the space of twentie yéeres, till one Marcus (that was then legat, or as we maie call him lord lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the souldiers héere proclaimed emperour against Honorius, which Marcus was soone after killed in a tumult raised among the people within few daies after his vsurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne succéeded in his place, who was also slaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken vpon him the imperiall ornaments. The souldiers not yet heerewith pacified, procéeded to the election of an other emperour, or rather vsurper, and so pronounced a noble gentleman called Constantine, borne also in Britaine, to be emperour, who tooke that honour vpon him in the 409 yéere after the birth of our Sauiour, continuing his reigne by the space of two yeeres and od moneths, as the Romane histories make mention. Some report this Constantine to be of no great towardlie disposition woorthie to gouerne an empire, and that the souldiers chose him rather for the name sake, bicause they would haue another Constantine, more than for anie vertues or sufficient qualities found in his person. But other commend him both for manhood and wisedome, wherein to speake a truth, he deserued singular commendation, if this one note

Gratianus a Britaine. He reigned foure yéeres if we shal beléeue the British historie.

409.

of

of vsurpation of the imperiall dignitie had not stained his other noble qualities. But heerein he did no more than manie other would haue doone, neither yet after his inuesture did so much as was looked for at his hands.

Constantine being placed in the imperiall throne, gathered an armie with all possible indeuour, purposing out of hand to go ouer therwith into France, and so did, thinking thereby to win the possession of that countrie out of the hands of Honorius, or at the least to worke so, as he should not haue the souldiers and people there to be against him, if he missed to ioine in league with the Suabeiners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he sought to performe. But in the end, when neither of these his deuises could take place, he sent ouer for his sonne Constans (whome in his absence his aduersaries had shorne a moonke) & making him partaker with him in the empire, caused him to bring ouer with him another armie, which vnder the conduct of the same Constans he sent into Spaine to bring that countrie vnder his obeisance.

This Constans therefore comming vnder the passages that lead ouer the Pyrenine mountains, Dindimus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whome the keeping of those passages was committed to defend the same against the Vandals, and all other enimies of the empire, were readie to resist him with their seruants and countriemen that inhabited therabouts, giuing him a verie sharpe incounter, and at the first putting him in great danger of an ouerthrow, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his British souldiers, Constans put his aduersaries to flight, and killed the two capteins, with diuers other men of name, that were partakers with him in the necessarie defense of that countrie against the enimies. When Constans had thus repelled those that resisted him, the custodie of the passages in the Pyrenine mounteins was committed vnto such bands of Picts and other, as were appointed to go with him about the atchiuing of this enterprise, who hauing the possession of those streicts or passages in their hands, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spaine, who being once entered, pursued the former inhabitants with fire and swoord, setled them selues in that countrie, and droue out the Romans.

His souldiers were Picts, and placed among other men of warre that serued vnder the ensignes of the empire, and named after Honorius, Honoriciani. *Blondus.*

Honorius sendeth earle Constantius to expell Constantine out of Gallia, the end of Constantinus the father and Constans the sonne, the valure and prowesse of the British souldiers, the British writers reprooued of necligences for that they haue inserted fables into their woorkes, whereas they might haue deposed matters of truth.

THE XXXIJ. CHAPTER.

THE emperour Honorius, perceiuing the reeling state of the empire, determined foorthwith to recouer it, before it fell altogither into ruine: and therefore sent one Constantius an earle to driue Constantine out of Gallia, which he accordinglie performed: for after certeine bickerings, he slue the said Constantine at Arles, although not without great bloudshed. He pursued also the residue of the Britains, driuing them to the verie sea coasts, where they shrowded themselues among the other Britains, that before were setled in the countrie there, ancientlie called (as before we said) Armorica, that is, a region lieng on the sea coast: for *Ar* in the British toong signifieth vpon; and *Moure*, perteining to the sea. And as this Constantine the father was slaine by Constantius, so was Constans the sonne killed at Vienna by one of his owne capteines named Gerontius. Whereby it came to passe, that Honorius shortlie after, hauing thus obteined the victorie of both these vsurpers, recouered the Ile, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high industrie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman earle Constantius. The slaughter of Constantine & his sonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297 Olympiad, 465 after the comming of Cesar, 1162 after the

411. building of Rome, the dominicall letter being A, and the golden number 13, so that the recouering of the Iland fell in the yeare of our Lord 411.

Here also is eftsoones to be considered the valure of the British souldiers, who following this last remembred Constantine the vsurper, did put the Romane state in great danger, and by force brake through into Spaine, vanquishing those that kept the streicts of the mounteins betwixt Spaine and Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no small consequence, sith thereby the number of barbarous nations got frée passage to enter into Spaine, whereof insued manie battels, sacking of cities and townes, and wasting of the countries, accordinglie as the furious rage of those fierce people was mooued to put their crueltie in practise.

¶ If therefore the Britaine writers had considered and marked the valiant exploits and noble enterprisee which the Brittish aids, armies and legions atchiued in seruice of the Romane emperours (by whome whilest they had the gouernement ouer this Ile, there were at sundrie times notable numbers conueied foorth into the parties of beyond the seas, as by Albinus and Constantius, also by his sonne Constantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Constantine, both of them vsurpers) if (I saie) the British writers had taken good note of the numbers of the British youth thus conueied ouer from hence, & what notable exploits they boldlie attempted, & no lesse manfullie atchiued, they néeded not to haue giuen eare vnto the fabulous reports forged by their Bards, of Arthur and other their princes, woorthie in déed of verie high commendation.

And pitie it is, that their fame should be brought by such meanes out of credit, by the incredible and fond fables which haue béene deuised of their acts so vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the gests written by Ariost the Italian in his booke intituled "Orlando furioso," sith the same writers had otherwise true matter inough to write of concerning the worthie feats by their countriemen in those daies in forren parts boldlie enterprised, and no lesse valiantlie accomplished, as also the warres which now and then they mainteined against the Romans here at home, in times when they felt themselues oppressed by their tyrannicall gouernment, as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Voadicia, Cartimandua, Venusius, Galgagus, or Galdus (as some name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deserue as much praise, as by toong or pen is able to be expressed. But now to returne vnto the British historie: we will procéed in order with their kings as we find them in the same mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to speake somewhat further of Gratian, from whome we haue digressed.

Gratians rough regiment procureth his owne destruction, the comming of his two brethren Guanius and Melga with their armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains, they send for aid to Rome, Valentinian sendeth Gallio Rauenna to releeue them, the Romans refuse anie longer to succour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afresh into Britaine and preuaile, the Britains are brought to extreme miserie, ciuill warres among them, and what mischiefe dooth follow therevpon, their lamentable letter to Actius for succour against their enimies, their sute is denied, at what time the Britains ceased to be tributaries to the Romans, they send ambassadors to the K. of Britaine in France, and obteine their sute.

THE XXXIII. CHAPTER.

GRATIANUS. GRATIANUS then, whome Maximus or Maximinus had sent into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maister was slaine, tooke vpon him the rule of this our 390. Britaine, and made himselfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as Polydor writeth, coniecturing so, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to saie,

saie, a frée man of the countrie or citie where he inhabited. For his sternenesse and rough gouernement, he was of the Britains (as the histories alledge) slaine and dispatched out of the waie, after he had reigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as should seeme by that which is found in autentike writers. Then the forenamed kings Guantius and Melga, which (as some write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increased with new supplies of men of warre, as Scots, Danes, the Norwegians, and destroied the countrie from side to side. For the Britains in this season were sore infeebled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of souldiers, by reason that Maximus had led foorth of the land the floure and chiefest choise of all the British youth into Gallia, as before ye haue heard.

Of the Romane souldiers as *Blondus* saith.

Galfrid. Caxton.

Galfrid. Matth. West. Caxton.

Gyldas maketh no mention of these two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the land, declareth (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the same that did all the mischiefe, whome he calleth two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots comming out of the northwest, and the Picts out of the northeast, by whome (as he saith) the land was ouerrun, and brought vnder foot manie yeares after. Therefore the Britains being thus vexed, spoiled, and cruellie persecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we shall so take them) sent messengers with all speed vnto Rome to make sute for some aid of men of war to be sent into Britaine. Wherevpon immediatlie a legion of souldiers was sent thither in the yeere 414, which easilie repelled the enimies, and chased them backe with great slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this meanes were deliuered from danger of vtter destruction, as they thought.

Gyldas.

414.

But the Romans being occasioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had béene aforetime by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrie from sea to sea, stretching from Penuelton vnto the citie of Aclud, whereby the enimies might be staid from entring the land: but this wall being made of turfs and sods, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romans was easilie ouerthrowne by the Scots and Picts, which eftsoones returned to inuade the confines of the Britains, and so entring the countrie, wasted and destroied the places before them, according to their former custome. Herevpon were messengers with most lamentable letters againe dispatched towards Rome for new aid against those cruell enimies, with promise, that if the Romans would now in this great necessitie helpe to deliuer the land, they should be assured to find the Britains euermore obedient subiects, and redie at their commandement. Valentinianus (pitieng the case of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leading) to go to their succours, the which arriuing in Britaine set on the enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrow, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue out of the countrie.

Beda and *Polychron.*

Gyldas. Polychron. Beda. Matth. West.

Blondus. Gallio Rauennas sent into Britaine.

The Romans thus hauing obteined the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thence-foorth they would not take vpon them for euerie light occasion so painefull a iournie, alledging how there was no reason why the Romane ensignes, with such a number of men of warre, should be put to trauell so far by sea and land, for the repelling and beating backe of a sort of scattering rouers and pilfring théeues. Wherfore they aduised the Britains to looke to their dueties, and like men to indeuour themselues to defend their countrie by their owne force from the enimies inuasions. And because they iudged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they set in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the same place where the emperour Seuerus caused his trench and rampire to be cast. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 8 foot in bredth and 12 in length, trauersing the land from east to west, & was made of stone.

A wall built ouerthwart the Iland. *Beda.*

After that this wall was finished, the Romans exhorted the Britains to plaie the men, and shewed them the way how to make armor & weapons. Besides this, on the coast of the east sea where their ships lay at rode, & where it was douted that the enimies would land, they caused towers to be erected, with spaces betwixt, out of the which the seas might be discouered. These things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to returne

Gyldas and Beda.

Gyldas.

returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by sea, & being more emboldened than before, bicause of the deniall made by the Romans to come any more to the succor of the Britains, they tooke into possession all the north and vttermost bounds of the Ile, euen vnto the foresaid wall, therein to remaine as inhabitants. And wheras the Britains got them to their wall to defend the same, that the enimies should not passe further into the countrie, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them slaine, so that the Scots and Picts entred vpon them and pursued them in more cruell maner than before, so that the Britains being chased out of their cities, townes, and dwelling houses, were constreined to flie into desert places, and there to remaine and liue after the maner of sauage people, and in the end began to rob and spoile one another, so to auoid the danger of staruing for lacke of food: and thus at the last the countrie was so destroied and wasted, that there was no other shift for them that was left aliue to liue by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beasts and foules. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the fault to rest in the lords and gouernors, arose against them in armes, but were vanquished and easilie put to flight at two seuerall times, being beaten downe and slaine (through lacke of skill) in such numbers, especiallie the latter time, that the residue which escaped, withdrew into the craggie mounteins, where within the bushes and caues they kept themselues close, sometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heards of beasts and flocks of sheepe which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieue them withall. But at length oppressed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in this state, as needing one anothers helpe, necessitie made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all iniuries being pardoned and cleerelie forgiuen. This ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains, little lesse than the tyrannicall practises of Maximus, for by the auoiding of the commons thus out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof insued such famine for the space of three yeeres togither, that a woonderfull number of people died for want of sustenance.

This chanced in the yere 43. as *M. W.* saith.

Hector Boet. Rebellion.

Ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains.

What mischiefe follow of ciuill warres.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into such extreame miserie, they thought good to trie if they might purchase some aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, gouerning the same as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and herevpon taking counsell togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof insueth.

Actius.

To Actius thrise consull.

"THE lamentable request of vs the Britains, beseeching you of aid to bee ministred vnto the prouince of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wiues and children at this present, which stand in most extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the sea, and the sea drieth vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof rise two kinds of death, for either we are slaine, or drowned, and against such euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in respect of your clemencie, succor your owne we most instantlie require you, &c."

Notwithstanding the Britains thus sought for aid at Actius hands as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that passed litle how things went, bicause he bare displeasure in his mind against Valentinian as then emperor; or else for that he could not, being otherwise constreined to imploie all his forces in other places against such barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane empire. And so by that means was Britaine lost, and the tribute which the Britains were accustomed to pay to the Romans ceassed, iust fiue hundred yeeres after that Iulius Cesar first entred the Ile.

The Britains could get no aid fro the Romans.

The Britains being thus put to their shifts, manie of them as hunger-starued were constrained to yeeld themselues into the griping hands of their enimies, whereas other yet keeping

kéeping within the mounteins, woods and caues, brake out as occasion serued vpon their aduersaries, and then first (saith Gyldas) did the Britains not putting their trust in man but in God (according to the saieng of Philo, Where mans helpe faileth, it is needfull that Gods helpe be present) make slaughter of their enimies that had béene accustomed manie yéeres to rob and spoile them in maner as before is recited, and so the bold attempts of the enimies ceassed for a time, but the wickednesse of the British people ceassed not at all. The enimies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie dooings, being not so readie to put backe the common enimies, as to exercise ciuill warre and discord among themselues. The wicked Irish people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Picts settled themselues first at that season in the vttermost bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making insurrections oftentimes vpon their neighbours, and spoiling them of their goods.

Punishment ceaseth, but sin increaseth.

This with more also hath Gyldas, and likewise Beda written of this great desolation of the British people: wherein if the words of Gyldas be well weighed and considered, it maie lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but onelie in Ireland, till after this season, and that at this present time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Iles of Orkenie, now placed themselues in the north parts of Scotland, and after by processe of time came and nestled themselues in Louthian, in the Mers, and other countries more neere to our borders. But to procéed.

Galfridus. *Gyldas* his words are to be considered.

The British histories affirme, that whilest the Britains were thus persecuted by these two most cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefest men amongst them consulted togither, & concluded to send an honorable ambassage vnto Aldroenus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conan Meridoc the first king there of the British nation. Of this ambassage the archbishop of London named Guetheline or Gosseline was appointed the chiefe and principall, who passing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the presence of Aldroenus, so declared the effect of his message, that his suit was granted. For Aldroenus agréed to send his brother Constantine ouer into great Britaine with a conuenient power, vpon condition, that the victorie being obteined against the enimies, the Britains should make him king of great Britaine.

An ambassage sent from the Britains vnto Aldroenus king of Britaine in France.

Constantine the brother of Aldroenus.

¶ Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certeine gouernour (after that Gratian the vsurper was dispatched) a number of yéeres togither, but how manie, writers in their account do varie. Fabian deposeth by diuers coniecturs that the space betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the said Constantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yéeres, during which time the Britains were sore and miserablie afflicted by the inuasions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye haue heard by testimonies taken out of Beda, Gyldas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers both British and English.

Fabian.

What the Roman historiographer Marcellinus reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and Britains vnder the emperour Iulianus, Valentinianus and Valens, they send their vicegerents into Britaine, the disquietnesse of that time, London called Augusta, the worthie exploits of Theodosius in this Iland against the enimie, Valentinus a banished malefactor deuiseth his destruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie disorders and inconueniences, the first entring of the Saxons into Britaine, they are dawnted at the verie sight of the Romane ensignes, the Saxons lieng in wait for their enimies are slaine euerie mothers sonne.

THE XXXIIIJ. CHAPTER.

BUT now sith no mention is made of the Scots in our histories, till the daies of Maximus the vsurper or tyrant, as some call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yéere

Maximus.

383. yéere of our Lord 383, and that till after he had bereft the land of the chiefest forces thereof, in taking the most part of the youth ouer with him: we find not in the same histories of anie troubles wrought to the Britains by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good héere to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Romane histories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especiallie in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke intreating of the doings of the emperour Iulianus, he saith as followeth.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 20.

The emperor Iulianus.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slauonia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consull the tenth time, and Iulianus the third time, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 360, when in Britaine quietnesse being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and sauage people, the frontiers of the countrie were wasted, and feare oppressed the prouinces wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Iulianus] as then remaining at Paris, and hauing his mind troubled with manie cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we haue shewed that Constantius did, least he should leaue them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almains being euen then prouoked and stirred vp to crueltie and warre.

360.

Scots and Picts trouble the state of this Ile.

Lupicinus sent into Britaine.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus vnto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time master of the armorie, a warlike person and skilfull in all points of chiualrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell. Herevpon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Bataui, with diuers companies also of the people of Mesia now called Bulgarie; when winter was well entred and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there prouiding ships, and imbarking his men, when the wind serued his purpose, he transported ouer vnto Sandwich, and so marched foorth unto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as vpon aduise taken according to the qualitie of his businesse he should thinke méet and expedient.

Bataui now Hollanders.

Rutupis.

Of the displacing of these men the learned may sée more in *Am. Mar.*

In the meane time, whilest Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to represse the enimies, the emperour Constantius displaced certeine officers, and among other he depriued the same Lupicinus of the office of the master of the armorie, appointing one Gumobarius to succéed him in that roome, before anie such thing was knowen in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had vnderstood so much whilest he was yet in Britaine) would haue attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie vnto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas ouer into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning ouer from thence yer he had anie knowledge what was doone by the emperour, he could make no sturre, hauing no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might haue had in Britaine, if he should haue mooued rebellion there.

Lib. 26.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 26.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in gouernement, hath these words. In this season as though trumpets had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire, most cruell nations being stirred vp, inuaded the borders next adioining, the Almans wasted and destroied the parts of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Paunonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vexed the Britains with continuall troubles, and gréeuous damages; the Austorians and the people of the Moores ouerran the countrie of Affrike more sharpelie than in time past they had done; the pilfring troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armenians, and sought to bring them vnder his obeisance, hasting with all spéed toward Numonia, pretending (though vniustlie) that now after the deceasse of Iouinius, with whome he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let what he ought not to recouer those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so foorth.

The Almans. The Sarmatians. The Quadi Picts and Saxons. Austorians. The Goths.

Lib. 27. Moreouer, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of

of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Trier, he was troubled with greeuous newes that were brought him, giuing him to vnderstand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, hauing charge of the parties towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traines of the enimies. These things with great horrour being knowne, he sent Seuerus as then erle, or (as I may call him lord steward of his houshold) to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortlie called backe, Iouinius going thither, and with speed hasting forward, sent for more aid and a great power of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for manie causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and aduertised out of that Ile, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approoued skill in warlike affaires, and calling togither an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went foorth, no small hope being conceiued of his good speed; the fame wherof spred and went afore him.

Comes maritimi tractus.

Comes domesticorum.

Theodosius sent into Britaine.

A litle after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts diuided into two nations Dicalidones, and Victuriones, and in like maner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made fowle woorke in places where they came. The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euerie one as they could breaking foorth, & dooing great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those dooings if good fortune would giue him leaue, that most able capteine going vnto the vttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is seuered from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow streight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortlie after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting ouer at leasure, he arriued at Sandwich (or rather Richburrow) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor. Whereupon the Bataui and Heruli, with the souldiers of the legions called Iouij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched foorth & drew towards London, an ancient citie, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, he set vpon the troops of his enimies as they were abroad to forrey the countrie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and speedilie putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their booties of cattell, he bereft them of their preie, the which the poore Britains that were tributaries had lost. To be briefe, restoring the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souldiers, he entred the citie which before was opprest with troubles, but now suddenlie refreshed, bicause there was hope of reliefe and assured preseruation.

Picts diuided into two nations. Attacotti.

Theodosius passeth ouer into Britaine.

Bataui Hollanders.

London called Augusta.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies how with good aduise to woorke suerlie: whilest he remained doubtfull what would insue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden inuasions. At length therefore setting foorth his proclamations, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaie from their capteins or charge, he called them backe againe to serue: and also those that by licence were departed and laie scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name sent to him to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britaine in steed of the other gouernours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest mainteiner of iustice. He likewise required that one Dulcitius a capteine renowmed in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better asistance. These things were doone in Britaine.

Theodosius requireth to haue Ciuilis sent to him.

Dulcitius.

Againe, in his eight and twentith booke, the same Marcellinus reciting further what the same Theodosius atchiued in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Thedosius verelie a capteine of woorthie fame, taking a valiant courage to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souldiers assembled by great diligence, did succour and releeue greatlie the decaied and troubled state of the Britains, preuenting euerie conuenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to doo mischiefe: and nothing he commanded the meane souldiers to doo, but that whereof he with a chéerefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this meanes accomplishing the roome of a valiant souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capteine, he discomfited and put to flight sundrie nations, whome presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to inuade the Romane prouinces: and so the cities and castels that had béene sore endamaged by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to insue.

London called Augusta.

But as these things were a dooing, one wicked practise was in hand & like to haue burst foorth, to the gréeuous danger of setting things in broile, if it had not béene staied euen in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Valentinus, borne in the parties of Valeria adioining to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a proud and loftie stomach, brother to the wife of Maximinus, which Valentinus for some notable offense had béene banished into Britaine, where the naughtie man that could not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about manie things both priuilie and apertlie, the force of his vnmeasurable desire to mischiefe still increasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischiefe like him selfe, as also diuers of the souldiers, alluring them (as the time serued) with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioine with him in that enterprise. But euen now in the verie nicke, when they shuld haue gone in hand with their vngratious exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie aduanced himselfe to sée due punishment executed on the offendors that were foorthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

Valentinus. Valeria now Stiermarke.

Theodosius committed Valentine with a few other of his trustie complices vnto the capteine Dulcitius, commanding him to sée them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in anie wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, least through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the prouinces now well quieted, should be againe reuiued. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as néed required, all danger was quite remooued: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtherance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castels that were appointed to be kept with garrisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient numbers to kéepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And hauing recouered the prouince which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that vpon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as from thencefoorth it should be called Valentia for the princes pleasure.

Dulcitius is appointed to put Valentinus to death.

A part of Britaine called Valentia.

The Areani, a kind of men ordeined in times past by our elders (of whome somewhat we haue spoken in the acts of the emperour Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, he remooued from their places of abiding, being openlie conuicted, that allured with bribes and faire promises, they had oftentimes bewraied vnto the barbarous nations what was doone among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and downe by long iournies, and to giue warning to our captains, what sturre the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordered these & other like things, most woorthilie & to his high fame, was called home to the emperours court, who leauing the prouinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowmed for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had

The praise of Theodosius.

had béene an other Camillus or Cursor Papirius, and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueied vnto the sea side; and passing ouer with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was receiued with great gladnesse and commendation, being immediatlie appointed to succéed in the roome of Valence Iouinus that was maister of the horsses. Finallie, he was called by the emperour Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperiall estate, after the death of Valence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauior 379, and reigned emperour, surnamed Thodosius the great, about 16 yeares and 2 daies. 379.

Wil. Har.

Hereto also maie that be applied which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Saxons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperour Valentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Seuerus. The same yéere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Saxons, & passing the seas, entred stronglie into the Romane confines: a nation fed oftentimes with the slaughter of our people, the brunt of whose first inuasion earle Nonneus sustained, one which was appointed to defend those parties, an approoued capteine, & with continuall trauell in warres verie expert. But then incountring with desperate and forlorne people, when he perceiued some of his souldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himselfe wounded, not able to abide the often assaults of his enimies, he obteined this by informing the emperour what was necessarie and ought to be doone, insomuch that Seuerus, maister or (as I maie call him) coronell of the footmen, was sent to helpe and reléeue things that stood in danger: the which bringing a sufficient power with him for the state of that businesse, when he came to those places, he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saxons in such feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not so much as take weapon in hand to make resistance, but being amazed with the sight of the glittering ensignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane standards, they streight made sute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in sundrie wise (because it was iudged that it should be profitable for the Romane commonwealth) truce was granted vnto them, and manie yoong men (able for seruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romans according to the couenants concluded.

Wolf. Lazi.

Seuerus.

Nonneus Comes.

Seuerus coronell of the footmen.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impeachment, & so to returne from whence they came, who being now out of all feare, and preparing to go their waies, diuers bands of footmen were sent to lie priuilie in a certeine hid vallie so ambushed, as they might easilie breake foorth vpon the enimies as they passed by them. But it chanced far otherwise than they supposed, for certeine of those footmen stirred with the noise of them as they were comming, brake foorth out of time, and being suddenlie discouered whilest they hasted to vnite and knit themselues togither, by the hideous crie and shout of the Saxons they were put to flight. Yet by and by closing togither againe, they staied, and the extremitie of the chance ministring to them force (though not sufficient) they were driuen to fight it out, and being beaten downe with great slaughter, had died euerie mothers sonne, if a troope of horssemen armed at all points (being in like maner placed in an other side at the entring of the waie to assaile the enimies as they should passe) aduertised by the dolefull noise of them that fought, had not spéedilie come to the succour of their fellowes.

Then ran they togither more cruellie than before, and the Romans bending themselues towards their enimies, compassed them in on each side, and with drawne swords slue them downe right, so that there was not one of them left to returne home to their natiue countrie to bring newes how they had sped, nor one suffered to liue after anothers death, either to reuenge their ruine, or to lament their losse. Thus were the limits of the Romane empire preserued at that time in Britaine, which should séeme to be about the yéere of our Lord 399. 399.

¶ Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all their martiall affaires, so in this incounter verie fortunate, the happie issue of the conflict falling out on their side. And strange it is to consider and marke, how these people by a celestiall kind of influence were begotten and

borne as it were to prowesse and renowme; the course of their dealings in the field most aptlie answering to their name. For (as some suppose) the Romans were called of the Gréeke word ῥώμη, signifieng power and mightinesse: and in old time they were called Valentians, *A valendo*, of preuailing: so that it was no maruell though they were victorious subduers of forren people, sithens they were by nature created and appointed to be conquerors, and thereof had their denomination.

Solinus. Adr. Iun.

What the poet Claudianus saith of the state of Britaine in the decaie of the Romane empire, of the Scots and Picts cruellie vexing the Britains, they are afflicted by inuasion of barbarous nations, the practise of the Saxons, of the Scots first comming into this Iland, and from whence, the Scotish chronographers noted for curiositie and vanitie.

THE XXXV. CHAPTER.

Honorius the emperour.

AFTER this, in the time of the emperour Honorius, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, did eftsoones inuade the frontiers of the Romane prouince in Britaine, as appéereth by that which the poet Claudianus writeth, in attributing the honour of preseruing the same frontiers vnto the said emperour, in his booke intituled "Panegerycus tertij consulatus" (which fell in the yéere 396) as thus:

396.

Claudianus.

Ille leues Mauros nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotúmq; vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas,
Et geminis fulgens vtróq; sub axe tropheis,
Tethyos alternæ refluas calcauit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Picts by right
so cald, he hath subdude,
And with his wandring swoord likewise
the Scots he hath pursude:
He brake with bold couragious oare
the Hyperborean waue,
And shining vnder both the poles
with double trophies braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling sands
of either swelling seas.

The same Claudianus vpon the fourth consulship of Honorius, saith in a tetrastichon as followeth:

Quid rigor æternus cæli? quid frigora prosunt?
Ignotúmq; fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictonum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hyberne.

What lasting cold? what did to them
the frostie climats gaine?
And sea vnknowne? bemoisted all
with bloud of Saxons slaine
The Orknies were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And ysie Ireland hath bewaild
the heaps of Scotish harme.

Thule some take to be Iseland, some Scotland.

The

The same praise giueth he to Stilico the sonne in law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of souldiers sent for out of Britaine in the periphrasis or circumlocution of the Gotish bloudie warres:

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferróq; notatas
Perleget exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

A legion eke there came from out
the farthest Britains bent,
Which brideled hath the Scots so sterne:
and marks with iron brent
Vpon their liuelesse lims dooth read,
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearseth the like in his second "Panegerycus" of Stilico, in most ample and pithie manner insuing:

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monstro,
Ferro Picta genas, cuius vestigia verrit,
Cærulus, Oceaníq; æstum mentitur amictus,
Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernam
Mouit, & infesto spumauit remige Thetis,
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.

Then Britaine whom the monsters did
of Calidone surround,
Whose cheekes were pearst with scorching steele,
whose garments swept the ground,
Resembling much the marble hew
of ocean seas that boile,
Said, She whom neighbour nations did
conspire to bring to spoile,
Hath Stilico munited strong, when
raised by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enimies ores
the salt sea fome did slice,
His care hath causd, that I all feare
of Scotish broiles haue bard,
Ne doo I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrie coasts to gard
Gainst Saxon troops, whom changing winds
sent sailing hitherward.

Britaine afflicted by inuasion of barbarous nations.

Thus maie it appéere, that in the time when the Romane empire began to decaie, in like manner as other parts of the same empire were inuaded by barbarous nations, so was that part of Britaine which was subiect to the Romane emperors grieuouslie assailed by the Scots and Picts, and also by the Saxons, the which in those daies inhabiting all alongst the sea coasts of low Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onelie trouble the sea by continuall rouing, but also vsed to come on land into diuerse parts of Britaine and Gallia, inuading the countries, and robbing the same with great rage and crueltie.

To

Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epist.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, writing to Namatius. "The messenger did assuredlie affirme, that latelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in your nation, and betwixt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a souldier, wafted about the crooked shores of the ocean sea against the fléet of the Saxons, of whome as manie rouers as ye behold, so manie archpirats ye suppose to sée: so doo they altogither with one accord command, obeie, teach, and learne to plaie the parts of rouers, that euen now there is good occasion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimies. He assaileth at vnwares, he escapeth by forseeing the danger afore hand, he despiseth those that stand against him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be followed he snappeth them vp that pursue him, if he flée he escapeth."

The pirasie of the Saxons.

Of like effect for proofe héereof be those verses which he wrote vnto Maiorianus his panegyrike oration, following in Latine and in English verse.

Tot maria intraui duce te, longéq; remotas
Sole sub occiduo gentes, victricia Cæsar
Signa Calidonios transuexit ad vsq; Britannos,
Fuderit & quanquam Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum,
Hostes quæsiuit quem iam natura vetabat,
Quærere plus homines, &c.

So manie seas I entred haue,
and nations farre by west,
By thy conduct, and Cæsar hath
his banners borne full prest
Vnto the furthest British coast,
where Calidonians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
though he subdued fell,
Yet would he enimies seeke vnknowne
whom nature had forbid, &c.

¶ Thus much haue we thought good to gather out of the Romane and other writers, that ye might perceiue the state of Britaine the better in that time of the decaie of the Romane empire, and that ye might haue occasion to marke by the waie, how not onelie the Scots, but also the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Britains, before anie mention is made of the same their attempts by the British and English writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation within the bounds of Britaine, till the time supposed by the Britaine writers, we leaue that point to the iudgement of others that be trauelled in the search of such antiquities, onelie admonishing you, that in the Scotish chronicle you shall find the opinion which their writers haue conceiued of this matter, and also manie things touching the acts of the Romans doone against diuerse of the Britains, which they presume to be doone against their nation, though shadowed vnder the generall name of Britains, or of other particular names, at this daie to most men vnknowne. But whensoeuer the Scots came into this Ile, they made the third nation that inhabited the same, comming first out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as some suppose) into Ireland, and from thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning (as in their chronicles at large appéereth) referring them to the reading thereof, that desire to vnderstand that matter as they set it foorth.

Polydor.

Thus farre the dominion and tribute of the Romans ouer this land of Britaine, which had continued (by the collection of some chronographers) the space of 483. yeeres. And heere we thinke it conuenient to end this fourth booke.

THE

THE FIFT BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Constantinus at the generall sute of the Britains vndertaketh to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned king, his three sonnes, he is traitorouslie slaine of a Pict, Constantius the eldest sonne of Constantine hauing bene a monke is created king, the ambitious & slie practises of duke Vortigerne to aspire to the gouernment, he procureth certeine Picts and Scots to kill the king who had reteined them for the gard of his person, his craftie deuises and deepe dissimulation vnder the pretense of innocencie, he winneth the peoples harts, and is chosen their king.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

HAUING ended our former booke with the end of the Romane power ouer this Iland, wherein the state of the Iland vnder them is at full described; it remaineth now that we procéed to declare, in what state they were after the Romans had refused to gouerne them anie longer. Wherefore we will addresse our selues to saie somewhat touching the succession of the British kings, as their histories make mention.

CONSTANTINUS the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, at the sute and earnest request of the archbishop of London, made in name of all the Britains in the Ile of great Britaine, was sent into the same Ile by his said brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in manner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the same at Totnesse in Deuonshire. Immediatlie after his cõming on land, he gathered to him a great power of Britains, which before his landing were hid in diuerse places of the Ile. Then went he foorth with them, and gaue battell to the enimies, whom he vanquished: & slue that tyrannicall king Guanius there in the field (as some bookes haue.) Howbeit, this agréeth not with the Scotish writers, which affirme that they got the field, but yet lost their king named Dongard (as in their historie ye maie read.)

CONSTANTINUS. *Gal. Mon. Matt. Westm.*

Carton saith 12000. but *Gal.* and others say but 2000.

The British historie disagreeth from the Scotish.

But to procéed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conuied their capteine the said Constantine vnto Cicester, and there in fulfilling their promise and couenant made to his brother, crowned him king of great Britaine, in the yéere of our Lord 433, which was about the fift yéere of the emperour Valentinianus the second, and third yéere of Clodius king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen, which then began to settle themselues in Gallia, whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards changed and called France. Constantine being thus established king, ruled the land well and noblie, and defended it from all inuasion of enimies during his life. He begat of his wife three sonnes (as the British historie affirmeth) Constantius, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Vter surnamed

Matth. West. saith 435.

named Pendragon. The eldest, bicause he perceiued him to be but dull of wit, and not verie toward, he made a moonke, placing him within the abbie of Amphibalus in Winchester.

In a groue of bushes as *Gal.* saith. *Matth. West. Beda. Orosius. Blondus.*

Finallie this Constantine, after he had reigned ten yéeres, was traitorouslie slaine one day in his owne chamber (as some write) by a Pict, who was in such fauor with him, that he might at all times haue frée accesse to him at his pleasure. Neither the Romane writers, nor Beda, make anie mention of this Constantine: but of the other Constantine they write, which immediatlie after the vsurper Gratian was dispatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land, and title of emperour, onelie in hope of his name, and for no other respect of towardnesse in him, afore time being but a meane souldier, without anie degrée of honour. The same Constantine (as writers record) going ouer into Gallia, adorned his sonne Constantius with the title and dignitie of Cesar, the which before was a moonke, and finallie as well the one as the other were slaine, the father at Arles by earle Constantius, that was sent against him by the emperour Honorius; and the sonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called Gerontius (as in the Italian historie ye may sée more at large.) This chanced about the yeere of our Lord 415.

415.

¶ This haue we thought good to repeat in this place, for that some may suppose that this Constantine is the same that our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, as the circumstance of the time and other things to be considered may giue them occasion to thinke, for that there is not so much credit to be yéelded to them that haue written the British histories, but that in some part men may with iust cause doubt of sundrie matters conteined in the same: and therfore haue we in this booke béene the more diligent to shew what the Romans and other forreine writers haue registred in their bookes of histories touching the affaires of Britaine, that the reader may be the better satisfied in the truth. But now to returne to the sequele of the historie as we find the same written by the British chroniclers.

This Vortigerne was duke of the Geuisses and Cornewall, as *Rad. Cestr.* reporteth. *Gal. Mon.*

After that Constantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Vortigerus, or Vortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongst the Britains, wrought so with the residue of the British nobilitie, that Constantius the eldest sonne of their king the fore-remembred Constantine, was taken out of the abbie of Winchester where he remained, and was streightwaies created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

Ye haue heard how Constantius was made a moonke in his fathers life time, bicause he was thought to be too soft and childish in wit, to haue anie publike rule committed to his hands: but for that cause speciallie did Vortigerne séeke t'aduance him, to the end that the king being not able to gouerne of himselfe, he might haue the chiefest swaie, and so rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for himselfe to atteine at length to the kingdome as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceiued.

CONSTANTIUS. *Matt. West.* saith 415.

THis Constantius then the sonne of Constantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 443. But Constantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abusing his innocencie and simple discretion to order things as was requisite, had all the rule of the land, and did what pleased him. Wherevpon first, where there had béene a league concluded betwixt the Britains, Scots and Picts, in the daies of the late king Constantine, Vortigerne caused the same league to be renewed, & waged an hundred Picts, and as manie Scots to be attendant as a gard vpon the kings person, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire promises) he procured by subtile meanes in the end to murther the king, and immediatlie vpon the deed doone, he caused the murtherers to be strangled, that they should not afterwards disclose by whose procurement they did that déed. Then caused he all the residue of the Scots and Picts to be apprehended, and as it had béene vpon a zeale to sée the death of Constantius seuerelie punished, he framed such inditements and accusations against them, that chieflie by his meanes (as appeared) the giltlesse persons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the

Hector Boet.

Constantius murthered.

The subtile dealing of Vortigerne.

the British people beeing woonderfullie pleased therewith, and giuing great commendations to Vortigerne for that deed. Thus Constantius was made awaie in maner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as most writers affirme) the space of fiue yeeres.

After his death was knowne, those that had the bringing vp and custodie of his two yoonger brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter Pendragon, mistrusting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whose dissimulation and mischieuous meaning by some great likelihoods they suspected, with all speed got them to the sea, and fled into litle Britaine, there keeping them till it pleased God otherwise to prouide for them. But Vortigerne could so well dissemble his craftie workings, and with such conueiance and cloked maner could shadow and colour the matter, that most men thought and iudged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: insomuch that he obteined the fauour of the people so greatlie, that he was reputed for the onelie staie and defender of the common wealth. Herevpon it came to passe, that when the councell was assembled to elect a new king, for so much as the other sonnes of king Constantine were not of age sufficient to rule, Vortigerne himselfe was chosen, diuers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preferment, as to one best deseruing the same in their opinion and iudgement. This Vortigerne, as by indirect meanes and sinister procéedings he aspired to the regiment, hauing no title therevnto, otherwise than as blind fortune vouchsafed him the preferment: so when he was possessed, but not interessed in the same, he vncased the crooked conditions which he had couertlie concealed, and in the end (as by the sequele you shall sée) did pull shame and infamie vpon himselfe.

Aurelius Ambrosius. Vter Pendragon.

Vortigerne chosen king of Britaine.

Vortigerne furnisheth the tower with a garrison, he bewraieth his crueltie, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Constantius flie into Britaine Armorike, what common abuses and sinnes did vniuersally concurre with a plentifull yeere, the Scots and Picts reuenge the death of their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his estate, the Britains send for succour to the Saxons, they come vnder the conduct of Hengist and Horsus two brethren, where they are assigned to be seated, they vanquish the Scots, disagreement in writers touching the Saxons first comming into this Iland.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

VORTIGERNE, by such diuelish meanes and vnconscionable practises (as you heare) stealing away the hearts of the people, was chosen and made king of Britaine, in the yéere of our Lord 446, in the 3 consulship of Aetius, 1197 of Rome, 4 of the 305 Olympiad, 4112 of the world, the dominicall letter going by F, the prime by 10, which fell about the 21 yéere of the emperour Valentinianus, the same yéere that Meroneus began to reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made king, he was earle or duke of the Geuisses, a people which held that part of Britaine where afterwards the west Saxons inhabited. Now when he had with treason, fraud, and great deceit at length obteined that for the which he had long looked, he first of all furnished the tower of London with a strong garrison of men of warre.

VORTIGERNE. 446.

Hector Boet.

Then studieng to aduance such onelie as he knew to be his speciall friends and fauourers, he sought by all meanes how to oppresse other, of whose good will he had neuer so litle mistrust, and namelie those that were affectionate towards the linage of Constantine he hated deadlie, and deuised by secret meanes which way he might best destroy them. But these his practises being at the first perceiued, caused such as had the gouernance of the two yoong gentlemen with all speed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) into Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of danger with their vncle the king of that land. Diuers of the

415.

Fabian.

Britains also, that knew themselues to be in Vortigerne his displeasure, sailed ouer dailie vnto them, which thing brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his estate.

Gyldas. Plentie of wealth accompanied with store of sinnes.

It chanced also the same time, that there was great plentie of corne, & store of fruit, the like wherof had not béene seene in manie yéeres before, and therevpon insued riot, strife, lecherie, and other vices verie heinous, & yet accounted as then for small or rather none offenses at all. These abuses & great enormities reigned not onelie in the temporaltie, but also in the spiritualtie and chéefe rulers in the same: so that euerie man turned the point of his speare (euen as he had consented of purpose) against the true and innocent person. The commons also gaue themselues to voluptuous lust, drunkennesse, and idle loitering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plentie therefore insued great pride, and of this abundance no lesse hautinesse of mind, wherevpon followed great wickednesse, lacke of good gouernement and sober temperancie, and in the necke of these as a iust punishment, death and mortalitie, so that in some countries scarse the quicke sufficed to burie the dead.

Scots and Picts inuade the Britains.

And for an augmentation of more mischéefe, the Scots and Picts hearing how their countrimen through the false suggestion of Vortigerne, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitcht field, as in the Scotish historie more plainlie appeareth. To be bréefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be ouerrun and vtterlie vanquished of their enimies. In the meane time Vortigerne not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Vter Pendragon, began to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called togither the principall lords and chéefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to proceed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and prouided.

Gyldas. Wil. Malm. Beda. The Saxons sent for. 10000 hath *Hector Boet.* *Gyldas* and *Beda* mention onelie but of 3 plates or gallies, but *Hector Boet.* hath 30.

At length after they had throughlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowmed for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, choosing forth a picked companie of lustie yoong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hingist and Horsus, got them aboord into certeine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

449.

Wil. Malm.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Vortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English séeme to gather, although the Scotish writers, and namelie, Hector Boetius doo varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings aswell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4 yéere of his reigne: whereto Beda séemeth to agrée, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consulship of Protogenes and Austerius, and third yeere of Meroneus king of France.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteouslie receiued, & hartilie welcomed of king Vortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and foorthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroieng the countrie before them. Héerevpon comming to ioine in battell, there was a sore fight betwixt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance

that

that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhood by victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enimies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on ech side with great slaughter. Scots vanquished by the Saxons.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well deseruings, as by whose prowesse he had thus vanquished his enimies, which (as some write) were come as farre as Stamford, and vsed at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and axes. *Henrie Hunt.*

¶ Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to susteine and find them, by commandement of their princes, they should choose out by lots a number of yoong and able personages fit for the warrs, which should go foorth to seeke them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres. *Gal. Mon.*

Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the crowne and scepter of the kingdome by craftie and subtile practises, a great number of forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmentation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his daughter, whereof Wednesdaie and Fridaie tooke their name, of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles; Vortigerne being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigerne giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is depriued of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

NOW Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisedome, vnderstanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, presentlie began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and craft he might by little little settle heere, and obteine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for euer. Hengist purposeth at the first to conquere the Britains.

Therefore first he endeuored with all speed possible to fense that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to persuade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortified with such strength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest. The king not foreséeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: wherevpon now at this second time there arriued héere 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Ronix (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eies of them that should behold hir, and speciallie to win the heart of Vortigerne with the dart of concupiscence, wherevnto he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue. *Polydor.* *Wil. Malm.* 18 Foists or plates saie the Scotish writers, and 5000 men in the same. The Saxons call these vessels Ceoles, or Kéeles, and our old histories Cogiones.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and soone after, thrée maner of people of the Germane nation, as Saxons, Vitæ or Iutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horse being brethren, were capteines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings doo for the more The *Vitæ* or *Iutæ* are called Ibitti. *Alex. Neu.*

part fetch their pedegrée, as lineallie descended from him, vnto whome also the English people (falselie reputing him for a god) consecrated the fourth daie of the wéeke, as they did the sixt to his wife Frea: so that the same daies tooke name of them, the one being called Wodensdaie, and the other Freadaie, which woords after in continuance of time by corruption of spéech were somewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodensdaie, to Wednesdaie, and from Freadaie to Fridaie. The foresaid Woden was father to Vecta, the father of Wergistus that was father to the foresaid Hengistus and Horsus.

Wednesdaie, and Fridaie, whereof they came.

Beda.

But now to rehearse further touching those three people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Vites or Iutes (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentishmen descended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with those also that inhabit ouer against the same Ile. Of the Saxons came the east, the south, & the west Saxons. Moreouer, of the Angles procéeded the east Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men. That these Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth also by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Anglij, which word is of three syllables (as Polydor saith:) but some write it Angli, with two syllables. And that these Angli, or Anglij were of no small force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongst the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themselues, according to the which the state of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the same and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: "Lex Angliorum & Werinorum, hoc est Thuringorum," The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to saie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saxonie, as in the description of that countrie it maie appeare.

Cor. Tacitus.

But now to the matter. Hengist perceiuing that his people were highlie in Vortigernes fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuising by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Ronix, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as some write) which he beléeued well would easilie be brought to passe, bicause he vnderstood that the king was much giuen to sensuall lust, which is the thing that often blindeth wise mens vnderstanding, and maketh them to dote, and to lose their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to destruction, though by such pleasant poison they féele no bitter taste, till they be brought to the extreame point of confusion in déed.

Polydor.

Rowen, or Ronowen Hengists daughter.

Wil. Malm.

A great supper therefore was prepared by Hengist, at the which it pleased the king to be present, and appointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be somewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of good and pleasant wine, and to present it to the king, saieng; Wassail. Which she did in such comelie and decent maner, as she that knew how to doo it well inough, so as the king maruelled greatlie thereat, and not vnderstanding what she ment by that salutation, demanded what it signified. To whom it was answered by Hengist, that she wished him well, and the meaning of it was, that he should drinke after hir, ioining thereto this answer, Drinke haile. Wherevpon the king (as he was informed) tooke the cup at the damsels hand, and dranke.

Gal. Mon.

Wassail, what it signifieth.

Finallie, this yoong ladie behaued hir selfe with such pleasant woords, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld hir so long, till he felt himselfe so farre in loue with hir person, that he burned in continuall desire to inioy the same: insomuch that shortlie after he forsooke his owne wife, by the which he had three sonnes, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Pascentius, and required of Hengist to haue his daughter, the said Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. Hengist at the first séemed strange to grant to his request, and excused the matter, for that his daughter was not of estate and dignitie méet to be matched with his maiestie. But at length as it had béene halfe against his will he consented, and so the mariage was concluded & solemnized, all Kent being assigned vnto Hengist in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Guorongus (though not with most equall iustice) which Guorongus was subiect vnto Vortigerne, as all other the potentats of the Ile were.

Polydor. Fabian.

Wil. Malm.

This mariage and liberalitie of the king towards the strangers much offended the minds of his subiects, and hastened the finall destruction of the land. For the Saxons now vnderstanding

ing the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengist, came so fast ouer to inhabit héere, that it was woonder to consider in how short a time such a multitude could come togither: so that bicause of their great number and approoued puissance in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengist being no lesse politike in counsell than valiant in armes, abusing the kings lacke of discretion, to serue his owne turne, persuaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his sonne named Ebusa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Hengist defended the land in the south part: so might they kéepe backe the Scots in the north. *Wil. Malm.* *Gal.* saith he was Hengists sonne, and Ebusa his vncles sonne. Occa and Ebusa leaders of Saxons.

Héerevpon by the kings consent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coasting about the land, they sailed to the Iles of Orknie, and sore vexed the people there, and likewise the Scots and Picts also, and finallie arriued in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they setled themselues at that present, and so continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yéeres after their first comming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as subiects vnto the Saxon kings of Kent. After their arriuall in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chasing away such as made resistance, and appeased the residue by receiuing them vnder allegiance. *Wil. Malm. de Regib.*

When the nobles of Britaine saw and perceiued in what danger the land stood, by the dailie repaire of the huge number of Saxons into the same, they first consulted togither, and after resorting to the king, mooued him that some order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the more part of them, least they should with their power and great multitude vtterlie oppresse the British nation. But all was in vaine, for Vortigerne so estéemed and highlie fauoured the Saxons, and namelie by reason of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet anie thing estéemed his owne naturall kinsmen and chiefe friends, by reason whereof the Britains in fine depriued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yéeres, and in his steed crowned his sonne Vortimer. *Fabian.* The great numbers of strangers suspected to the Britains. Vortigerne depriued.

Cyldas and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare that after the Saxons were receiued into this land, there was a couenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Saxons should defend the countrie from the inuasion of enimies by their knightlie force: and that in consideration therof, the Britains should find them prouision of vittels: wherewith they held them contented for a time. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not sufficientlie furnished of their due proportion of vittels, threatening that if they were not prouided more largelie thereof, they would surelie spoile the countrie. So that without deferring of time, they performed their woords with effect of deeds, beginning in the east part of the Ile, & with fire and swoord passed foorth, wasting and destroieng the countrie, till they came to the vttermost part of the west: so that from sea to sea, the land was wasted and destroied in such cruell and outragious manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the priests slaine and murthered euen afore the altars, and the prelats with the people without anie reuerence of their estate or degrée dispatched with fire and swoord, most lamentablie to behold. *Gyldas.* *Beda.* *H. Hunt.* The miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land.

Manie of the Britains séeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie slaine, and other were glad to come foorth and yeeld themselues to eternall bondage, for to haue releefe of meate and drinke to asswage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into strange lands, so to saue themselues; and others abiding still in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a poore wretched life, in great feare and vnquietnesse of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to their houses, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, issuing foorth of those places where they had lien hid, and with one consent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preserued from vtter destruction, they began vnder the conduct of their leader Aurelius Ambrose, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obteined victorie, according to their owne desires.

desires. And from thence foorth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this British people, God (according to his accustomed maner) as it were present Israell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, vntill the yeare of the siege of Badon hill, where afterwards no small slaughter was made of the enimies: which chanced the same yeare in the which Gyldas was borne (as he himselfe witnesseth) being about the 44 yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine.

So *Gyldas* was borne in the yeare of our Lord 493.

Thus haue Gyldas & Beda (following by likelihood the authoritie of the same Gyldas) written of these first warres begun betweene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go foorth with the historie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we doo find recorded touching the doings of Vortimer that was elected king (as ye haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Vortigerne.

Vortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigerne, he giueth the Saxons sore and sharpe battels, a combat fought betweene Catigerne the brother of Vortimer and Horsus the brother of Hengist, wherein they were both slaine, the Britains driue the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengist procureth Vortimer to be poisoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as some writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts against the Britains and discomfit them.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

VORTIMER.

THIS Vortimer being eldest sonne to Vortigerne, by the common assent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464, which was in the fourth yeare of the emperour Leo the fift, and about the sixt yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far disagréeing from that whereof W. Harison dooth speake in his chronologie, who noteth Vortigerne to be deposed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Christ, and 5 currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Meroneus, as by his chronologie dooth more at large appeare.

Fabian. Galf. Mon. Matt. West. saith 454. 464.

But to procéed, Vortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all hast made sore warre against the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the riuer of Derwent, where he had of them the vpper hand. And the second time he fought with them at a place called Epiford, or Aglisthrop, in the which incounter Catagrine or Catigernus the brother of Vortimer, and Horsus the brother of Hengist, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them slue other: but the Britains obteined the field (as saith the British historie.) The third battell Vortimer fought with them néere to the sea side, where also the Britains chased the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was stricken néere to a moore called Colemoore, the which was sore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, because the foresaid moore inclosed a part of their host so stronglie, that the Britains could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies shot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drowned and swallowed vp in the same moore. Beside these foure principall battels, Vortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolke, also néere to Colchester in Essex: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all such possessions as before time they had got, so that they were constrained to kéepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes assailed them with such ships as he then had. When Ronowen the daughter of Hengist perceiued the great losse that the Saxons susteined by the martiall prowesse of Vortimer, she found means that within

The riuer of Derwent.

Epiford.

The Ile of Tenet.

Hen. Hunt. Colemoore.

Fabian. Tetford in Norfolke. Colchester.

within a while the said Vortimer was poisoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the space of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

¶ By the British historie it should séeme, that Vortimer before his death handled the Saxons so hardlie, kéeping them besieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were constrained to sue for licence to depart home into Germanie in safetie: and the better to bring this to pas, they sent Vortigerne, (whome they had kept still with them in all these battels) vnto his sonne Vortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their sute. But whilest this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ships, and leauing their wiues and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Gal. Mon. But how vnlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further discourse, but onelie refer euerie man to that which in old autentike historiographers of the English nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmes. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whome in these matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and safelie giue most credit. *Will. Malmes.*

William Malmes. writing of this Vortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he had against the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his words here following ye maie perceiue. Guortimer, the sonne of Vortimer (saith he) thinking not good long to dissemble the matter, for that he saw himselfe and his countriemen the Britains preuented by the craft of the English Saxons, set his full purpose to driue them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, seuen yeares after their first comming into this land, the league was broken, and by the space of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes togither in manie light incounters, but foure times they fought puissance against puissance in open field: in the first battell they departed with like fortune, whilest the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons lost their capteine Horse that was brother to Hengist, and the Britains lost Catigerne an other of Vortigerns sonnes. Hengist had the victorie in this battell saith *Ra. Hig.* Horse and Catigene slaine.

In the other battels, when the Englishmen went euer awaie with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this world by course of fatall death, the which much differing from the soft and milde nature of his father, right noblie would haue gouerned the realme, if God had suffered him to haue liued. But these battels which Vortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) should appeare by that which some writers haue recorded, to haue chanced before the supposed time of Vortimers or Guortimers atteining to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the first comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengist. And hereto W. Harison giueth his consent, referring the mutuall slaughter of Horsus and Catigerne to the 6 years of Martianus, & 455 of Christ. Howbeit Polydor Virgil saith, that Vortimer succéeded his father, and that after his fathers decéasse the English Saxons, of whome there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer dailie like swarmes of bées, and hauing in possession not onelie Kent, but also the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, togither with a great part of the west countrie, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and first therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the sudden they turned their weapons points against the Britains, and most cruelile pursued them, as though they had receiued some great iniurie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were maruelouslie abashed herewith, perceiuing that they should haue to doo with Hengist, a capteine of so high renowme, and also with their ancient enimies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they must fight or else become slaues. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage stirred vp manhood in them, so that they assembled togither, and boldlie began to resist their enimies on ech side: but being too weake, they were easilie discomfited and put to flight, so that all hope of defense by force of armes being vtterlie taken awaie, as men in despaire to preuaile against their enimies, they fled as sheepe scattered abroad, some following one capteine and some another, getting them into desart places, woods and maresh grounds, and moreouer left such townes and fortresses as were of no notable strength, as a preie vnto their enimies. 458. *Polydor.* The Britains discomfited by the Scots.

Thus saith Polydor Virgil of the first breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as should appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death

death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not that Hengist at his first comming got seates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Vortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) restored the christian religion after he had vanquished the Saxons, in such places where the same was decaied by the enimies inuasion, whose drift was not onelie to ouerrun the land with violence, but also to erect their owne laws and liberties without regard of clemencie.

Sigebertus.

Vortigerne is restored to his regiment, in what place he abode during the time of his sonnes reigne, Hengist with his Saxons re-enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are appointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priuie treason of Hengist and his power whereby the Britains were slaine like sheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Glocester, Vortigerne is taken prisoner, Hengist is in possession of three prouinces of this land, a description of Kent.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

Matth. West. saith 461.
471.

AFTER all these bloudie broiles and tempestuous tumults ended, Vortigerne was restored and set againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his sonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as some write) in that meane time he builded a strong castle called Generon, or Guaneren, in the west side of Wales nere to the riuer of Guana, vpon a mounteine called Cloaricus, which some referre to be builded in his second returne into Wales, as shall be shewed hereafter. And it is so much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had sight of, affirmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certeine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himselfe in such commendable sort towards his sonne, in aiding him with his counsell, and otherwise in the meane season whilest his sonne reigned, that the Britains by reason thereof began so to fauour him, that after the death of Vortimer they made him king againe.

Caerleon Arwiske.

Matth. West. saith 4000. He might easilie returne, for except I be deceiued he was neuer driuen out after he had once set foot within this Ile.

Shortlie after that Vortigerne was restored to the rule of the kingdom, Hengist aduertised therof returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being admonished, assembled his Britains, and with all speed made towards him. When Hengist had knowledge of the huge host of the Britains that was comming against him, he required to come to a communication with Vortigerne, which request was granted, so that it was concluded, that on Maie day a certeine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons should meet togither vpon the plaine of Salisburie. Hengist hauing deuised a new kind of treason, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, caused euerie one of his allowed number secretlie to put into his hose a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man should bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie instant when this watchword should be vttered by him, "Nempt your sexes," then should euerie of them plucke out his knife, and slea the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the same should be Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not slaine.

Nempt your sexes, what if it were messes.

At the day assigned, the king with his appointed number or traine of the Britains, mistrusting nothing lesse than anie such maner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before prescribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengist readie with his Saxons, the which receiued the king with amiable countenance and in most louing sort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengist meaning to accomplish his deuised purpose, gaue the watchword, immediatlie wherevpon the Saxons drew out their kniues, and suddenlie fell on the Britains, and slue them as sheepe being fallen within the danger of woolues. For the Britains had no weapons to defend themselues, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

There died of the nobles of Britaine 460. as *Gal.* saith.

Amongst

Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Edol earle of Glocester, or (as other say) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saued his owne life. Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constreined to deliuer vnto Hengist thrée prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Essex, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Sussex and other: the third was the countrie where the Estangles planted themselues, which was in Norfolke and Suffolke. Then Hengist being in possession of those thrée prouinces, suffered Vortigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie. *Ran. Cestren. Fabian. Gal. saith 70. Matth. West. Ran. Cestren.*

¶ William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortigerne, during whose reigne, after the deceasse of his sonne Vortimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Vortigerne to come to a banket at his house, with three hundred other Britains, and when he had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptieng of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter tawnt or other, they first fell to multiplieng of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne so yéelding vp their ghosts euen amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redéeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons thrée prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage. *Wil. Malm.*

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agrée) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yéere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yéere of Vortigerns last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gift therof, the same kingdome began in the yéere 455, and conteined the countrie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Essex. 476. Kingdome of Kent.

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germans fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outcrie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banisheth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murther requited with murther.

THE VJ. CHAPTER.

HENGIST and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers *Reguli*, that is, little kings or rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid thrée prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the countrie, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decaied within the land, for the Saxons being pagans, did what they could to extinguish the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and woorshipping of false gods: and not onelie hereby was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger dailie to decaie, but also the erronious opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuailed here amongst the Britains, The decay of christian religion.

tains, by meanes of such vnsound preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all maner of reprehension.

Beda. Certeine yéeres before the comming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land verie much, by the lewd industrie of one Leporius Agricola, the sonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteine saluation by his owne frée will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

Beda. This erronious doctrine being taught therefore, and mainteined in this troublesome time of warres with the Saxons, sore disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receiue it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions vsed by the professors thereof, thought good to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughtie teachers of so blasphemous an error. Whervpon the bishops of Gallia sore lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present néed, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most méet to be sent, it was decréed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iournie, finallie arriued in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath beene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their procéedings in this their good and well purposed iournie. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with conuincing the wicked arguments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the woord of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were soone brought into the right path againe.

A synod called in Gallia.

Germanus and Lupus.

Beda. Palladius. Constantine king of Scots. About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation tooke so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onelie forbeare to assist the Saxons, but contrarilie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did mainteine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vtter ruine and decaie. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being ioined togither, they began afresh to make sore warres vpon the Britains, who of necessitie were constreined to assemble an armie, & mistrusting their owne strength, required aid of the two bishops, Germane and Lupus, who hasting forward with all speed came into the armie, bringing with them no small hope of good lucke to all the Britains there being assembled. This was doone in Kent.

H. Hunt. *Beda.*

The armie of the Britains newlie christened. Now such was the diligence of the bishops, that the people (being instructed with continuall preaching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians, earnestlie came by troops to receiue the grace of God offred in baptisme, so that on Easter day which then insued, the more part of the armie was baptised, and so went foorth against the enimies, who hearing thereof, made hast towards the Britains, in hope to ouercome them at pleasure. But their approch being knowne, bishop Germane tooke vpon him the leading of the British host, and ouer against the passage thorough the which the enimies were appointed to come, he chose foorth a faire vallie inclosed with high mounteins, and within the same he placed his new washed armie. And when he saw the enimies now at hand, he commanded that euerie man with one generall voice should answer him, crieng alowd the same crie that he should begin. So that euen as the enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the Britains, supposing that they should haue taken them at vnwares, and before anie warning had béen giuen, suddenlie bishop Germane and the priests with a lowd and shrill voice called *Alleluia*, thrice: and therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with one voice cried the same crie, with such a lowd shout, that the Saxons were therewith so amazed and astonied (the echo from the rocks and hils adioining,

Alleluia.

ioining, redoubling in such wise the crie) that they thought not onelie the rocks and clifs had fallen vpon them, but that euen the skie it selfe had broken in péeces and come tumbling downe vpon their heads: héerewith therefore throwing awaie their weapons, they tooke them to their féet, and glad was he that might get to be formost in running awaie. Manie of them for hast were drowned in a riuer which they had to passe. Polydor taketh that riuer to be Trent. The Britains hauing thus vanquished their enimies, gathered the spoile at good leasure, & gaue God thanks for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which the holie bishops also triumphed as best became them. Now after they had setled all things in good quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they returned into Gallia or France, from whence they came (as is before rehearsed.)

By one author it should appéere that this battell was woone against the Scots and Picts, about the yéere of our Lord 448, a little before the comming of the Saxons into this land vnder Hengist, in which yéere Germane first came hither to wéed out the heresie of Pelagius, as by the same author more at large is affirmed. Howbeit, some chronographers alledge out of Prosper & other, and note the first comming of Germane to haue béene in the 429 yéere of Christ, and vnder the consulship of Florentius and Dionysius. And this should séeme to agrée with the truth, for that after some, the foresaid Germane should die at Rauenna, about the yéere of our Lord 450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yeere of the comming of the Saxons: notwithstanding, when or wheresoeuer he died, it was not long after his returne into Gallia, vpon his first iournie made hither into this land, who no sooner obteined the victorie before mentioned, but woord was brought againe vnto him, that eftsoones the heresie of the Pelagians was spread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the priests or cleargie made request to him that it might stand with his pleasure to come ouer againe, and defend the cause of true religion which he had before confirmed. *Matth. West.* 448.

Héerevpon bishop Germane granted so to doo, and therefore taking with him one Seuerus (that was disciple vnto Lupus, and ordeined at that time bishop of Triers) tooke the sea, and came againe into Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people stedfast in the same beliefe wherein he had left them, & perceiued the fault to rest in a few: wherevpon inquiring out the authors, he condemned them to exile (as it is written) and with a manifest miracle by restoring a yoong man that was lame (as they saie) vnto the right vse of his lims, he confirmed his doctrine. Then followed preaching to persuade amendment of errors, and by the generall consent of all men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being banished the land, were deliuered vnto bishop Germane and to his fellow Seuerus, to conueie them away in their companie vnto the parties beyond the seas, that the region might so be deliuered of further danger, and they receiue the benefit of due amendment. Germane returneth againe into Britaine.

By this meanes it came to passe, that the true faith continued in Britaine sound and perfect a long time after. Things being thus set in good order, those holie men returned into their countries, the forenamed bishop Germane went to Rauenna to sue for peace to be granted vnto the people of Britaine Armorike, where being receiued of the emperor Valentinian and his mother Placida in most reuerend maner, he departed in that citie out of this transitorie life, to the eternall ioies of heauen. His bodie was afterwards conueied to the citie of Auxerre, where he had béene bishop with great opinion of holines for his sincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Shortlie after was the emperour Valentinian slaine by the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome he had before caused to be put to death. Anno 450, as *Vincentius* noteth, *lib.* 20. *ca.* 15. The emperour Valentinian slaine.

¶ By this it maie appéere, that bishop Germane came into this realme both the first and second time, whilest as well Hengist, as also Vortigerne were liuing: for the said Valentinian was murthered about the yeere of our Lord 454, where the said kings liued and reigned long after that time, as maie appéere both before and after in this present booke. 454.

What part of the realme the Saxons possessed, Vortigerne buildeth a castell in Wales for his safetie, Aurelius and Vter both brethren returne into Britaine, they assalt the vsurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the same, Vortigerne committeth incest with his owne daughter, feined and ridiculous woonders of S. Germane, a sheepherd made a king.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

NOW will we returne to Vortigerne, of whome we read in the British historie, that after the Saxons had constreined him to deliuer into their hands a great part of the south and east parts of the realme, so that they had in possession London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Winchester, with other cities & townes, he not onelie fearing their puissance, but also the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Vter Pendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he began to build a strong castell vpon a mounteine called Breigh, or after other Cloaric, néere to the riuer of Guana, which is in the west side of Wales in a place within the compasse of the same hill called Generon or Gueineren. Of the building of this castell, and of the hinderance in erecting the same, with the monstrous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in prophesieng, the British histories tell a long processe, the which in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is also set foorth, as there ye maie sée: but for that the same séemeth not of such credit as deserueth to be registred in anie sound historie, we haue with silence passed it ouer.

Galfrid.

Caxton. Fabian. Polychron.

Mount Erix he calleth it in one place of his booke.

Whilest Vortigerne was busied in building of this castell, the two foresaid brethren Aurelius and Vter prepared a nauie of ships, and an armie of men, by helpe of such their kinsmen and frèends as they found in Britaine Armorike, and so passed the sea, and landed at Totnesse: whereof when the Britains were aduertised, the which were scattered abroad and seuered in diuers parties and countries, they drew vnto the said two brethren with all spéed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Vter perceiued that they were sufficientlie furnished of people, they marched foorth towards Wales against Vortigerne, who hauing knowledge of their approch, had fortified his castell verie strongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing, for in the end after his enimies had giuen diuers assaults to the said castell, they found meanes with wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and so consumed it by fire togither with the king, and all other that were within it.

Aurelius and Vter brethren returne into Britaine.

Vortigerne burnt to death. Wild fire not yet inuented as some think.

Thus did Vortigerne end his life (as in the British historie is recorded.) Much euill is reported of him by the same historie, and also by other writers, and among other things it is written, that he should lie by his owne daughter, and of hir beget a sonne, in hope that kings should come of him, and therefore he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is also said, that when the same S. Germane came into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Vortigerne on a time should denie the same S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heards of cattell receiued him into his house, and lodged him, and slue a calfe for his supper, which calfe after supper was ended, S. Germane restored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he caused Vortigerne to be deposed from his kinglie estate, and tooke the heardman and made him king. But Ranulfe Hig. in his "Polychronicon," alledging Gyldas for his author, saith that this chanced to a king that ruled in Powsey, whose name was Bulie, and not to Vortigerne: so that the successors of that Bulie reigning in that side of Wales, came of the linage of the same heardman.

Polychron. A feined tale of S. Germane. A caluish narration.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer it hath beene said (as one writer recordeth) that when Vortigerne refused to heare the preaching of saint Germane, and fled from him as he would haue instructed him, one night there fell fire from heauen vpon the castell wherein the king was lodged, and so the king being destroied with the fall of the house and the fire togither, was neuer after séene. ¶ But these are fables, and therfore I passe them ouer, hoping that it shall suffice to shew here with what stuffe our old historiographers haue farced vp their huge volumes, not so much

regarding

regarding the credit of an historie, as satisfieng the vanitie of their owne fond fantasies, studieng with a pretended skilfulnesse to cast glorious colours vpon lies, that the readers (whom they presupposed either ignorant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing streme of woords void of reason and common sense. Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the nature of an historie (defined to be *Rei verè gestæ memoria*) will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, sith the same is too heauie: otherwise they would haue deposed matters conspiring with the truth.

Aurelius Ambrosius the brother to Constantius created king of Britaine, he incountereth with the Saxons, Hengist their generall is beheaded, Occa his sonne submitteth himselfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons out of the land, repaireth places decaied, and restoreth religion, the memorable monument of the stones that are so much spoken of on Salisburie plaine, the exploits of Pascentius Vortigerns yongest sonne, Aurelius lieth sicke, Vter goeth against Pascentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is poisoned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius against the Saxons, Hengist is slaine, Osca and Occa his two sonnes make a fowle spoile if the west part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the disagreement of writers touching matters interchangeablie passed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

AURELIUS AMBROSE, the second sonne of king Constantine, brother to Constantius, and murthered by the treason of Vortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yéere of our Lord 481, which was about the third yéere of the reigne of the emperour Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odocer king of the Herulians then vsurping the gouernment of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambrosius had dispatched Vortigerne, and was now established king of the Britains, he made towards Yorke, and passing the riuer of Humber, incountred with the Saxons at a place called Maesbell, and ouerthrew them in a strong battell, from the which as Hengist was fléeing to haue saued himselfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Glocester, or (as some say) Chester, and by him led to Conningsborrow, where he was beheaded by the counsell of Eldad then bishop of Colchester. AURELIUS AMBROSIUS. *Matt. West.* saith 466. *Gal. Mon.* Hengist taken and beheaded.

Howbeit there be some that write, how that Hengist was taken at another battell fought vpon the riuer of Dune, in the yéere of our Lord 489, and not in the chase of the battell which was fought at Maesbell in the yéere 487, as the same authors doo alledge. Occa the son of Hengist by flight escaped to Yorke, and being there besieged, at length was constreined to yéeld himselfe to Aurelius: who dealing fauourablie with him, assigned vnto him and other of the Saxons a countrie bordering neere to the Scots, which (as some affirme) was Galloway, where the said Occa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then did Aurelius Ambrosius put the Saxons out of all other parts of the land, & repaired such cities, townes and also churches, as by them had beene destroied or defaced, and placed againe priests, and such other as should attend on the ministerie and seruice of God in the same churches. *Matth. West.* Occa.

Also for a perpetuall memorie of those Britains that were slaine on the plaine of Salisburie by the treason of Hengist, he caused stones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be set vp in the same place where that slaughter was committed, and called the place Stoneheng, which name continueth vnto this day. Fiftéene thousand men (as Galfrid saith) were sent for those stones, vnder the leading of Vter Pendragon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Gillomanus king of Ireland that went about to resist the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch away the same stones out of his countrie, discomfited him and his people, and so (maugre his hart) brought the stones away with him. Stoneheng. *Gal. Mon.*

Shortlie

Shortlie after, Pascentius that was Vortigerns yoongest sonne, and had escaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambrosius came into Britaine) returned with a great power of strange nations, and tooke the citie of Meneuia in Wales, afterwards called saint Dauids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire and swoord. At which time the same Aurelius Ambrosius lay sicke at Winchester, and being not able to go foorth himselfe, desired his brother Vter Pendragon to assemble an armie of Britains, and to go against Pascentius and his adherents. Vter, according to his brothers request, gathering his people, went foorth, and incountering with the enimies gaue them the ouerthrow, slue Pascentius and Gillomare or Gilloman king of Ireland, that was come ouer with him in aid against the Britains.

Hector Boet. In the meane while, a Saxon or some other stranger, whose name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Pascentius, fained himselfe to be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting himselfe a moonke, and to haue great knowledge in physicke, was admitted to minister as it were medicins to Aurelius: but in stead of that which should haue brought *Fabian.* him health, he gaue him poison, whreof he died shortlie after at Winchester aforesaid, when he had reigned after most accord of writers nintéene yeeres: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and there buried. ¶ Thus find we in the British and common English histories of the dooings of Aurelius Ambrosius, who (as ye haue hard) makes him a Britaine borne, and descended of the bloud of the ancient Britains, But Gyldas and Beda report him to be a Romane by descent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor. Polydor Virgil writeth in this sort of the victorious acts atchiued by the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius. Then (saith he) the Saxons hauing alreadie gotten the whole rule of the Ile, practised their outragious cruelties speciallie against the princes of the Britains, to the end that the said princes being ouercome and destroied, they might with more ease obteine possession of the whole Ile, which thing they onlie sought. But the fauour of almightie God was not wanting to the miserable Britains in that great necessitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambrosius was at hand, who had no sooner caused the trumpet to sound to armor, but euerie man for himselfe prepared and repaired vnto him, praieng & beseeching him to helpe to defend them, and that it might stand with his pleasure to go foorth with them against the enimies in all speed.

Thus an armie being assembled, Aurelius Ambrosius went against them, and valiantlie assailed them, so that within the space of a few daies they fought thrée battels with great fiercenesse on both sides, in triall of their high displeasures and vttermost forces, in which at length the Britains put the Saxons to flight, Horsus the brother of Hengist being slaine with a great number of his people. But yet notwithstanding the enimies rage was little abated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing out of Germanie a new supplie of men, they brake foorth vpon the Britains with great confidence of victorie. Aurelius Ambrosius was no sooner aduertised thereof, but that without delaie he set forward towards Yorke, from whence the enimies should come, and hearing by the way that Hengist was incamped about seuen & twentie miles distant from that citie, néere to the banke of a riuer at this day called Dune, in the place where Doncaster now standeth, he returned out of his waie, and marched towards that place, and the next day set on the enimie and vanquished him, Hengist at the first *Hengist is slaine.* méeting of the battell being slaine, with a great number of the Germans. The fame of this victorie (saith Polydor) is had in memorie with the inhabitants of those parties euen vnto this day, which victorie did sore diminish the power of the Saxons, insomuch that they began now to thinke it should be more for their profit to sit in rest with that dishonour, than to make anie new warres to their great disaduantage and likelihood of present losse.

Hengist left behind him two sonnes, Osca and Occa, which as men most sorowfull for the ouerthrow of late receiued, assembled such power as they could togither, and remooued therewith towards the west part of the Ile, supposing it to be better for them to draw that way foorth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was alreadie a sufficient number of their people to resist the Britains on that side. Now therefore when they came into the west parts of the land, they wasted the countrie, burnt villages, and absteined from no maner of

crueltie

crueltie that might be shewed. These things being reported vnto Aurelius Ambrosius, he straightwaies hasted thither to resist those enimies, and so giuing them battell, eftsoones discomfited them: but he himselfe receiuing a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. Aurelius dieth of a wound.
The English Saxons hauing thus susteined so manie losses within a few moneths togither, were contented to be quiet now that the Britains stirred nothing against them, by reason they were brought into some trouble by the death of such a noble capteine as they had now lost. Vortimer departeth this life.
In the meane time Vortimer died, whome Vter surnamed Pendragon succéeded.

Thus hath Polydor written of the forsaid Aurelius Ambrosius, not naming him to be king of Britaine, and differing in déed in sundrie points in this behalfe from diuerse ancient writers of the English histories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the Britains in the battell fought, wherein Horsus the brother of Hengist was slaine, by the report of Polychronicon, and others, the Saxons had the victorie in that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie saith, that they departed from that batell with equall fortune, the Saxons losing their capteine Horsus, and the Britains their capteine Katigerne (as before ye haue heard.) *Wil. Malm.* Katigerne.
But there is such contrarietie in writers touching the dooings betwixt the Britains and Saxons in those daies, as well in account of yéeres, as in report of things doone, that setting affection aside, hard it is to iudge to which part a man should giue credit.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambrosius began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yéere of our Lord 481, and Horsus was slaine about the yéere 458, during the reigne of Vortimer, as aboue is mentioned, so that it cannot stand with the truth of the British histories (the which Fabian followeth) that Horsus was slaine by Aurelius Ambrosius, if according to the same histories he returned not into Britaine, till the time there supposed. But diuerse such maner of contrarieties shall ye find, in perusing of those writers that haue written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in euerie point to recite, would be too tedious and combersome a matter, and therefore we are forced to passe the same ouer, not knowing how to bring them to anie iust accord for the satisfieng of all mens minds, speciallie the curious, which may with diligent search satisfie themselues happilie much better, than anie other shall be able to doo in vttering his opinion neuer so much at large, and agréeable to a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it were by the waie to touch what diuerse authors doo write, leauing it so to euerie mans iudgement to construe thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We find in the writings of those that haue registred the dooings of these times, that Aurelius hauing vanquished the Saxons, restored churches to the furtherance of the christian religion, which by the inuasion of the Saxons was greatlie decaied in diuerse parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodosius the yoonger. 458. *Sigebertus.* *Matth. West.* saith 488.

The beginning of the kingdome of the Southsaxons commonlie called Sussex, the Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the Saxon & his three sonnes, disagreement betweene the English and British chronographers about the battels fought by Hengist and his death, the beginning of the Kentish kingdome, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the first are conquered, the last are conquerors.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

IN the time of the foresaid Aurelius Ambrosius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 sonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Cissa, came out of Germanie with three ships, and landed in the south parts of Britaine, and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneueshore, discomfited them, and chased them vnto a wood then called Andredescester, and so tooke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and Ella entred this land as *Matt. West.* saith ann. 477.

The kingdom of the Southsaxons dooth begin.

and made himselfe king and lord thereof, in somuch that afterwards the same countrie was named the kingdome of the Southsaxons, which had for limits on the east side Kent, on the south the sea and Ile of Wight, on the west Hamshire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after some) began vnder the foresaid Ella, about the 32 yeere after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, should be about

482. the second yéere of the reigne of Aurelius Ambrosius, and about the yéere of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yéere after the first comming of Hengist, which should be two yéeres sooner.

William Harison differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yéere after the death of Hengist, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Christ, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his woords are these. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southsaxons, in the 15 after his arriuall, and reigned 32 yéeres, the chiefe citie of his kingdome also was Chichester, and after he had inioied the same his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the citie called Andredescester, which as then was taken for one of the most famous in all the south side of England. ¶ For my part I thinke my dutie discharged, if I shew the opinions of the writers: for if I should therto ad mine owne, I should but increase coniectures, whereof alreadie we haue superfluous store. To procéed thereforr as I find.

About the ninth yéere after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiuing that he with his Saxons still inlarged the bounds of his lordship by entring further into the land, assembled themselues togither vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his sonnes at Mecredesbourne, where they departed with doubtfull victorie, the armies on both sides being sore diminished, and so returned to their homes. Ella after this battell sent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengist, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the English kings varie somewhat from the British histories, both in report of the battels by him fought against the Britains, and also for the maner of his death: as thus. After that Vortimer was dead, who departed this life (as some write) in the first yéere of the

Polychron. emperor Leo, surnamed the great, and first of that name that gouerned the empire, who be-

457. gan to rule in the yéere of our Lord 457, we find that Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca gathered their people togither that were before sparkled, and hauing also receiued new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britains at a place called Crekenford, where were slaine of the Britains foure dukes or capteins, and foure thousand of other men, the residue were chased by Hengist out of Kent vnto London, so that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengist the twelfe yéere after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengist reigned in Kent after this (as the same writers agree) foure and twentie yéeres.

Henrie Hunt. Wil. Malm. Creiford. Britains ouerthrowne.

Polychron. It is remembred that those Germans which latelie were come ouer to the aid of Hengist, being chosen men, mightie and strong of bodie, with their axes and swoords made great slaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crekenford or Creiford, which Britains were ranged

Hen. Hunt. in foure battels vnder their aforesaid foure dukes or capteins, and were (as before is mentioned) slaine in the same battell. About the sixt yéere of the said emperor Leo, which was

Wipets field. *Matt. West.* This battell was fought anno 473. as the same *Mat. West.* noteth. Wipet. *H. Hunt.* in the 17 yéere after the comming of the Saxons, Hengist and his sonne Occa or Osca fought at Wipets field in Kent, néere to a place called Tong with the Britains, and slue of them twelue dukes or capteins, & on the part of the Saxons was slaine beside common souldiers but onlie one capteine called Wipet, of whom the place after that daie tooke name.

This victorie was nothing plesant to the Saxons, by reason of the great losse which they susteined, as well by the death of the said Wipet, as of a great number of others: and so of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains presumed to come into Kent. But whilest outward wars ceassed among the Britains, they exercised ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themselues, one striuing against another. Finallie, Hengist departed this life by course of nature, in the 39 yéere after

Fortie yéeres saith *H. Hunt.* his first comming into Britaine, hauing procéeded in his businesse no lesse with craft and guile

guile than with force and strength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, so that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentlenesse. After him succéeded a sonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiue rather to defend than to inlarge his kingdome, neuer set foot out of his fathers bounds, during the space of 24 yéeres, in the which he reigned.

By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the land after he had once set foot within it. *Matt. West. H. Hunt.*

About thrée yéeres after the deceasse of Hengist, a new supplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Sussex, who hauing his power increased, besieged the citie of Andredescester, which was verie strong and well furnished with men and all things necessarie. The Britains also assembling togither in companies, greatlie annoied the Saxons as they lay there at siege, laieng ambushes to destroie such as went abroad, and ceassing not to giue alarums to the campe in the night season: and the Saxons could no sooner prepare them selues to giue the assalt, but the Britains were readie to assaile them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themselues into two companies, appointed the one to giue the assalt, and the other to incounter with the armie of the Britains without, and so finallie by that meanes preuailed, tooke the citie, and destroied man, woman and child. Neither so contented, they did also vtterlie race the said citie, so as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The citie of Andredescester

The east Angles kingdome beginneth, the arriuall of Cerdic and Kenric with fiue ships of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains to flight, the west Saxons kingdom begineth, Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon of his name, he taketh Occa and Osca the two sonnes of Hengist prisoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornewalls wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Osca escape out of prison, they freshlie assault the Britains, they are both slaine in a foughten field, the Saxons send and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poisoned.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

MOREOUER, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambrosius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the east Angles began vnder a Saxon named Uffa. This same kingdome conteined Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the east and north parts the sea, on the northwest Cambridgeshire, and on the west saint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordshire, and on the southside lieth Essex. At the first it was called Vffines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the first named Vffines, but at length they were called east Angles.

The kingdome of the east Angles began not till Aurelius Conanus reigned. 561.

FVRTHERMORE, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight yeare after that Hengist was dead, one Cerdicus and his sonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with fiue ships, and landed at a place called Cerdicshore, which as some thinke is called Yermouth in Northfolke. He was at the first receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old skilfull warriour, he easilie beate backe and repelled the inconstant multitude of his enimies, and caused them to flée: by which good successe he procured both vndoubted assurance to himselfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by resistance, submitted themselues to his pleasure: but yet did not he then giue himselfe to slouthfull rest, but rather extending his often atchiued victories on ech side, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obteined the rule of the west parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, so that the kingdome of the west Saxons began vnder the said Cerdicus in the 519 of Christ, as after shall be shewed.

CERDIC. *Wil. Malm.* 495. *Fabian. Polychron. Wil. Malm.*

529. ¶ Thus ye maie sée, that Aurelius Ambrosius did succéed Vortigerne, and reigned in the time supposed by the British histories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains sore vexed by the Saxons that entred the same, so that the Britains were dailie hampered, and brought vnder subiection to the valiant Saxons, or else driuen to remooue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to procéed with the succession of the British kings, as in their histories we find them registred, which I deliuer such as I find, but not such as I doo wish, being written with no such colour of credit as we maie safelie put foorth the same for an vndoubted truth.

Matth. West. noteth.

After that Aurelius Ambrosius was dead, his brother Vter Pendragon (whome some call Aurelius Vterius Ambrosianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the seuenth yeare of the emperour Anastasius, and in the sixtéenth yeare of Clodoueus king of the Frenchmen. The cause why he was surnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie maruelouslie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blasing star, as is reported. But others supposed he was so called of his wisedome and serpentine subtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Vter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Occa or Otta the sonne of Hengist, and his brother Osca had besieged the citie of Yorke, hasted thither, and giuing them battell, discomfited their power, and tooke the said Occa and Osca prisoners.

500.

Hector Boet.

From this varieth Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of these dooings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit moonke, which poisoned Aurelius Ambrosius, was suborned and sent to woorke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Pascentius: and further, that about the selfesame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Vter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recouered of a sore sicknesse, wherewith of late he had béene much vexed. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambrosius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go against the Saxons (which as then by reason of Aurelius Ambrosius his death were verie busie, and more earnest in pursuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and sent foorth with all conuenient spéed vnder the leading of one Nathaliod, a man neither of anie great ancient house, nor yet of skill in warlike affaires.

The noble men were nothing pleased herewith, as misliking altogither the lacke of discretion in their new king, & doubted sore, least in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of base degrée, than such as were descended of noble parentage. Yet because they would not put the state of the common wealth in danger through anie mutinie, they agréed to go foorth with him in that iournie. Occa had aduertisement giuen him by certeine letters sent to him from some close friends amongest the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better spéed, he hasted foorth to incounter the Britains, and so the whole armie comming within sight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and shortlie after buckling togither, the Britains were soone discomfited, by reason that one of their chiefest capteins called Gothlois disdaining to be at the appointment of Nathaliod, got him vp to the next hill with the next battell which he led, leauing the other Britains in all the danger: which they séeing began by & by to flée. There died no great number of the Britains, except those that were killed in the fight: for Occa mistrusting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aside, would not suffer the Saxons to follow the chase, but in the night following Gothlois got him awaie, and rested not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiuing himselfe to haue the vpper hand, sent an herald vnto king Vter with a certeine message, threatning destruction to him and to his people, if he refused to doo that which he should appoint.

Vter perceiuing what disloialtie rested in the harts of his owne subiects, agréed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wise councellors, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an end of all controuersies and variances depending betwixt the two nations. Occa was likewise contented therewith, wherevpon were named on either part foure persons, of such wisedome, knowledge and experience, as were thought meetest for the ordering of such a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, award and

doome of those eight persons authorised thereto, a league was concluded vpon certeine articles of agreement, amongst the which the chiefest was, that the Saxons from thencefoorth should quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth fore against the Almaine seas, the same to be called euer after Engistlaund, and all the residue should remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

But now to returne vnto Vter according to that we find in the British histories, and to proceed after our owne historians; we find, that when he had vanquished the Saxons and taken their two chiefeteins prisoners, in processe of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull ladie called Igwarne or Igerna, wife to one Gorolus or Gorlois duke of Cornewall, the which duke he slue at length neere to his owne castell called Diuulioc in Cornewall, to the end that he might inioy the said ladie, whome he afterwards maried, and begot on hir that noble knight Arthur, and a daughter named Amie or Anna. Occa and Osca escaping also out of prison assembled eftsoones a power of Saxons, and made warre against the Britains, whereof Vter hauing aduertisement prepared to resist them, and finallie went himselfe in person against them, and at saint Albans (as some write) gaue them battell, and slue them both in the field. *Harding.*

Gorolus duke of Cornewall.

By that which Polydor Virgil writeth, it should seeme that Germane the bishop of Auxerre came into Britaine in the daies of this Vter, by whose presence the Britains had victorie against the Saxons (as before ye haue heard) after which victorie both rested from troubling either other for a time. The Saxons as it were astonied with that present miracle, & the Britains not following their good successe, shortlie after fell at discord amongst themselues, which finallie brought them to vtter decaie, as after shall appeare. But the Saxons desirous to spoile the Britains of the whole possession of that part of the Ile which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of small strength to be defended, they got them to an high mounteine called Badon hill, which Polydor supposeth to be Blackamore that lieth neere to the water of Theise, which diuideth the bishoprike of Durham from Yorkeshire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen meet to receiue such ships as come out of Germanie, from whence the Saxons looked for aid, hauing alreadie sent thither for the same.

Badon hill

The Britains being thereof aduertised, made hast towards the place, and besieged it on euerie side. They also laie the sea coasts full of souldiers, to keepe such of the enimies from landing as should come out of Germanie. The Saxons kept themselues for a certeine space aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end constreined through want of vittels, they came downe with their armie in order of battell to the next plaines, and offering to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the morning till far in the day, with such slaughter, that the earth on euerie side flowed with bloud: but the Saxons susteined the greater losse, their capteins Occa and Osca being both slaine, so that the Britains might seeme quite deliuered of all danger of those enimies: but the fatall destinie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the slaughter made of the Saxons at Badon hill, whereof Gyldas maketh mention, and chanced the same yeare that he was borne, which was in the 44 yeare after the first comming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction. *Gyldas.* 492.

About the same time Vter departed out of this life (saith Polydor) so that this account agreeth nothing with the common account of those authors, whome Fabian and other haue followed. For either we must presuppose, that Vter reigned before the time appointed to him by the said authors, either else that the siege of Badon hill was before he began to reigne, as it should seeme in deed by that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth thereof, as hereafter shall be also shewed. Finallie (according to the agreement of the English writers) Vter Pendragon died by poison, when he had gouerned this land by the full terme of 16 years, & was after buried by his brother Aurelius at Stoneheng, otherwise called *Chorea Gigantum*, leauing his sonne Arthur to succeed him. ¶ Here ye must note that the Scotish chronicles declare, that in all the warres for the more part wherein the Britains obteined victorie against

The decease of Vter Pendragon.

Stoneheng. Chorea Gigantum.

the Saxons, the Scots aided them in the same warres, and so likewise did the Picts, but the same chronicles doo not onelie varie from the British writers in account of yeares, but also in the order of things doone, as in the same chronicles more plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the discourse of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Vter. For whereas the British historics, as ye haue heard, attribute great praise vnto the same Vter for his victories atchiued against the Saxons and their king Occa, whome he slue in battell, and obteined a great victorie, the Scotish writers make other report, affirming in deed that by the presence of bishop Germane he obteined victorie in one battell against them: but shortlie after the Britains fought againe with the Saxons, and were discomfited, although Occa in following the chase ouer rashlie chanced to be slaine: after whose deceasse the Saxons ordeined his sonne named also Occa to succéed in his place, who to make himselfe strong against all his enimies, sent into Germanie for one Colgerne, the which with a great power of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by Occas appointment the countrie of Northumberland, situate betwéene Tine and Tweed, as in the Scotish chronicles may further appeare.

Also this is to be remembred, that the victorie which was got against the Saxons by the Britains, at what time Germane bishop of Auxerre was present: Hector Boetius affirmeth (by authoritie of Veremond that wrote the Scotish chronicles) to haue chanced the second time of his comming ouer into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his first being heere. Againe the same Boetius writeth, that the same victorie chanced in the daies of Vter Pendragon. Which can not be, if it be true that Beda writeth, touching the time of the death of the said Germane: for where he departed this life before the yeare of our Lord 459, as aboue is said, Vter Pendragon began not his reigne till the yeare of our Lord 500 or as the same Hector Boetius saith 503, so that bishop Germane was dead long before that Vter began to reigne.

In déed some writers haue noted, that the third battell which Vortimer fought against the Saxons, was the same wherein S. Germane was present, and procured the victorie with the crie of *Alleluia*, as before ye haue heard. Which seemeth to be more agréeable to truth, and to stand also with that which holie Beda hath written, touching the time of the being héere of the said Germane, than the opinion of other, which affirme that it was in the time of the reigne of Vter. The like is to be found in the residue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time speciallie of the reignes of the British kings that gouerned Britaine about that season. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambrosius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but seuen yeares, and then succéeded Vter, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

¶ Notwithstanding the premisses, here is to be remembred, that whatsoeuer the British writers haué recorded touching the victories of this Vter had against the Saxons, and how that Osca the sonne of Hengist should be slaine in battell by him and his power: in those old writers which haue registred the acts of the English Saxon kings we find no such matter, but rather that after the deceasse of Hengist, his sonne Osca or Occa reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not séeking to inlarge it (as before is touched.) After whose death his sonne Oth, and Irmenrike sonne to the same Oth succéeded, more resembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are assigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned iointlie togither, or seuerallie & apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceiued.

Osca. 34 saith *Henrie Hunt.* in corrupted copies.

Porth the Saxon arriueth at Portesmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are ouerthrowen and slaine, the kingdome of the west Saxons beginneth, the compasse or continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was inlarged.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

NOW will we breefelie discourse vpon the incidents which first happened during the reigne of Vter Pendragon. We find that one Porth a Saxon with his two sons Megla and Beda came on land at Portesmouth in Sussex, about the beginning of the said Vters reigne, and slue a noble yoong man of the Britains, and manie other of the meaner sort with him. Of this Porth the towne & hauen of Portesmouth tooke the name, as some haue thought. Moreouer, about 40 yeares after the comming of the Saxons into this land with their leader Hengist, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongst the Britains, assembled all the power he could make to fight with Certicus king of the Westsaxons, who vnderstanding of the great power of his enimies, required aid of Osca king of Kent, also of Elle king of Sussex, and of Porth and his sonnes which were latelie before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furnished with a conuenient armie, diuided the same into two battels, reseruing the one to himselfe, and the other he appointed to his sonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus led, was of more strength than the other which Kenrike gouerned, he set first vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might distresse that part of the enimies armie, he should easilie ouercome the other. Herevpon he gaue such a fierce charge vpon that wing, that by verie force he opened the same, and so ouerthrew the Saxons on that side, making great slaughter of them as they were scattered. Which maner of dealing when Kenrike saw, he made forward with all spéed to succour his father, and rushing in amongst the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in péeces, and slue their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that daie 5000 men, and the residue escaped by fléeing as well as they might. In the sixt yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with thrée ships, and landed at Certicesford, and ouerthrew a number of Britains that came against them in order of battell, and so by the comming of those his nephues being valiant and hardie capteins, the part of Certicus became much stronger. Abut the same time Elle king of the Southsaxons departed this life, after whome succéeded his sonne Cissa, of whome we find little left in writing to be made account of.

Porth entred this land about the yeare of our Lord 501 as *Matth. West.* noteth. *Harison* supposeth the riuer to be called Ports, as for the word mouth, is the fall of anie fresh riuer into the sea.

The Britains ouerthrowne *Matth. West.* *Henr. Hunt.* Stuff and Wightgar. *Matth. West.* noteth the yeare of their arriuall to be 514.

About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare after the comming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeare of the emperour Anastasius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his sonne Kenrike at Certicesford, where the capteins of the Britains stood to it manfullie: but in the end they were discomfited, and great slaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had béene, if the night comming on had not parted them, and so manie were saued.

Henr. Hunt. Britains ouerthrowne by the Saxons.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Westsaxons, & so began the same kingdome at that time, which was (as W. Harison noteth) in the yéere of Christ 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the comming of the Saxons 70, of Iustinus Anicius emperour of the east, the first and third of the renowmed prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning ouer the Britains. The said kingdome also conteined the countries of Wiltshire, Summersetshire, Barkeshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornewall, hauing on the east Hamshire, on the north the riuer of Thames, and on the south and west the Ocean sea. Howbeit, at the first the kings of the Westsaxons had not so large dominions, but they dailie wan ground vpon the Britains, and so in the end by inlarging their confines, they came to inioy all the foresaid countries, and the whole at the last.

The kingdom of Westsaxons.

In the ninth yéere of the reigne of Certicus, he eftsoones fought with the Saxons at Certicesford aforesaid, where great slaughter was made on both parts. This Certicesford was in times past called Nazaleoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this season

Certicesford.

season at sundrie times diuers great companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie, and got possession of the countries of Mercia and Eastangle: but as yet those of Mercia had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certeine noble men that got possession of diuers parts in that countrie, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters insued, with a common waste of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiouslie minded, & heaping to themselues such powers as they were able to make, by swoord and bloudshed chose rather to haue their fortune decided, than by reason to suppresse the rage of their vnrulie affections. For such is the nature of men in gouernement, whether they be interessed to it by succession, or possessed of it by vsurpation, or placed in it by lawfull constitution, (vnlesse they be guided by some supernaturall influence of diuine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admitteth no companion: but euerie one séeketh to aduance himselfe to a singularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which maie easilie be obserued in this our historicall discourse.

The beginning of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, what it conteined, of Arthur king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the Saxons against whome he mainteined continuall warre, why the Scots and Picts enuied him his roialtie and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornewall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

ERCHENWIN. The kingdom of the Eastsaxons.

IN those daies also the kingdome of the Eastsaxons began, the chéefe citie whereof was London. It conteined in effect so much as at this present belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saxon was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Offa, the sixt in lineall descent from one Saxnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yéere of the erection of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the Westsaxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the comming of the Saxons. In the 13 yéere of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Witgarsbridge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about four yéeres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Stuffe and Witgar.

ARTHUR.

516.

Matth. West. hath noted 518

AFTER the deceasse of Vter Pendragon (as we doo find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yoong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yéeres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yéere of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 yéere of the emperour Anastasius, and in the third yéere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodorike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the same: but surelie as may be thought he was some woorthie man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in déed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Saxons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not driue them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Norfolke, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur. But

But truth it is (as diuers authors agrée) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scotish histories is conteined, euen at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts séemed to enuie his aduancement to the crowne of Britaine, bicause they had maried the two sisters of the twó brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Vter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and Conran king of Scots had in mariage Alda their yoonger sister, so that bicause Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namelie Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, sore repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finallie a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certeine conditions, as in the Scotish historie is expressed, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

¶ The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediatlie after he had receiued the crowne of Dubright bishop of Caerleon) went with his power of Britains against the Saxons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulfe, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obteined succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fiftéene hundred sailes one with an other.

Yorke besieged.

Cheldrike commeth in aid of Colgrime. *Matt. Westm.* saith but 700.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all speed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie assembled his people, to the number of fifteene thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southhampton, where Arthur was readie to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled togither, marched forward to Lincolne, which citie Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enimies, they obteined the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left alíue) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about within the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constreined to yéeld themselue, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horsse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Howell king of Britaine commeth ouer in aid of Arthur.

Cheldrike ouerthrowne in battell.

Héerevpon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Saxons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and comming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arriued at Totnesse, and contrarie to the couenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, inuaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched foorth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by anie meanes to enter there, wherevpon the Saxons inuironed it with a strong siege. Arthur informed heereof, with all spéed hasted thither, and giuing the enimies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

Bath besieged.

There were slaine both Colgrime and Bladulfe, howbeit Cheldrike himselfe fled out of the field towards his ships, but being pursued by Cador earle of Cornwall (that had with him ten thousand men) by Arthurs appointment, he was ouertaken and in flight slaine with all his people.

The Saxons ouerthrow Colgrime and Bladulfe.

Cheldrike slaine by Cador duke of Cornwall.
K. Howell besieged by the Scots.

people. Arthur himselfe returned from this battell foughten at Bath with all speed towards the marshes of Scotland, for that he had receiued aduertisement, how the Scots had besieged Howell K. of Britaine there, as he lay sicke. Also when Cador had accomplished his enterprise and slaine Cheldrike, he returned with as much spéed as was possible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he rescued Howell, and afterwards pursued the Scots which fled before him by heaps.

Guillomer.

About the same time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotland with a mightie power of Irishmen (neere the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scots against the Britains: wherevpon Arthur turning his forces towards the same Guillomer, vanquished him, and chased him into Ireland. This doone, he continued in pursute of the Scots, till he caused them to sue for pardon, and to submit them selues wholie to him, and so receiuing them to mercie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Yorke, and shortlie after tooke

Guenhera.

to wife one Guenhera a right beautifull ladie, that was néere kinswoman to Cador earle of Cornwall.

W. Harison. 525.

In the yeere following, which some note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and discomfiting king Guillomer in battell, he constreined him to yéeld, and to acknowledge by dooing his fealtie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in those British histories, that he subdued Gothland and Iseland, with all the Iles in and about those seas. Also that he ouercame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their capteine Lucius, and wasted the most part of all France, and slue in singular combats certeine giants that were of passing force and hugenesse of stature. And if he had not béene reuoked and called home to resist his coosen Mordred, that was sonne to Loth king of Pightland that rebelled in his countrie, he had passed to Rome, intending to make himselfe emperor, and afterward to vanquish the other emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But for so much as there is not anie approoued author who dooth speake of anie such dooings, the Britains are thought to haue registered méere fables in sted of true matters, vpon a vaine desire to aduance more than reason would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen haue doone their Rouland, and diuerse others.

Gothland.

Arthur is resisted by Mordred the vsurper from arriuing in his owne land, they ioine battell, Gawaine is slaine and his death lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he is slaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the place of his buriall, his bodie digged vp, his bignesse coniecturable by his bones, a crosse found in his toome with an inscription thereupon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of hir haire, Iohn Lelands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

THE XIIJ. CHAPTER.

Rather Cerdicke as *Leland* thinketh.

KING ARTHUR at his returne into Britaine, found that Mordred had caused himselfe to be made king, & hauing alied himselfe with Cheldrike a Saxon (not him whome Galfride, as ye haue heard, supposeth to haue béene wounded & slaine before) was readie to resist his landing, so that before he could come on land, he lost manie of his men: but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and so tooke land at Sandwich, where he first arriued, and ioining in battell with his enimies, he discomfited them, but not without great losse of his people: speciallie he sore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loiall truth than néerenesse of bloud and coosenage, chose rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and louing maister, than to take part with his naturall brother in an vniust cause, and so there in the battell was slaine, togither also with Angussell, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the gouern-

ment

ment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ships sailed westward, and finallie landed in Cornwall. King Arthur caused the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as some hold opinion:) but William Malmesburie supposeth, he was buried in Wales, as after shall be shewed. The dead bodie of Angussell was conueied into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all spéed he reinforced his armie with new supplies of souldiers called out of diuerse parties, and with his whole puissance hasted forward, not resting till he came néere to the place where Mordred was incamped, with such an armie as he could assemble togither out of all parties where he had anie friends. ¶ Héere (as it appéereth by Iohn Leland, in his booke intituled, "The assertion of Arthur") it may be douted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Geffrey of Monmouth sheweth, that after Arthur had discomfited Mordred in Kent at the first landing, it chanced so that Mordred escaped and fled to Winchester, whither Arthur followed him, and there giuing him battell the second time, did also put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought eftsoones with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as some authors haue) néere vnto Glastenburie. *Gawaine buried at Douer.*

This battell was fought to such proofe, that finallie Mordred was slaine, with the more part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiuing diuers mortall wounds died of the same shortlie after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yéeres. His corps was buried at Glastenburie aforesaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillers: where it was found in the daies of king Henrie the second, about the yeere of our Lord 1191, which was in the last yéere of the reigne of the same Henrie, more than six hundred yéeres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 foot déepe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the Saxons should haue found him. But those that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had entered about seuen foot déepe into the earth, they found a mightie broad stone with a leaden crosse fastened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, conteining this inscription: *Richard Turner.*

"Hîc iacet sepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in insula Aualoniæ."

This inscription was grauen on that side of the crosse which was next to the stone: so that till the crosse was taken from the stone, it was vnséene. His bodie was found, not inclosed within a toome of marble or other stone curiouslie wrought, but within a great trée made hollowe for the nonce like a trunke, the which being found and digged vp, was opened, and therein were found the kings bones, of such maruellous bignesse, that the shinbone of his leg being set on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a verie tall man: as a moonke of that abbeie hath written, which did liue in those daies, and saw it. ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrensis (who also liued in those daies, and spake with the abbat of the place, by whom the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth, that by report of the same abbat, he learned, that the shinbone of the said Arthur being set vp by the leg of a verie tall man (the which the abbat shewed to the same Gyraldus) came aboue the knée of the same man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a great deale more likelie than the other. Furthermore the skull of his head was of a woonderfull largenesse, so that the space of his forehead betwixt his two eies was a span broad. There appéered in his head the signes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the which were growne into one wem, except onelie that whereof it should séeme he died, which being greater than the residue, appéered verie plaine. Also in opening the toome of his wife quéene Gueneuer, that was buried with him, they found the tresses of hir haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour like to the buruished gold, which being touched, immediatlie fell to dust. The abbat, which then was gouernour of the house, was named Stephan, or Henrie de Blois, otherwise de Sullie, nephue to king Henrie the second (by whose commandement he had serched for the graue of Arthur) translated the bones as well of him as of quéene Gueneuer, being so found, into the great church, and there buried them in a faire double toome of marble, laieng *Henricus Blecensis seu Solisacensis. Io. Leland.*

laieng the bodie of the king at the head of the toome, and the bodie of the quéene at his féet towards the west part. ¶ The writer of the historie of Cambria now called Wales saith, that the bones of the said Arthur, and Gueneuer his wife were found in the Ile of Aualon (that is, the Ile of Alpes) without the abbeie of Glastenbury, fiftéene féet within the ground, & that his graue was found by the meanes of a Bardh, whome the king heard at Penbroke singing the acts of prince Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.

Iohn Leland in his booke intituled Assertio Arthuri, hath for the woorthie memorie of so noble a prince, honored him with a learned epitaph, as heere followeth.

SAXONICAS toties qui fudit Marte cruento
Who vanquisht Saxon troops so oft, with battels bloudie broiles,
Turmas, & peperit spolijs sibi nomen opimis,
And purchast to himselfe a name with warlike wealthie spoiles,
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit ense,
Who hath with shiuering shining swoord, the Picts so oft dismaid,
Imposuítque iugum Scoti ceruicibus ingens:
And eke vnweldie seruile yoke on neche of Scots hath laid:
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quíque feroces
Who Frenchmen puft with pride, and who the Germans fierce in fight
Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
Discomfited, and danted Danes with maine and martiall might:
Denique Mordredum è medio qui sustulit illud
Who of that murdring Mordred did the vitall breath expell,
Monstrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, sæuúmque tyrannum,
That monster grislie, lothsome, huge, that diresome tyrant fell,
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto,
Heere liuelesse Arthur lies intoomd, within this statelie hearse,
Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:
Of chiualrie the bright renowme, and vertues nursling fearse:
Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,
Whose glorie great now ouer all the world dooth compasse flie,
Aetherijque petit sublimia tecta Tonantis.
And of the airie thunder shales the loftie building hie.
Vos igitur gentis proles generosa Britannæ,
Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and race,
Induperatori ter magno assurgite vestro,
Arise vnto your emperour great, of thrice renowmed grace,
Et tumulo sacro roseas inferte corollas,
And cast vpon his sacred toome the roseall garlands gaie,
Officij testes redolentia munera vestri.
That fragrant smell may witnesse well, your duties you displaie.

¶ These verses I haue the more willinglie inserted, for that I had the same deliuered to me turned into English by maister Nicholas Roscarocke, both right aptlie yeelding the sense, and also properlie answering the Latine, verse for verse.

Vpon

Vpon what occasion the graue of king Arthur was sought for, the follie of such discouered as beleeued that he should returne and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it be a fiction or a veritie that there was such an Arthur or no; discordance among writers about the place of Gawains buriall and Arthurs death; of queene Gueneuer the wife of king Arthur, hir beautie and dishonest life, great disagreement among writers touching Arthur and his wiues to the impeachment of the historie, of his life and death.

THE XIIIJ. CHAPTER.

THE occasion that mooued king Henrie the second to cause his nephue the foresaid abbat to search for the graue of king Arthur, was, for that he vnderstood by a Welsh minstrell or Bardh (as they call him) that could sing manie histories in the Welsh language of the acts of the ancient Britains, that in the forsaid churchyard at Glastenburie, betwixt the said two pillers the bodie of Arthur was to be found sixteene foot deepe vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth, that the tree in the which Arthurs bodie was found so inclosed, was an oke, but other suppose that it was an alder tree, bicause that in the same place a great number of that kind of trees doo grow, and also for that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder ground where moisture is, will long continue without rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur buried (as before ye haue heard) such as hitherto beleeued that he was not dead, but conueied awaie by the fairies into some pleasant place, where he should remaine for a time, and then to returne againe, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before, might well perceiue themselues deceiued in crediting so vaine a fable. But yet (where it might otherwise be doubted, whether anie such Arthur was at all, as the British histories mention, bicause neither Gyldas nor Beda in their woorks speake anie thing of him) it may appeere, the circumstances considered, that suerly such one there was of that name, hardie and valiant in armes, though not in diuerse points so famous as some writers paint him out. William Malmesburie a writer of good credit and authoritie amongst the learned, hath these woords in his first booke intituled "De regibus Anglorum," saieng: "But he being dead [meaning Vortimer] the force of the Britains waxed feeble, their decaied hope went backward apace: and euen then suerlie had they gon to destruction, if Ambrosius (who alone of the Romans remained yet aliue, and was king after Vortigerne) had not kept vnder and staied the loftie barbarous people, that is to say the Saxons, by the notable aid and assistance of the valiant Arthur."

As for example in a caue neere a water called pond perillous at Salisburie, where he and his knights should sleepe armed, till an other knight should be borne that should come and awake them. *Will. Malmes. lib. 1. de regibus Ang.*

This is the same Arthur, of whom the trifling tales of the Britains euen to this day fantasticallie doo descant and report woonders: but woorthie was he doubtlesse, of whom feined fables should not haue so dreamed, but rather that true histories might haue set foorth his woorthie praises, as he that did for a long season susteine and hold vp his countrie that was readie to go to vtter ruine and decaie, incouraging the bold harts of the Britains vnto the warre, and finallie in the siege of Badon hill, he set vpon nine hundred of the enimies, and with incredible slaughter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the English Saxons, although they were tossed with sundrie haps of fortune, yet still they renewed their bands with new supplies of their countriemen that came out of Germanie, and so with bolder courage assailed their enimies, and by little and little causing them to giue place, spread themselues ouer the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which sometime the Saxons and sometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that were slaine, the greater number of them still came ouer to the succour of their countriemen, being called in and sent for out of euerie quarter about them.

Heere is also to be noted, that where the British historie declareth, that Gawaine or Gallowine being slaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer,

Gawaine where he is buried.

Douer, so that his bones remained there to be shewed a long time after: yet by that which the foresaid William Malmesburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled "De regibus Anglorum," the contrarie maie séeme true: his woords are these. "Then (saith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Rosse, the sepulture of Gallowine was found, who was nephue to Arthur by his sister, not going out of kind from so woorthie an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Walwichia, a knight for his high prowesse most highlie renowmed, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephue of Hengist, of whome in the first booke we haue made mention, first requiting his banishment with great detriment and losse to those his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iust desert of his vncles woorthie praise, for that he staied (for a great manie yéeres) the destruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into vtter ruine and decaie. But Arthurs graue no where appéereth: yet the others tóome (as I haue said) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the sea side, and conteined in length fouretéene foot, where he was (as some say) wounded by his enimies, and cast vp by shipwracke. But other write, that he was slaine at a publike feast or banket by his owne countriemen." Thus saith William Malmesburie.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. de regib.

¶ But heere you must consider, that the said Malmesburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the second, certeine yéers before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as néedles to be controuerssed, & letting all dissonant opinions of writers passe, as a matter of no such moment that we should néed to sticke therein as in a glewpot; we will procéed in the residue of such collections as we find necessarilie pertinent to the continuation of this historie; and now we will say somewhat of quéene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foresaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that she tooke hir name of hir excellent beautie, bicause Guinne or Guenne in the Welsh toong signifieth faire, so that she was named Guennere or rather Guenlhean, euen (as you would say) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the house of one Cador earle of Cornewall before Arthur maried hir: and as it appeareth by writers, she was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & breach of faith to hir husband, in maner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie escape the venemous blast of euill toongs, and the sharpe assaults of the followers of Venus. The British historie affirmeth, that she did not onelie abuse hir selfe by vnlawfull companie with Mordred, but that also in Arthurs absence she consented to take him to husband. It is likewise found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur besieged on a time the marishes néere to Glastenburie, for displeasure that he bare to a certeine lord called Melua, who had rauished Gueneuer, and led hir into those marishes, and there did kéepe hir. Hir corps notwithstanding (as before is recited) was interred togither with Arthurs, so that it is thought she liued not long after his deceasse.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrensis affirmeth) of which the latter (saith he) was buried with him, and hir bones found with his in one sepulchre, but yet so diuided, that two parts of the toome towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the féet conteined the womans bones, apart by themselues. Here is to be remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwise of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & also that Gueneuer being taking prisoner by the Picts, was conueied into Scotland, where finallie she died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scotish chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had thrée sundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Gueneuer, as sir Iohn Price dooth auouch that he had. Now bicause of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchiued by this Arthur, and also for that some difference there is amongst them, about the time in which he should reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole historie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ But others there be of a constant beléefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that such a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into

Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.

into necessarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a spéech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the British bloud, discharging a short but yet a sharpe inuectiue against William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuseth of lieng toongs, enuious detraction, malicious slander, reprochfull and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankerd minds; for that they speake vnreuerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning those thrisenoble princes. Which defensitiue he would not haue deposed, but that he takes the monuments of their memories for vndoubted verities.

The British historics and also the Scotish chronicles doo agrée, that he liued in the daies of the emperour Iustinian, about the fiftéenth yéere of whose reigne he died, which was in the yéere of our Lord 542, as diuerse doo affirme. Howbeit some write farther from all likelihood, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled "Aurea historia" affirmeth, that in the tenth yéere of Cerdicus king of Westsaxons, Arthur the warriour rose against the Britains. Also Diouionensis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he arose in an other moneth more fierce and strong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irkesomnes, after the twelfth yéere of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage doone and fealtie receiued, the shires of Southampton and Somerset, the which countries Cerdicius named Westsaxon. This Cerdicius or Cerdicius came into Britaine about the yéere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yere after his comming hither, that is to say, about the yéere of your Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and gouerned them as king by the space of 15 yéeres, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the course of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we must allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and so procéed.

542.

Aurea historia. I. Leland.

Westsaxon.

The decaie of christian religion and receiuing of the Pelagian heresie in Britaine by what meanes they were procured and by whom redressed: Constantine succeedeth Arthur in the kingdome, ciuill warre about succession to the crowne, the chalengers are pursued and slaine, Constantine is vnkindlie killed of his kinsman, a bitter and reprochfull inuectiue of Gyldas against the British rulers of his time, and namelie against Constantine, Conan that slue Constantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yeeres regiment, the seuere reprehensions of Gyldas uttered against Conan, discouering the course of his life, and a secret prophesie of his death.

THE XV CHAPTER.

IN this meane while that the realme was disquieted with sore & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons (as before ye haue heard) the christian religion was not onelie abolished in places where the Saxons got habitations, but also among the Britains the right faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian heresie, which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie persons. But Dubritius that was first bishop of Landaffe, and after archbishop of Caerleon Arwiske, and his successour Dauid, with other learned men earnestlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cause, to the confuting of those errors, and restablishing of the truth.

The heresie of the Pelagians reuiued, *Hist. Mag.*

Dubritius & Dauid lerned bishops.

AFTER the death of Arthur, his coosine Constantine the sonne of Cador, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yéere of the emperour Iustinianus almost ended, the 29 of Childebert king of

CONSTANTINE.

542.

Galfrid. Matth. West. of France, and the first yéere well néere complet of the reigne of Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he shuld die, ordeined this Constantine to succéed him, and so by the consent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the sonnes of Mordred sore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iust title and claime of inheritance to them from their father descended. Herevpon followed Ciuill warre. ciuill warre, so that diuers battels were striken betwéene them and in the end the two brethren were constreined to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Winchester: but Constantine pursuing them, first came to Winchester, and by force entered the citie, and slue the one brother that was fled thither within the church of saint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie also, and finding the other brother within a church there, slue him in like maner as he had doone the other. And so hauing dispatched his aduersaries, he thought to haue purchased to himselfe safetie: but shortlie after, his owne kinsman, one Aurelius Conanus arrered warre against him, who ioining with him in battell slue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yéeres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beside his ancestour Vter Pendragon.

Aurelius Conanus. Constantine slaine.

Gyldas. Of this Constantine that seemeth to be ment, which Gyldas writeth in his booke intituled "De excidio Britanniæ," where inueieng against the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: "Britaine hath kings, but the same be tyrants; iudges it hath, but they be wicked, oftentimes péeling and harming the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whom? such as be guiltie persons and robbers; hauing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes swearing, and yet forswearing themselues; vowing, and for the more part lieng; warring, but mainteining ciuill & vniust warres; pursuing indéed théeues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not onelie cherishing those that sit euen at table with them, but also highlie rewarding them: giuing almesse largelie, but on the other part heaping vp a mightie mount of sinnes; sitting in the seat of sentence, but seldome séeking the rule of righteous iudgement; despising the innocent and humble persons, and exalting so farre as in them lieth, euen vp to the heauens, most bloudie and proud murtherers, théeues and adulterers, yea the verie professed enimies of God; if he would so permit: kéeping manie in prison, whome they oppresse, in loding them with irons, through craft rather to serue their owne purpose, than for anie gilt of the persons so imprisoned: taking solemne oths before the altars, and shortlie after, despising the same altars as vile and filthie stones.

"Of this hainous and wicked offense Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the lionesse of Deuonshire is not ignorant, who this yeare, after the receiuing of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himselfe that in no wise he should hurt his subiects (God first, and then his oth, with the companie of saints, and his mother being there present) did notwithstanding in the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church, and their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holie abbat, deuoure with sword and speare in stead of téeth, the tender sides, yea and the entrailes of two children of noble and kinglie race, and likewise of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I said) amongest the sacred altars: the armies of which persons so slaine, not stretched foorth to defend themselues with weapons (the which few in those daies handled more valiantlie than they) but stretched foorth (I saie) to God and to his altar in the day of iudgement, shall set vp the reuerent ensignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Christ, which so haue couered the seat of the celestiall sacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their cluttered bloud.

"These things he did not after anie good déeds doone by him deseruing praise: for manie yeares before, ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, & forsaking his lawfull wife contrarie to the lawes of God, &c: he now brought foorth this crime of quelling his owne kinsmen, and violating the church, but neither being loosed from the snares of his former euills, he increaseth the new with the old." ¶ Thus in effect hath Gyldas written of this Constantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he reproueth him of his faults, and counselleth him to repent.

CONANUS.

546.

AFTER that Aurelius Conanus had slaine the foresad Constantine, as in the British histories is mentioned, the same Conan was made king of Britaine in the yeare of our Lord 546, in the 20 yeare of Iustinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Childebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by some writers) was of a noble heart, frée and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of strife and discord amongst his people, light of credit, and namelie had an open eare to receiue and heare the reports of such as accused other. Moreouer he was noted of crueltie, as he that tooke his vncle, who of right should haue béene king, and kept him in prison, and not so satisfied slue in tyrannous maner the two sons of his said vncle. But God would not suffer him long to inioy the rule of the land in such vniust dealing, for he died after he had reigned the space of two yeares, and left a sonne behind him called Vortiporus, which succéeded him in the kingdome, as authors doo record. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gyldas writeth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predecessor Constantine, saieng in this wise: "And thou lions whelpe, as saith the prophet, Aurelius Conanus what doost thou? Art thou not swallowed vp in the filthie mire of murthering thy kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries like to the other before mentioned, if not more deadlie, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching seas ouerwhelming thée with hir vnmercifull rage? Dooest thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a deadlie serpent, and thirsting after ciuill wars and spoiles (oftentimes vniustlie gotten) shut vp against thy soule the gates of celestiall peace and refreshment? Thou being left alone as a withering trée in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I praie thée) the vaine youthfull fantasie and ouertimelie death of thy fathers and thy brethren. Shalt thou being set apart, and chosen foorth of all thy linage for thy godlie deserts, be reserued to liue an hundred yeares, or remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methusalem? No no." And after these reprehensions, with further threatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhorted him to amendment of life, and so proceedeth to talke with Vortiporus, whome he nameth the king, or rather the tyrant of Southwales, as after shall be rehearsed.

Matth. West. writeth that he reigned 30. yeares.

The beginning of the kingdome of Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mertia, and west Saxons descended, Ida the Saxon commended, the originall of the kingdome of Deira, the circuit and bounds therof, of Ella the gouernour of the same, when the partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquisheth the Saxons; Gyldas sharplie reproueth Vortiporus for manie greeuous offenses, and exhorteth him to amendement.

THE XVI. CHAPTER.

IDA.

547.

IN the yeare of the Lord 547, which was about the first yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Brenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, & descended of Woden. For where the said Woden had three sonnes, Weldecius, Withlegris, and Beldecius; of the first, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the second, the kings of Mertia: and of the third sonne came the kings of Westsaxon, and also of him was this Ida descended, being the ninth in lineall succession from the said Beldecius and the tenth from Woden. The same Ida was vndoubtedlie a right noble personage, and changed first that dukedome into a kingdome, where before that time the Saxons that ruled there, were subiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he tooke vpon him of his owne accord to vsurpe the kinglie title and roiall authoritie, or whether that the same was giuen to him by consent of other, the certeintie appeareth not. But sure it is, that he being a woorthie prince, did not degenerate from his noble ancestors inuincible in warre abroad and at home, qualifieng his

H. Hunt. The kingdom of Brenitia began.

his kinglie seueritie with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is said) Brenitia, began in the south at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the north at the Forth in Scotland, in the British toong called Werd.

ELLA. 561.

The beginning of the kingdome of Deira.

ABOUT the same time, or rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon also reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the said riuer of Tine in the north, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the south. These two kingdomes were sometime gouerned by two seuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Northumberland, which in processe of time was much inlarged, so that it included the shires of Yorke, Notingham, Darbie, Lancaster, the bishoprike of Durham, Copland, and other countries betwixt the east and the west seas, euen vnto the riuer of Mersie. The foresaid Ella was sonne to Iffus, being descended from Woden, as the 12 in succession from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the same Malmesburie dooth testifie) reigned 14 yeares.

The riuer of Mersie.

Matth. West. Now Ella who was successor to Ida (as he saith) reigned thirtie yeares, and verie valiantlie inlarged his kingdome. But one author writeth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the castell of Bamburge, first fensing it with pales, and after with a wall of stone. The same Ida had by his wife six sonnes, begotten in lawfull bed, Ada, Ebric, Theodoric, Athelric, Osmer, and Theofred. Moreouer he begat of certeine concubines (which he kept) six bastard sonnes, Oga, Aleric, Ettha, Osbale, Segor, and Segother. These came altogither into this land, and arriued at Flemesburke with fortie ships, as Matthæus Westmonasteriensis hath recorded. The partition of the kingdome of Northumberland chanced after the deceasse of Ida, as the same author signifieth: for Ada the sonne of the foresaid Ida succéeded his father in the kingdome of Brenitia, reigning therein seuen yeares: and Ella the sonne of Histria, a most valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the said Matth. Westm. and others doo affirme.

Hov. Hunt.

Matt. West.

VORTIPORUS. *Matth. West.* noteth 578.

VORTIPORUS the sonne of Aurelius Conanus succeeded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 576, in the 11, yeare of the emperour Flauius Anicius Iustinus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Childeric king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothish king in Italie. This Vortiporus vanquished the Saxons in battell, as the British histories make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and subiects the Britains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foresaid Ella began to rule in the south part of the kingdome of Northumberland called Deira, as before is mentioned, according to the account of some authors, who also take this Vortiporus to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Vortiporus had ruled the Britans the space of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no issue behind him to succéed him in the kingdome.

Matth. West. noteth 3 yeares.

Against this Vortiporus Gyldas also whetting his toong, beginneth with him thus: "And why standest thou as one starke amazed? Thou (I say) Vortiporus the tyrant of Southwales, like to the panther in maner and wickednesse diuerslie spotted as it were with manie colors, with thy hoarie head in thy throne, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled euen from the lowest part of thy bodie to the crowne of thy head, with diuers & sundrie murthers committed on thine owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus prooouing a naughtie sonne of a good king, as Manasses was to Ezechias. How chanceth it that the violent streames of sinnes which thou swallowest vp like pleasant wine, or rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing néere) can not yet satisfie the? What meanest thou that with fornication of all euills, as it were the full heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by hir honest death dooest oppresse thy soule with a certeine burthen that can not be auoided, of thine vnshamefast daughter? Consume not (I pray thée) the residue of thy daies to the offense of God, &c." These and the like woords vttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the scriptures both for his comfort and warning.

¶ If

¶ If the circumstance of this that Gyldas writeth of Vortiporus be marked, it may be perceiued, that Geffrey of Monmouth, and also Matthew of Westminster, the author of the floures of histories, are deceiued, in that they take him to be the sonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered, that not onlie the same Aurelius Conanus and Vortiporus, but also Constantinus, yea & Cuneglasus, and Maglocunus, of the which he also intreateth (as partlie shall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned all at one time in seuerall parts of this Ile, and not as monarchs of the whole British nation, but as rulers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as the state of Ireland hath béene in times past before the countrie came vnder the English subiection, if my coniecture herein doo not deceiue me.

Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the noble qualities wherewith he was beautified by his filthie sinnes are blemished, Gyldas reproueth Cuneglasus for making warre against God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offenses, the vile iniquities whereunto the British rulers were inclined, the valiantnesse of Kenrike king of the Westsaxons, his victories against diuers people his enimies, succession in the gouernment of the Westsaxons, Northumberland, and Kentish Saxons; the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons in this Iland, Cheuling with his Westsaxons encounter with the Britains and get the vpper hand, three kings of the Britains slaine, and their people spoiled of their lands, goods and liues.

THE XVII. CHAPTER.

MALGO. *Matth. West.* hath noted 581. 580.

AFTER the deceasse of Vortiporus, Malgo the nephue of Aurelius Conanus (as some write) was made king of Britaine, & began his reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yéere of our Lord 580, in the fiftéenth yéere of the emperour Iustinian, and in the 37 yéere of the reigne of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to haue béene the comelicst gentleman in beautie and shape of personage that was to be found in those daies amongst all the Britains, and therewith of a bold and hardie courage. He manfullie defended the country which he had in gouernance from the malice of the Saxons, and subdued the out Iles, as Orkenie and others. But notwithstanding the noble qualities with the which his person was adorned, yet he spotted them all with the filthie sinne of Sodomie, so that he fell into the hatred of almightie God, and being pursued of the Saxons, receiued manie ouerthrowes at their hands, as by the report of the English writers is gathered more at large. Finallie, when he had reigned fiue yéeres and od moneths, he departed this life. *Gal. Mon.*

It séemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Maglocunus, the which Gyldas (before he speaketh of him) inueieth against one Cuneglasus, whome he reproueth, for that he warred both against God and man: against God with grieuous sinnes, as namelie adulterie, in forsaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and kéeping to concubine a sister of hirs, that had professed chastitie: & against man with materiall armor and weapons, which he vsed to the destruction of his owne countrimen, with whom he kept warres, and not against the enimies of the common wealth. *Matt. Westm.* counteth not past fiue yeres to his reigne though other affirme that he reigned 35 yéeres.

From Cuneglasus he commeth to the foresaid Maglocunus, whome he nameth the dragon of the Iles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onelie out of their kingdoms, but also out of life, the last of whom he treateth (as he himselfe saith) but the first in all mischéefe & euill, greater than manie in power, and likewise in malice: verie liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in sinne, strong and valiant in arms, but stronger in destruction of his owne soule. And so procéeding, chargeth him with the sinne of the Sodomits, & sore blameth him, for that where it had pleased God to make him higher than all other dukes of Britaine

in kingdome and degrée, he did not shew himselfe better, but contrarilie far woorse than they both in maners and conditions. He declareth also a little after, that this Maglocune in his yoong yéeres slue in battell his vncle being king, with the most valiant souldiers in maner that he had. Also that where the said Maglocune tooke vpon him the profession of a moonke, he after renounced the same, and became a woorsse liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and kéeping his brothers sonnes wife, while hir husband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gyldas writeth of the kings and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickednesse, and namélie to ciuill dissention, rapine, adulterie, and fornication: so that it may be thought, that GOD stirred vp the Saxons to be a scourge to them, and to worke his iust vengeance vpon them for their wickednesses and abhominable offenses dailie cõmitted against his diuine maiestie, so that we find recorded by writers, how that the Saxons in diuers conflicts against the Britains had the better, and also tooke from them diuers townes, as alreadie partly hath beene and also hereafter shall be shewed.

559. It is furthermore to be remembred, that about the 14 yeere of the Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Christ 559, Kenrike king of the West-saxons, departed this life, after he had reigned xxv. yéeres complet. This Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers battels against the Britains. In the 18 yeere of his reigne which was the 551 of Christ, we find that he fought against them, being come at that time vnto Salisburie, and after great slaughter made on both parts, at length the victorie remained with the Saxons, and the Britains were chased. Againe in the two and twentith yéere of his reigne, and 555 yéere of Christ, the same Kenrike and his sonne Cheuling fought with a great power of Britains at Branburie.

Hen. Hunt.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, thrée in the battell, and thrée in the rere ward, with their horssemen and archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entire battell, valiantlie assailed them, and notwithstanding the shot of the Britains, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handblowes, till at length by the comming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (saith Henrie archdeacon of Huntington) sith the Saxons were men of huge stature, great force & valiant courage. The same yéere that Kenrike deceassed, Ida the king of Northumberland also died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiant prince, & inlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Corran king of Scots.

560. Also about the yéere of Christ 560, Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britains) Irmenrike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succéeded him 52 yéeres. Then after that the foresaid thrée princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succéeded them in their estates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his sonne Ceaulinus or Cheuling succéeded in gouernement of the Westsaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmenrike followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentish Saxons.

Hen. Hunt.

This Ethelbert, in processe of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the begining of his reigne he had but sorie successe against some of his enimies: for hauing to doo with the foresaid Cheuling king of Westsaxons, he was of him ouercome in battell at Wilbasdowne, where he lost two of his dukes or cheefe capteins, beside other people. This was the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one against another within this land, after their first comming into the same. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the second yéere of the emperour Iustinus.

Alias Wiphandune.

570. ABOUT the yéere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & tooke from them 4 townes, Liganbrough, Eglesbrough or Ailesburie, Besington, and Euesham. Also about the yéere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheuling incountered with the Britains at a place called Diorth, and obteining the vpper hand,

CUTHA.
Ailesburie.
561.

hand, tooke from them the cities of Bath, Glocester, and Cirencester. At this battell fought at Diorth, were present three kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coinmagil, Candidan, and Farinnagill, which were slaine there through the permission of almightie God as then refusing his people, the which through their heinous sinnes and great wickednesses, had most greeuouslie offended his high and diuine maiestie, as by Gyldas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the priest to the Leuit, so that not one estate among them walked vprightlie, but contrarie to dutie was gone astray, by reason whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enimies.

Also in the latter end of Malgos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his successor Careticus, Cheuling and his sonne Cutwine fought with the Britains at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or (as some bookes haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was slaine, & the Englishmen chased: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chasing the Britains, tooke from them manie countries, and wan great riches by the spoile. But Matth. West. saith, that the victorie aboad with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the field. The Scotish writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue béene the 49 successiuelie possessing the regiment of that land, partlie with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whome he tenderlie loued, and partlie with age [for he was growne horieheaded, and had reigned 34 yéeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Brudeus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the said Aidan a sore battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Deglaston, where this battell was made, and the forces of both sides by a sharpe incounter tried.

His brother as *Matt. West.* saith.

H. Hunt.

Matt. West.

The begining of the kingdome of Mercia, the bounds of the same, the heptarchie or seuen regiments of the Saxons, how they grew to that perfection, and by whom they were reduced and drawne into a monarchie; Careticus is created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the ciuill dissentions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterprise, Gurmundus king of the Africans arriueth in Britaine, the British king is driuen to his hard shifts, the politike practise of Gurmundus in taking Chichester & setting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onelie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decaie, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulings death is conspired of his owne subiects.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

ABOUT the same time also, and 585 of Christ, the kingdome of Mercia began vnder one Crida, who was descended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great distance, hauing on the east the sea vnto Humber, and so on the north the said riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which fall th into the west sea at the corner of Wirhall, and so comming about to the riuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same riuer bounded it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seuerne vp to Bristow: on the south it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sort it conteined Lincolneshire, Notingamshire, Derbishire, Chesshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Glocestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Herteford-shire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Warwikeshire.

CRIDA. *H. Hunt.* This kingdome began in the yéere 585. as *Matt. Westm.* saith. *Ran. Cest.*

¶ Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in processe of time remouing the Britains out of their seats, dailie wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seuen kingdoms, which were gouerned by seuen seuerall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after shall appeere. Matth. Westmin. reckoneth eight kingdoms as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Sussex, the kingdom of Essex, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Westsex, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: wherevnto W. Harison addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

CARETICUS. 586.

AFTER that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as some write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 586, which was in the third yéere of the emperour Mauricius, and thirteenth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of ciuill warre and dissention amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man, as writers testifie. The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in partakings, so as one was readie to deuoure an other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conquests, and ceassed not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had constreined them for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as some haue written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conquest of the land, sent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a king of the Affricans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them against the Britains.

Gal. Mon. See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland. *Ranulf. Cest.*

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Turgesius to pursue the conquest of Ireland, came and arriued heere in Britaine, making such cruell warre in aid of the Saxons against the Britains, that Careticus was constreined to kéepe him within the citie of Chicester or Cirencester, and was there besieged, and at length by continuall assaults and skirmishes, when he had lost manie of his men, he was glad to forsake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Gurmundus tooke Cirencester or Chichester, and destroied it in most cruell maner. Some write, that he tooke this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the féet of sparrowes which his people had caught, certeine clewes of thred or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, so that the sparrowes being suffered to go out of hand, flue into the towne to lodge themselues within their neasts which they had made in stacks of corne, and eues of houses, so that the towne was thereby set on fire, and then the Britains issuing foorth, fought with their enimies, and were ouercome and discomfited.

But whilest the battell continued, Careticus stale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foresaid Gurmundus destroied this land throughout in pitifull wise, and then deliuered it in possession to the Saxons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and because they were descended of those that first came ouer with Hengist, they changed the name of the land, and called it Hengistland, accordinglie as the same Hengist had in times past ordeined: the which name after for shortnesse of spéech was somewhat altered, and so lastlie called England, and the people Englishmen. But rather it may be thought, that sith a great part of those people which came ouer into this land out of Germanie with the said Hengist, and other capteins, were of those Englishmen which inhabited Germanie, about the parts of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had first got habitation within it: and so both the land and people tooke name of them, being called *Angli*, a long time before they entered into this Ile, (as before is shewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But now to returne where we left.

Matt. West.

It should séeme that this historie of Gurmundus is but some fained

Of this Gurmundus the old English writers make no mention, nor also anie ancient authors of forren parties: and yet saith the British booke, that after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the Saxons, he passed ouer into France, and there destroied much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of Christ. For which consideration he was the more

readie to come to the aid of the Saxons, who as yet had not receiued the christian faith, but warred against the Britains, as well to destroie the faith of Christ within this land, as to establish to themselues continuall habitations in the same. There be, that omitting to make mention of Germundus, write thus of the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that time, when with their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

tale except it may be that he was some Dane, Norwegian or Germane.

In the yéere of Grace 586, Careticus a louer of ciuill warre succéeded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whose inconstancie when the English and Saxon kings perceiued, with one consent they rose against him, and after manie battels chased him from citie to citie, till at length incountering with him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Héerevpon clerks and priests were driuen out of their places with bright swoords brandishing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the same were consumed. The remnant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the west parts of the land, that is to say, into Cornwall, and into Wales, out of which countries they oftentimes brake out, and made insurrections vpon the Saxons, the which in maner aforsaid got possession of the chiefest parts of the land, leauing to the Britains onlie three prouinces, that is to say, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not easie to be woone, by reason of the thicke woods inuironed with déepe mareshes and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mounteins. 586. *Matt. West.*

The English and Saxon kings hauing thus remooued the Britains, inlarged the bounds of their dominions. There reigned in that season within this land, beside the Britaine kings, eight kings of the English and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Cissa in Sussex, Ceauline in Westsex, Creda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Essex, Titila in Estangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this sort the Britains lost the possession of the more part of their ancient seats, and the faith of Christ thereby was greatlie decaied: for the churches were destroied; and the archbishops of Caerleon Arwiske, London and Yorke withdrew togither with their cleargie into the mounteins and woods within Wales, taking with them the reliks of saints, doubting the same should be destroied by the enimies, and themselues put to death if they should abide in their old habitations. Manie also fled into Britaine Armorike with a great fléete of ships, so that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left desolate in that season, to the great hinderance and decaie of the christian religion. Careticus was driuen into Wales (as before is rehearsed) about the second or third yéere of his reigne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceassed not to indamage the Saxons from time to time as occasion still serued.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were gouerned afterwards by three kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceased not with ciuill warre to seeke others destruction, till finallie (as saith the British booke) they became all subiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Beda nameth Cedwallo. In the meane time, Ceaulinus or Cheuling king of the Westsaxons, through his owne misgouernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practised, did procure not onelie the Britains, but also his owne subiects to conspire his death, so that ioining in battell with his aduersaries at Wodensdic, in the 33 yeare of his reigne, his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe constreined to depart into exile, and shortlie after ended his life before he could find meanes to be restored. *Will. Malm.*

¶ So that we haue here a mirror or liuelie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no lesse ods in the manner of their gouernement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their states. For he seeth but little into the knowledge of toongs, that vnderstandeth not what the office of a king should be, by the composition of his name, the same sounding in Gréeke *βάσιλευς*, which being resolued is in effect *βάσις λάϑ*, that is, the foundation or stay of the people; from which qualitie when he resulteth, he maketh shipwracke of that goodlie title, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which violent and inforced gouernement as there is none more perillous, so is it of all other the least in continuance: this is prooued by historicall obseruation through the course of this historie.

Ceolric

Ceolric reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, the Saxons and Britains incounter, Ethelbert king of Kent subducth the Englishsaxons, he is maried to the French kings daughter vpon conditions of religion, the king imbraceth the gospell, Augustine the moonke and others were sent into this Ile to preach the christian faith, the occasion that moued Gregorie the great to send him, buieng and selling of boies, the Englishmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert causeth Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient seat and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the maner of their going thither and their behauiour there, the king and his people receiue the christian faith, and are baptised.

THE XIX. CHAPTER.

CELRIC. NOW after Cheuling, his nephue Celricus or Ceolric that was sonne vnto Cutwine, the sonne of the foresaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Westsaxons fiue yeares & fiue moneths. In like manner the same yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome succéeded Ethelricus the sonne of Ida, and reigned but fiue yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About thrée yeeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Wodenesbourne, where the Britains being ranged in good order, the Saxons set vpon them boldlie indéed, but disorderedlie, so that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had shewed themselues in battell, before that time, so much the more slow and vntowardlie did they shew themselues now in running awaie to saue themselues, so that an huge number of them were slaine. Also about
594. the same time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his sonne Wibbas or Wipha succeeded. And after the deceasse of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride surnamed the wild, succeeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpose.

Beda. Will. Malmes. Ethelbert king of Kent, not discouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occasioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, prooued so perfect a maister therein, that in processe of time he subdued by force of armes all those English Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Also to haue friendship in forraine parts, he procured a wife for himselfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheriberts daughter of France; but with condition, that he should permit hir to continue and vse the rites and lawes of christian faith and religion, and to haue a bishop whose name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with hir here in this land for hir better instruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vsing to serue God in praiers and otherwise, according to the custome of the christian religion, began vndoubtedlie to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkned with the clouds of paganisme, so as the bright beames of the celestiall cléerenes of vnderstanding remooued the thicke mists of his vnbeléefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the gospell, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occasion, and in maner as followeth.

Beda. Matth. West. saith 596. 47 saith he same author. In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Mauricius, and after the comming of the English Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almost complet, the bishop of Rome, Gregorie the first of that name, and surnamed Magnus, sent Augustinus a moonke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the christian faith vnto the English Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the gospell. And here we hold it necessarie to shew how it is recorded by diuers writers, that the first occasion whereby Gregorie was mooued thus to send Augustine into this land, rose by this meanes.

Beda. Will. Malmes. It chanced (whilest the same Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the sée of Rome) certeine yoong boies were brought thither to bee sold out of Northumberland, according to the

the accustomable vse of that countrie, in somuch that as we haue in our time séene (saith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to sell awaie their néere kinsfolke for a small price. When those children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reason of their excellent beauties and comelie shape of lims and bodie, turned the eies in maner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie also came amongst other to behold them, and when he considered and well viewed their faire skins, their swéet visages, and beautifull bushes of their bright and yeallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came? Vnto whome answere was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aspect. Then he asked whether the men of that countrie were christians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenish errors? Wherevnto it was answered, that they were not christened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a déepe sigh, said: Ah, alas that the author of darkenesse dooth as yet possesse men of so brightsome countenances, and that with the grace of such faire shining visages, they beare about minds void of inward grace. *Vita Gregorii magni.*

"Moreouer he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto answere was made, that they were called Angli, that is to say Englishmen. Right woorthilie (saith he) for they haue angels faces, and such as ought to be made fellow-heires with angels in heauen. Then asked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (said he) they are to be deliuered "De ira dei," that is to say, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Christ our Lord. What name (said he) hath the king of that prouince? Wherevnto answere was made that he was called Alla, whereupon alluding to that name, he said, Alleluia ought to be soong in those parts to the praise and honor of God the creator."

Herevpon comming to Benedict the first of that name (as then bishop of Rome) he required him that some learned men might be sent into England to preach the gospell vnto the Englishmen, offering himselfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant his request, yet the Romans had him in such estimation, that they would not consent that he should depart so farre from the citie, so that by them he was at that time staied of that his godlie purpose. Howbeit when he came to be bishop, he thought to performe it though not by himselfe, yet by other: and so Augustine and his fellowes were sent by him about it (as before is said.) By the way, as they were passing in their iournie, such a sudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as some write) they returned all. Others write, that Augustine was sent backe to Gregorie, to sue that they might be released of that voiage so dangerous and vncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie perswasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all what so euer his néede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords woorke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare. *Pelagius the second, Will. Malmes.* *Pelagius.* *M. Pa.*

"*Gregorie the seruant of Gods seruants, to the seruants of our Lord.*

"For as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all fernent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and feruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also

also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humblie obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almightie God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you togither. The Lord God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our souereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire."

Thus emboldned and comforted through the good woords and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and speeding foorth their iournie, first arriued at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Iulie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which diuerse were interpretors, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifieng the occasion of their comming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of anie house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder anie roofe with them, sore doubting to be bewitched by them, being persuaded that they were practised in nigromancie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the diuell (as they said) but by the might and power of almightie God, bearing in stéed of a banner a crosse of siluer, and an image of our Lord and Sauiour painted in a table, and thereto singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the euerlasting preseruation of themselues, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The seuenfold letanies of S. Gregorie were not yet deuised.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the woord of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their woords and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new & vncerteine to him that had béen brought vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashlie assent to their admonitions, & leaue that beléefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept: but (said he) because ye haue trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beléeue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and haue harbrough, with all things sufficient found vnto you for your maintenance and sustentation: neither will we hinder you, but that ye may by preaching associat and ioine as manie of our subiects as you can vnto your law and beléefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the citie of Canturburie, which was the head citie of all his dominion. It is said that as they approched the citie according to their maner, they had a crosse borne before them, with an image of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, "Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus: Alleluia." *That is to say,* We beseech thee ô Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we haue sinned. Praise be to thee ô Lord.—After they were receiued into Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles vsed in the primitiue church, that is to say, exercising themselues in continuall praier, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldlie things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onelie of them (whome they taught) things necessarie for the sustenance of their life, & liuing in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing their minds readie to suffer in patience all aduersities what so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the confirming of that which they now preached. Herevpon, manie of the English people beléeued and were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the simplicitie of those men, and the swéetenesse of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church néere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilest the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the quéene, being (as we haue said) a christian, vsed to make hir praiers. To this church Austine and his fellowes at their first comming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praie, to saie masse, to preach and to baptise, till at length the king being

Beda. Matth. West.

The christian faith receiued of the Englishmen.

being conuerted, granted them licence to preach in euerie place, and to build and restore churches where they thought good. After that the king being persuaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to giue eare vnto the preaching of the gospell, and renouncing their heathenish beléefe, became christians, in so much that as Gregorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauiour 597, and the first indiction. *Lib. 7. cap. 26.*

¶ Some write how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospell amongst them that inhabited about Yorke (as some write) which affirme, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the riuer of Suale, which (as W. Harison saith) cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death of Gregorie. But to procced. *Polychron.*

Religion is not to be inforced but perswaded and preached, Augustine is made archbishop of England, Gregorie informeth Augustine of certeine ordinances to be made and obserued in the new English church, as the reuenewes of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of mariage, of ecclesiasticall discipline and ordeining of bishops: trifling questions obiected by Augustine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are sent ouer to assist Augustine in his ministerie, he receiueth his pall, reformation must be doone by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuersion to christianitie.

THE XX. CHAPTER.

KING Ethelbert reioised at the conuersion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptised, but onelie shewed by his behauiour, that he fauored those that beléeued more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had instructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Christ ought not to be inforced, but to come of good will. Moreouer he prouided for Augustine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gaue them necessarie reuenewes in possession for their maintenance. After that the faith of Christ was thus receiued of the English men, Augustine went into France, and there of the archbishop of Arles named Etherius was ordeined archbishop of the English nation, according to the order prescribed by Gregorie before the departure of the said Augustine from Rome. *Beda. lib. 1. cap. 26. and 27.* Augustine ordeined archbishop of the English nation.

After his returne into Britaine, he sent Laurence a priest, and Péeter a moonke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the bishop, how the Englishmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbishop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the woorke prospered vnder his hand as it had doone. He also required to haue Gregories aduice touching certeine ordinances to be made and obserued in the new church of England. Wherevpon Gregorie, sending backe the messengers, wrote an answere vnto all his demands. And first touching the conuersation of archbishops with the clergie, and in what sort the church goods ought to be imploied, he declared that the ancient custome of the apostolike see was to giue commandement vnto bishops ordeined, that the profits and reuenewes of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the first should be appointed to the bishop and his familie for the maintenance of hospitalitie: the second should be assigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imploied vpon repairing of temples. Laurence a priest. The reuenewes of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.

And whereas in the church of Rome one custome in saieng masse or the liturgie was obserued, and another custome in France; concerning such church seruice, Gregorie aduised Liturgie. Church seruice.

uised Austine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might most please the almightie God, he should diligentlie choose it out, and instruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he should gather foorth of the said churches: for the things are not loued for the places sake, but the places for the things sake. Also for punishing of such as had stolen things out of churches, so néere as might be, the offendor should be chastised in charitie, so as he might know his fault, and (if it were possible) restore the thing taken away.

Such as did steale.

Mariages.

And touching degrées in mariage, Englishmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degrée without reprehension, and if any vnlawfull mariages were found amongst the Englishmen, as if the sonne had maried the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wise to absteine, and vnderstand it to be a gréeuous sinne: yet should they not for that thing be depriued of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, least those things might séeme to be punished in them wherein they had offended (before their conuersion to the christian faith) by ignorance: for at this season the church (saith he) correcteth some things of a feruent earnestnesse, suffreth some things of a gentle mildnes, and dissembleth some things of a prudent consideration, and so beareth and winketh at the same, that oftentimes the euill which she abhorreth by such bearing and dissembling, is restreined and reformed.

Discipline of the church.

Ordeining of bishops.

Moreouer touching the ordeining of bishops, he would they should be so placed, that the distance of place might not be a let, but that when a bishop should be consecrated, there might be three or foure present. Also touching the bishops of France, he willed Augustine in no wise to intermeddle with them, otherwise than by exhortation and good admonition to be giuen, but not to presume anie thing by authoritie, sith the archbishop of Arles had receiued the pall in times past, whose authoritie he might not diminish, least he should séeme to put his sickle into another mans haruest. But as for the bishops of Britaine, he commanded them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholesome persuasions strengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a woman with child might be baptised, and she that was deliuered after 33 daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a womanchild, should be purified, but yet might she enter the church before, if she would.

Women with child.

Matters in question about trifles.

The residue of Augustines demands consisted in these points, to wit:

1 Within what space a child should be christened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death?

2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after she was brought to bed?

3 Whether a woman, hauing hir floures, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?

4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was washed with water?

5 Whether after pollusion by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a priest, whether he might say masse?

To these questions Gregorie maketh answere at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breefenesse we passe ouer. He sent also at that time with the messengers aforesaid, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Augustine in the haruest of the Lord. The names of the chiefest were these, Melitus, Iustus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus. He sent allso the pall, which is the ornament of an archbishop, with vessels and apparell which should be vsed in churches by the archbishop and other ministers. He sent also with the pall other letters to Augustine, to let him vnderstand what number of bishops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Also after that Melitus, and the other before mentioned persons were departed from Rome, he sent a letter vnto the same Melitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter concerning the churches of England, wherein he confesseth that manie things are permitted to be vsed of the people latelie brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue

Assistance to Augustine. The pall.

Bearing with them that had newlie receiued

resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that coueteth to the highest place, goeth vp by steps and not by leaps. the faith, whereof superstition grew and increased.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he vnderstood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioising to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he aduised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no ioy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect worketh miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time vnto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Iulie, in the yéere of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yeere of the emperour Mauricius. Moreouer he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatlie commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of almightie God. Miracles. 602.

What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergimen to the supportation of the church, the building of Paules in London and saint Peters in Westminster vncerteine, a prouinciall councell called by Augustine, he restoreth a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie weaned from their old custome of beliefe, an heremits opinion of Augustine, he requireth three things to be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bishops at London and Rochester; Sabert reigneth ouer the Eastsaxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

THE XXJ. CHAPTER.

THUS farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of conuerting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadiutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie procéed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and déeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his sée appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had béene erected there in times past by certeine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Sauiour. He also began the foundation of a monasterie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbie was called saint Austins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Laurence, after he was dead. *Beda.* One Peter was the first Abbat.

Moreouer, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latelie had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the Eastsaxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrews in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others haue written that it was built by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the Eastsaxons. *Ran. Higd.* *Beda.* *Ran. Higd.* Westminster church builded.

Eastsaxons. This church was either newlie built, or greatlie inlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monasterie, and verie richlie indowed the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowne with vnderwoods, as thornes and brambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. ¶ Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, tooke woonderfull increase within a short time.

Ran. Cest. Beda. Sigebertus. ann. 19. Mauricij imperatoris.

In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a councell to be called at a place in the confines of the Westsaxons, which place long after was called Austines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sées, and an archbishops sée, wherein sat verie godlie & right religious prelats, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the vse of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to mooue them to agrée with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to proone his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blind.

A synod. Austines oke. Gulfrid. lib. 8. cap. 4.

Beda lib. 2. ca. 2.

The Britains that were present, mooued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without consent and licence of their nation. Whereupon they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, speciallie of the famous monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that councell, came first to a certeine wise man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer; "If he be the man of God, follow him." Then said they; "How shall we proone whether he be so or not?" Then said he: "The Lord saith, Take vp my yoke and learne of me, for I am méeke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beléeued that he also beareth the yoke of Christ, and offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not méeke but proud, it is certeine that he is not of GOD, nor his woord to be regarded." "And how shall we sée and perceiue that (said they?)" "Find meanes (said he) that he maie first come to the place of the synod with those of his side, and if he arise to receiue you at your comming, then know that he is the seruant of God, and obey him; but if he despise you, and arise not towards you, whereas you be more in number, let him be despised of you."

Another synod.

The monasterie of Bangor. Abbat Dionoth.

The answer of a godlie man touching Austine the Englishmens apostle.

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Augustine sitting in his chaire: whome when they beheld, straightwaies they conceiued indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to reproue all his saiengs. He told them that they vsed manie things contrarie to the custom of the vniuersall church, and yet if in three things they would obeie him, that is to say, in keeping the feast of Easter in due time, in ministring baptisme according to the custome of the Romane church, & in preaching to the Englishmen the woord of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to suffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the same were contrarie to the maners and customs of the Romane iurisdiction. But they flatlie denied to doo anie of those things, and gaue a plaine answer that they would not receiue him for their archbishop: for laieng their heads togither, thus they thought, If he refuse now to arise vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we should become subiect to him? Vnto whom (as it is said) Augustine in threatening wise told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with

Thrée things required by Augustine of the Britains to be obserued.

Augustine threatneth.

with their brethren, they should receiue warre of the enimies; & if they would not preach to the Englishmen the waie of life, they should suffer punishment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to passe, as in place conuenient shall be expressed. After this in the yéere of our Lord 604, the archbishop Augustine ordeined two bishops, that is to say, Melitus at London, that he might preach the woord of God to the Eastsaxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames, and Iustus in the citie of Rochester within the limits of Kent. 604.

Bishops ordeined at London and Rochester.

AT that time Sabert reigned ouer the Eastsaxons, but he was subiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whose nephue he was also by his sister Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda that succéeded after Erchenwine the first king of the Eastsaxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Augustine had ordeined Melitus to be bishop of London, as before is said, king Ethelbert builded (as some write) the church of saint Paule within the same citie, where the same Melitus and his successors might keepe their sée. And also for the like purpose he builded the church of saint Andrew the apostle at Rochester, that Iustus and his successors might haue their sée in that place, according to Augustines institution: he bestowed great gifts vpon both those churches, endowing them with lands and possessions verie bountifullie, to the vse of them that should be attendant in the same with the bishops. SABERT.

Finallie, Augustine after he had gouerned as archbishop the church of Canturburie by the space of 12 yéeres currant, departed this life the fiue and twentieth of Maie, and was buried first without the citie néere to the church of the apostles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) because the same church as yet was not finished nor dedicated; but after it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laurence to be his successor in the sée of Canturburie, of whome ye shall heare hereafter. ¶ Thus haue ye heard in what maner the Englishmen were first brought from the worshipping of false gods, and baptised in the name of the liuing God by the foresaid Augustine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will returne to other dooings chancing in the meane time amongst the people of this Ile. *Ran. Cestren.*

Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph gouerneth the Westsaxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edelfride king of the Northumbers, and Edan king of the Scots ioine in battell, Edan is discomfited, Edelfride subdueth the citizens of Chester, the deuout moonks of Bangor praie for safetie from the swoord of the enimie, twelue hundred of them are slaine, Edelfride entreth the citie of Chester, the Britains assembling their power vnder three capteins incounter with Edelfride, slaie manie of his souldiers, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edelfride and Redwald king of the Eastangles about Edwine the sonne of king Elle, Edelfride is slaine, Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons dieth.

THE XXII. CHAPTER.

AFTER the deceasse of Chelricus king of the Westsaxons, we find that Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph succeeded in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yéeres. He began his reigne (as should appéere by some writers) about the yeere of our Lord 597, and spent his time for the more part in warres, not giuing place to idlenesse, but séeking either to defend or inlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the sonne of Cutha, which was the sonne of Kenrike, which was the sonne of Certike. After Wibba or Wipha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferiour to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but also inlarge *Matth. West.* saith 34. *Matth. West.* saith 607.

inlarge it, by subduing the Britains on ech side) one Ceorlus succéeded in that kingdome, being not his sonne but his kinsman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 594, as Matth. West. recordeth.

Ceorlus king of Mercia. 594.

Ye haue heard that Edelferd, which otherwise is called also by writers Edelfride, surnamed the wild, gouerned still the Northumbers, which Edelferd did more damage to the Britains than anie one other king of the English nation. None of them destroied their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or inhabited more of their countries with English people than he. Héerevpon Edan king of those Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith mooued to see Edelfride prosper thus in his conquests, came against him with a mightie armie: but ioining in battell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degsastane, or Degsastone, or Deglaston, he lost the most part of his people, and with the residue that were left aliue, he escaped by flight. This was a sore foughten battell, with much bloudshed on both parties. For notwithstanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus the brother of Edelferd was slaine, with all that part of the English host which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yéere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yeere of the reigne of the foresaid Edelferd, and in the sixt yéere of Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, and in the first yéere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the last yéere of his predecessor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scotish kings durst presume to enter into Britaine againe to giue battell against the English nation, as Beda himselfe writeth. But the Scotish writers make other report of this matter, as in the historie of Scotland ye maie find recorded.

Beda. Edelferd.

603.

Henr. Hunt. Beda lib. 1. cap. 34.

Wil. Malm. See in Scotland.

The Britains that dwelt about Chester, through their stoutnesse prouoked the aforesaid Edelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: wherevpon to tame their loftie stomachs, he assembled an armie & came forward to besiege the citie of Chester, then called of the Britains Carleon ardour deué. The citizens coueting rather to suffer all things than a siege, and hauing a trust in their great multitude of people, came foorth to giue batell abroad in the fields, whome he compassing about with ambushes, got within his danger, and easilie discomfited.

Chester as yet in possession of the Britains. *I. Leland. Wil. Malm.*

It chanced that he had espied before the battell ioined (as Beda saith) where a great number of the British priests were got aside into a place somewhat out of danger, that they might there make their intercession to God for the good spéed of their people, being then readie to giue battell to the Northumbers. Manie of them were of that famous monasterie of Bangor, in the which it is said, that there was such a number of moonks, that where they were diuided into seuen seuerall parts, with their seuerall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of those parts conteined at the least thrée hundred persons, the which liued altogither by the labour of their hands. Manie therefore of those moonks hauing kept a solemne fast for thrée daies togither, were come to the armie with other to make praier, hauing for their defender one Brocmale or Broemael, earle (or consull as some call him) of Chester, which should preserue them (being giuen to praier) from the edge of the enimies swoord.

Beda.

The number of moonks in the monasterie of Bangor.

Brocmale.

King Edelferd hauing (as is said) espied these men, asked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumstance and cause of their being there, he said; "Then if they call to their God for his assistance against vs, suerlie though they beare no armour, yet doo they fight against vs, being busied in praier for our destruction." Wherevpon he commanded the first onset to be giuen them, and after slue downe the residue of the British armie, not without great losse of his owne people. Of those moonks and priests which came to praie (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 12 hundred, so that fiftie of them onelie escaped by flight. Brocmale, or Broemael at the first approch of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he should haue defended) to be murthered through the enimies swoord. Thus was the prophesie of Augustine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda saith.)

The Britains discomfited & slaine.

¶ Héere

¶ Héere is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the seuenth yéere of Ceowlfe king of Westsaxon (as some haue written) and that Augustine liued 12 yéeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the sée of Canturburie (as some write) it is euident that he liued foure yéeres after this slaughter made of the British priests and moonks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceowlfe begán his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yéere of our Lord 596, and in the seuenth yeere of his reigne the battell was fought at Degsastane betwixt the English & the Scots, which chanced in the yéere of our Lord 604, as Beda himselfe recordeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and preciselie setting downe his collection, saith that Athelbright, or Edelfride, K. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert K. of Kent, hauing Augustine in their companie, in the eight yéere after his arriuall, made warre vpon such Britains as refused to obserue the canons of the late councell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 moonks of the monasterie of Bangor, which laboured earnestlie, and in the sweat of their browes, thereby to get their liuings, &c. Verelie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he saw the Britains to disdaine and denie their subiection vnto Augustine, by whome he was conuerted to the christian faith) stirred vp Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre against the Britains. But heereof Maister Fox doubteth, and therefore saith, that of vncerteine things he hath nothing certeinlie to saie, much lesse to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

Henr. Hunt.

W. Harison.

Acts and monuments. pag. 160.

After that king Edelferd had made slaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearsed) he entred the citie of Chester, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had assembled their power vnder three capteins, that is to say, Blederike duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. These ioining in battell with Edelferd, slue 10066 of his souldiers, and constreined him to flée out of the field for safegard of his life, after he had receiued manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the forsaid Blederike, which was chiefe capteine of the field in that battell, chanced to be slaine. Thus saith Gal. Mon.

Blederike duke of Cornwall, Margadud king of Southwales, Cadwane k. of Northwales.

Galf. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the English kings (as Beda, William Malmesburie, and Henrie Huntington, make no mention of this last battell and victorie obteined by the Britains in maner as aboue is expressed in Galfrids booke. But contrarilie we find, that Edelferd hauing such good successe in his businesse abroad as he could wish, vpon purpose to auoid danger at home, banished Edwine the sonne of Alla or Elle, a yoong gentleman of great towardnesse, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, being long tossed from place to place, and finding no stedfast friendship now in time of his aduersitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eastangles, the third from Vffa, and successor to Titullus, which Titullus did succéed next after the said Vffa, the first king of Eastangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourablie interteine Edwine, insomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie displeased, and sent ambassadors vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliuer Edwine into his hands, or else if he refused so to doo, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Edwine the sonne of king Alla banished.

592.

Edelferd.

Redwald incouraged by his wife (that counselled him in no wise to betraie his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enimie) assembled foorthwith an armie, and at the sudden comming vpon Edelferd, assaulted him yer he could haue time to assemble his people togither. But yet the said Edelferd, though he was beset and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreuenged: for putting himselfe in defense with such power as he could then get togither, he boldlie incountred the enimies, and giuing battell, slue Remerius the sonne of Redwald, and after was slaine himselfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yéeres. This battell was fought néere to the water of Idle.

542.

H. Hunt.

Ethelferd slaine.

The said Edelferd had issue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and sister to Edwine, two sonnes, Oswald being about two yéeres of age, and Oswin about foure yéeres, the which (their father being thus slaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all speed that might be made. Ceowlfe king of the Westsaxons, after he

Hen. Hunt. Matt. West. saith 34.

he had reigned the space of 12 yeeres, departed this life, who in his time had mainteined great warre against manie of his neighbours, the which for briefenesse I passe ouer. One great battell he fought against them of Sussex, in which the armies on both sides susteined great damage, but the greater losse fell to the Southsaxons.

The Southsaxons susteine the greater losse.

Cinegiscus and his sonne Richelinus reigne iointlie ouer the Westsaxons, they fight with the Britains; the indeuour of Laurence archbishop of Cantrburie in setting religion at large, and seeking a vniformitie in catholike orders, he and his fellow-bishops write to the cleargie of Britaine and Scotland for a reformation, Melitus bishop of London goeth to Rome, the cause why, and what he brought at his returne from pope Boniface.

THE XXIIJ. CHAPTER.

CINEGISCUS. AFTER the foresaid Ceowlfe reigned Cinegiscus, or Kingils, which was the sonne of Ceola, which was the sonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the sonne of Kenricke, which was the sonne of king Certicke. In the fourth yeere of his reigne, he receiued into fellowship with him in gouernance of the kingdome his sonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and so they reigned iointlie togither in great loue and concord (a thing seldome seene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Beandune, where at the first approch of the battels togither, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were ouertaken 2062.

Wil. Malm. saith that Onichelinus was the brother of Cinegiscus.

Beandune or Beanton.

In this meane time, Laurence archbishop of Canturburie, who succeeded next after Augustine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is said) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the church of England, the foundation whereof was latelie laid by his predecessor the foresaid Augustine: who studied not onelie for the increase of this new church, which was gathered of the English people, but also he was busie to imploie his pastorlike cure vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of Britaine, and likewise of the Scots that remained in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots there, in semblable wise as the Britains in their countrie, led not their liues in manie points according to the ecclesiasticall rules, as well in obseruing the feast of Easter contrarie to the vse of the Romane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto those Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them most instantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might be agreeable with the church of Christ, spred and dispersed through the world. These letters were not written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie togither in the name of the bishops Melitius and Iustus, (as followeth.)

Beda lib. 2. cap. 4.

" *To our deare brethren the bishops and abbats through all Scotland, Laurence, Melitus and Iustus bishops, the seruants of the seruants of God wish health.*

" WHEREAS the apostolike see (according to hir maner) had sent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in these west parts, as otherwise throgh the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & vnderstood the state of things, we had in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains, which beléeued, bicause (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the custome of the vniuersall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be better. But we haue learned by bishop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into Fraree, that the Scots nothing differ in their conuersation from the Britains: for bishop Daganus comming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, no nor yet come within the house where we did eat."

The

The said Laurence also with his fellow-bishops, did write to the Britains other letters woorthie of his degrée, dooing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romane church: but it profited litle, as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the same time Melitus the bishop of London went to Rome, to common with pope Boniface, for necessarie causes touching the church of England, and was present at a synod holden by the same pope at that season, for ordinances to be made touching the state of religious men, and sate in the same synod, that with subscribing he might also by his authoritie confirme that which was there orderlie decréed. This synod was holden the third kalends of March, in the last yéere of the emperour Phocas, which was about the yeere after the birth of our Sauiour 610. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrees commanded by the said pope to be obserued in the English church, with letters also directed to archbishop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan is made king of the Britains in the citie of Chester, he leuieth a power against Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, couenants of peace passe betwixt them vpon condition, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he and his wife were buried, of his lawes; Eadbald succeedeth Ethelbert in the Kentish kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life, he is an enimie to religion; he is plagued with madnesse; Hebert king of the Eastsaxons dieth, his three sonnes refuse to be baptised, they fall to idolatrie and hate the professours of the truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behauiour to bishop Melitus, he and his fellow Iustus passe ouer into France, the three sonnes of Hebert are slaine of the Westsaxons in battell, the Estsaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbishop Laurence to forsake the land, he is warned in a vision to tarie, whereof he certifieth king Eadbald, who furthering christianitie, sendeth for Melitus and Iustus, the one is restored to his see, the other reiected, Melitus dieth, Iustus is made archbishop of Canturburie, the christian faith increaseth.

THE XXIIIJ. CHAPTER.

AFTER that the Britains had cõtinued about the space almost of 24 yéeres without anie one speciall gouernour, being led by sundrie rulers, euer sithens that Careticus was constreined to flée ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onelie against the Saxons, but also one of them against another, at length in the yéere of our Lord 613, they assembled in the citie of Chester, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the souereigne rule & gouernement ouer all their nation, and so the said Cadwan began to reigne as king of Britaine in the said yéere 613. But some authors say, that this was in the yéere 609, in which yéere Careticus the British king departed this life. And then after his deceasse the Britains or Welshmen (whether we shall call them) chose Cadwan to gouerne them in the foresaid yéere 609, which was in the 7 yéere of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the second Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yéere of Kilwoolfe king of the Westsaxons. CADWAN king of Britaine. 613.

This Cadwan being established king, shortlie after assembled a power of Britains, and went against the foresaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertised, did associate to him the most part of the Saxon princes, and came foorth with his armie to meet Cadwan in the field. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certeine of their friends trauelled so betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agréement, so that Ethelfred should kéepe in quiet possession those his countries beyond the riuer of Humber, and Cadwan should hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains *Gal. Mon.*

tains on the south side of the same riuer. This couenant with other touching their agréement was confirmed with oths solemnelie taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, so that afterwards they continued in good and quiet peace, without vexing one an other.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard rehersed, which for that it soundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the British booke, we omit to make further rehersall, passing forward to other dooings which fell in the meane season, whilest this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king ouer them the tearme of 22 or (as some say) but 13 yéeres, and finallie was slaine by the Northumbers, as before hath béene, and also after shall be shewed.

Iohn Hard.

In the 8 yéere after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yéere after the comming of Augustine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Christ here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yéeres (as Beda saith, but there are that haue noted thrée yéers lesse) he departed this world, as aboue is signified, in the yeere of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of Februarie, and was buried in the Ile of saint Martine, within the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Canturburie, where his wife quéene Bartha was also buried, and the foresaid archbishop Augustine that first conuerted him to the faith.

Wil. Malm. Beda li. 2. cap. 5.

Amongst other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduise of his councell ordeined diuers lawes and statutes, according to the which decrées of iudgements should passe: those decrées he caused to be written in the English toong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declareth. And first it was expressed in those lawes, what amends he should make that stole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the bishop, or to anie ecclesiasticall person, willing by all means to defend them whose doctrine he had receiued.

EADBALD.

AFTER the deceasse of Etthelbert, his sonne Eadbald succéeded in the gouernment of his kingdome of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increase of the new church amongst the Englishmen in those parties: for he did not onelie refuse to be baptised himselfe, but also vsed such kind of fornication, as hath not béene heard (as the apostle saith) amongst the Gentiles, for he tooke to wife his mother in law, that had béene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, manie tooke occasion to returne to their heathenish religion, the which whilest his father reigned, either for the prince his pleasure, or for feare to offend him, did professe the christian faith. But Eadbald escaped not woorthie punishment to him sent from the liuing God for his euill deserts, insomuch that he was vexed with a certeine kind of madnesse, and taken with an vncleane spirit.

The princes example occasion of euill.

The foresaid storme or vnquiet troubling of the christian congregation, was afterwards greatlie increased also by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eastsaxons, who was conuerted to the faith of Christ, and baptized by Melitus bishop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the blissefull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him thrée sonnes as true successours in the estate of his earthlie kingdome, which sonnes likewise refused to be baptised. Their names were Serred, Seward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, & such as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie respect of religion, but speciallie hating the professours of the christian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatrie, which in his life time they séemed to haue giuen ouer, insomuch that now they openlie worshipped idols, and gaue libertie to their subiects to do the like.

Ran. Cest. Beda li. 2. cap. 5. Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, the sonnes of Sabert.

And when the bishop Melitus, at the solemnizing of masse in the church, distributed the eucharisticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is said) wherfore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them also, as well as he had béene accustomed to doo to their father Saba (for so they vsed to call him.) Vnto whome the bishop made this answer: "If you will be washed in that wholesome fountaine, wherein your father was washed, ye may be

be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you despise the washpoole of life, ye may by no meanes tast the bread of saluation." But they offended herewith, replied in this wise: "We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we haue no néed thereof: but yet neuerthelesse we will be refreshed with that bread."

After this, when they had beene earnestlie and manie times told, that vnlesse they would be baptised, they might not be partakers of the sacred oblation: at length in great displeasure they told him, that if he would not consent vnto them in so small a matter, there should be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and so he was constrained to depart. Wherevpon he being expelled, resorted into Kent, there to take aduise with his fellow-bishops, Laurence and Iustus, what was to be doone in this so weightie a matter. Who finallie resolued vpon this point, that it should be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with frée minds they might serue almightie God, rather than to remaine amongest people that rebelled against the faith, without hope to doo good amongest them. Wherefore Melitus and Iustus did depart first, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might sée what the end would be. But shortlie after, those brethren the kings of Essex, which had expelled their bishop in maner aboue said, suffered woorthilie for their wicked dooings. For going forth to battell against the Westsaxons, they were ouerthrowen and slaine altogither with all their armie, by the two kings Kinigils and Quichelme. But neuerthelesse, albeit the authors of the mischiefe were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their diuelish woorshipping of false gods, being eftsoones fallen thereto in that season by the incouragement and perilous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbishop Laurence was in mind also to follow his fellowes Melitus and Iustus: but when he minded to set forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruellie scourged (as hath béene reported by the apostle saint Peter, who reproued him) for that he would so vncharitablie forsake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a shepherd to kéepe the woolfe from the fold.

The sonne of king Sebert slaine.

The archbishop imboldned by this vision, and also repenting him of his determination, came to king Eadbald, and shewed to him his stripes, and the maner of his dreame. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worshipping of idols, and was baptised, and as much as in him laie, from thenceforth succoured the congregation of the christians, and aduanced the church to his power. He sent also into France, and called home the bishops Melitus and Iustus, so that Iustus was restored to his sée of Rochester.

But the Eastsaxons would not receiue Melitus to his sée at London, but continued in their wicked mawmetrie, in obeieng a bishop of their pagan law, whom they had erected for that purpose. Neither was king Eadbald of that authoritie and power in those parties, as his father was before, whereby he might constreine them to receiue their lawfull bishop. But suerlie the said king Eadbald with his people, after he was once conuerted againe, gaue himselfe wholie to obeie the lawes of GOD, and amongt other déeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church to our ladie at Canturburie, within the monasterie of saint Peter, afterwards called saint Agnes. This church was consecrated by Melitus, who after the death of Laurence succéeded in gouernance of the archbishops sée of Canturburie. After Melitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Iustus that before was bishop of Rochester, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the sée of Rochester. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occasion (as after shall appéere.)

Beda lib. 2.

Beda. lib. 2. ca. 8.

Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, his great power and reputation, a marriage betweene him and Ethelburga the sister of king Eadbald vpon religious couenants, the traitorous attempts of murtherous Eumerus against him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter, he assalteth the Westsaxons, and discomfiteth them, Boniface the fift writeth to him to desist from his idolatrie, and to his ladie to persist in true christianitie; the vision of Edwin when he was a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuersion to christian religion.

THE XXV. CHAPTER.

YE haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberland was slaine in battell neere to the water of Idel by Redwald king of the Eastangles, in fauour of Edwin whom the said Edelfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yéeres before. The foresaid Redwald therefore hauing obteined that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernement of that kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as sonne to Alla or Elle, sometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin prooued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the English nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countries inhabited with English men, but also with Britains, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Chesshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and alongst by the west sea-coast in Galloway, and so foorth euen vnto Dunbritaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cadwallo bare rule, of whome so often mention is made in this part of the historie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was such, as not onelie the English men, Britains and Scots, but also the Iles of Orknie, and those of Man, and others the west Iles of ancient time called Meuaniæ, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, so as they durst not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

EDWIN.
Beda. lib. 2. ca. 5.

W. Malm. taketh Meuania to be Anglesey.

It chanced that shortlie after, king Redwald had aduanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeares, the same Redwald deceassed, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwins power. For the people of the Eastangles, which (whilest Edwin remained amongst them as a banished man) had conceiued a good opinion of him for his approoued valiancie and noble courage, offered themselues to be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin suffering Carpwald or Erpwald the sonne of Redwald to inioie the bare title and name of the king of that countrie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. Neither was there anie prouince within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not readie to doo him seruice (the kingdome of Kent onelie excepted) for he suffered the Kentishmen to liue in quiet, because he began to haue a liking to the sister of king Eadbald, namelie the ladie Ethelburga, otherwise called Tate or Tace.

Carpwaldus.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9.

He made request therefore by sending ambassadours to hir brother, to haue the said ladie in marriage, and at length obteined hir, with condition that she being a christian woman, might not onelie vse the christian religion, but also that all those, whether men or women, priests or ministers, which came with hir, might haue licence to doo the same, without trouble or impeachment of anie maner of person. Herevpon she being sent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir (besides manie other) one Pauline, which was consecrated bishop by the archbishop Iustus the 21 of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his comming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, trauelled earnestlie in his office, both to preserue hir and such christians in the faith of Christ, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, least they should chance to fall: and also sought to win some of the Pagans (if it were possible) vnto the same faith, though at the first he little profited in that matter.

Matth. West. Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9. 625.

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then soiourning in a palace which stood vpon the side of the riuer of Dorwent, being sent from Quichelme

Quichelme king of the Westsaxons, to the intent to murther Edwin, because he had of late sore damnified the countries of the Westsaxons. This murtherer was called Eumerus, & caried vnder his coate a shost double edged woodknife inuenomed of purpose, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, should not die of the wound, yet he should not escape the danger of the poison. This Eumerus on Easter mondaie came to the king, and making foorth to him as it had béene to haue declared some message from his maister, when he had espied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to strike the king. But one of the kings seruants named Lilla, perceiuing this, stept betwixt the king and the blow. Howbeit the murtherer set the stripe forward with such force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lilla wounded also the king a little: and before this murtherer could be beaten downe, he slue another of the kings seruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Fordher.

Other say an axe, as *Matth. West.*

Eumerus.

The same night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Eaufled, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the presence of bishop Pauline, the bishop did admonish him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelie God, by whose goodnesse it came to passe that the queene was safelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing good eare vnto the bishops wholesome admonition, promised at that present to become a christian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Westsaxons. And to assure Pauline that his promise should take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to say, baptised. The bishop receiuing hir, on Whitsundaie next following baptised hir, with twelue other of the kings houshold, she being the first of the English Northumbers that was so washed in the founteine of regeneration.

Eaufled borne.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recouered of his hurt, assembled an armie, and went against the Westsaxons, with whome incountring in battell, he either slue or brought to his subiection all them that had conspired his death, and so returned as a conquerour into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promise to become a christian: howbeit he had left his dooing of sacrifice to idols, euer since he made promise to be baptised. He was a sage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the christian religion throughlie examined.

Now whilest he thus hoong in doubt vnto whether part he should incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by sundrie kinds of gentle perswasions, to turne to the worshipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worshipping of mawmets and idols. The pope wrote also to quéene Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir good purpose, and by all meanes possible to doo what might be doone for the conuerting of hir husband vnto the faith of Christ. But the thing that most mooued the king, was a vision which sometime he had while he remained as a banished man in the court of Redwald king of the Eastangles, as thus.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 11.

A vision.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foresaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceased not by his ambassadours to moue Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him awaie. At length by often sending, & promises made of large summes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obteined a grant of his sute, so that it was determined that Edwin should either be murthered, or else deliuered into his enimies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night season came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practise, and what was purposed against him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would so aduenture to escape. Edwin being woonderouslie amazed, thanked his friend, but refused to depart the countrie, sith he had no iust cause outwardlie giuen to play such a slipper part, choosing rather to ieopard his life with honour, than to giue men cause to thinke that he had first broken promise with such a prince as Redwald was, to whome he had giuen his faith.

Beda. cap. 12.

The honorable consideration of Edwin.

Herevpon his friend departing from him, left him sitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued

perceiued one to come towards him vnknowne, and in strange apparell, séeming to him in euerie point a stranger, at which sight (for that he could not imagine who it should be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him saluted him, and asked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at rest. Edwin on the other part asked what he had to doo therewith, and whether he vsed to lie abroad in the night, or within house? Who answering said; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauinesse, of thy watchings, and this thy solitarie sitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus pensiue, and what euils thou fearest to be towards thée at hand. But tell me, what wouldest thou giue him, that could deliuer thée out of this heauinesse, and perswade Redwald that he should neither doo thée hurt, nor deliuer thée to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin said that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to such a one in reward: The other said; What wouldst thou giue then, if he should promise in good sooth that (all thine enimies being destroied) thou shouldest be king, and that thou shouldest passe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the English nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himselfe by such demandes, did not sticke to promise that he would requite his friendship with woorthie thanks.

Then replied he to his words and said; If he that shall prophesie to thée this good hap to come, shall also be able to informe thee in such counsell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinsfolke yet haue heard, wouldest thou obey him, and also consent to receiue his wholesome aduertisement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promised, that he would in all points follow the instruction of him that should deliuer him out of so manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which answere being got, this person that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, saieng: When this therefore shall chance to thée, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and those things that thou now dooest promise, sée thou performe. And therewith he vanished awaie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a vision that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶ This vnaccustomed course it pleased God to vse for the conuersion of the king (to whose example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour sort would generallie be conformed) who otherwise had continued in paganisme and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true christianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his predecessors, a settled perswasion in gentilish error, so that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the same had procéeded from the mouth of one allotted to that ministerie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and misbeléefe wherein he was nuzzeled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obseruation of such rites and customes, as haue béene established and left in force by their progenitors, and sooner to stand vnto a desire and earnest purpose of adding somewhat to their elders corrupt constitutions, and irreligious course of conuersation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innouation: so inflexible is the posteritie to swarue from the traditions of antiquitie, stand the same vpon neuer so grosse and palpable absurdities.]

Edwin still reioising in the foresaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he should be, or from whence he came that had talked in this sort with him; behold his friend returned that first had brought him foorth of his chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, how the king by perswasion of the quéene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarell to the vttermost of his power: and so he did in déed. For with all diligence he raised an armie, and went against Ethelfrid, vanquished him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before ye haue heard.)

King Edwin is put in mind of his vision by Pauline who sawe the same in spirit, he is licenced to preach the gospell, bishop Coifi destroieth the idols, Edwin and his people receiue the christian faith, his two sonnes Osfride and Eadfride become conuerts, Redwald king of the Eastangles is baptised, he serueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiueth the faith, Felix bishop of Burgongne commeth ouer to Honorius archbishop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eastangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnshiremen are conuerted, manie are baptised in the riuer of Trent; king Edwins iustice how effectuall and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of trauellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbishop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutuall election of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to suruiue other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Easter and auoiding the Pelagian heresie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth against Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuieth his good estate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his sonne Osfride are slaine, Penda putteth his other sonne Eadfride cruellie to death.

THE XXVJ. CHAPTER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the former vision, king Edwin deferred time yer he would receiue the christian faith, in somuch that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he sat musing what he were best to doo, and laid his hand vpon his head, asking him if he knew that signe. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his féet, he lifted him vp, and as it were in familiar wise thus said vnto him: "Behold, by the assistance of Gods fauour thou hast escaped the hands of thine enimies, whome thou stoodst in feare of: behold through his bountious liberalitie, thou hast obteined the kingdome which thou diddest desire, remember then that thou delaie no time to performe the third thing that thou diddest promise, in receiuing his faith, and kéeping his commandements, which deliuering thée from worldlie aduersities, hath thus aduanced thée to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hée setteth and preacheth to thée and others, he will deliuer thée from euerlasting torments, and make thée partaker with him in his celestiall kingdome." It is to be thought that the vision which the king had in times past receiued, was in spirit reuealed vnto Pauline, wherevpon without delaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, answered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but first he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agrée to doo the like, then would they be baptised altogither at one time. Pauline satisfied herewith, Edwin did as he had promised, calling togither the wisest men of his realme, and of them asked the question what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome his chiefe bishop named Coifi, incontinentlie made this answer; that Suerlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth. "For saith he, there is none of thy people that hath more reuerentlie woorshipped our gods than I haue doone, and yet be there manie that haue receiued far greater benefits at thy hands than I haue doone: and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then would they rather helpe me to high honor and dignitie than others. Therefore if it maie be found that this new religion is better & more auailable than our old, let vs with spéed imbrace the same."

Edwin consulteth with his nobles.

The answere of an heathen bishop.

Finallie, when other of the kings councell & men of high authoritie gaue their consents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appeered more certeintie of saluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openlie to preach the gospell, and renouncing his worshipping of false gods, professed the christian faith. And when he demanded of his bishop Coifi who should first deface the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compassed about?

Pauline licenced to preach the gospell.

He

He answered, that himselfe would doo it. " For what is more méet (saith he) than that I, which thorough foolishnesse haue worshipped them, should now for example sake destroie the same, thorough wisedome giuen me from the true and liuing God?" And streightwaies throwing awaie the superstition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a stoned horsse, vpon the which he being mounted, rode foorth to destroie the idols.

This was a strange sight to the people: for it was not lawfull for the bishop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beast, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a swoord gird to him, tooke a speare in his hand, and riding on the kings horsse, went to the place where the idols stood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had béene starke mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the same, and in contempt threw his speare against it, & reioising greatlie in the knowledge of the worshipping of the true God, commanded his companie to destroie & burne downe the same temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were sometime worshipped was not farre from Yorke, towards the east part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the foresaid bishop by the inspiration of God defaced and destroied those altars, which he himselfe had hallowed.

King Edwin with his people receiue the christian faith. *Beda. lib.* 2. *cap.* 14.

King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptised, in the yéere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yéere of his reigne, and about the 178 yéere after the first comming of the Englishmen into this land. He was baptised at Yorke on Easter daie (which fell that yéere the day before the Ides of Aprill) in the church of S. Peter the apostle, which he had caused to be erected and built vp of timber vpon the sudden for that purpose, and afterwards began the foundation of the same church in stone-woorke of a larger compasse, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had first caused to be built: but before he could finish the woorke, he was slaine (as after shall be shewed) leauing it to be performed of his successor Oswald.

627.

Pauline continued from thencefoorth during the kings life, which was six yéeres after, in preaching the gospell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Christ, among whom were Osfride and Eadfride the two sonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his banishment of his wife Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia. Also afterwards he begot children on his second wife Ethelburga, that is to say, a sonne called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Ediltrudis, and another sonne called Bustfrea, of the which the two first died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be briefe: by the kings assistance & fauour shewed vnto Pauline in the woorke of the Lord, great multitudes of people dailie receiued the faith, and were baptised of Pauline in manie places, but speciallie in the riuer of Gleuie within the prouince of Bernicia, and also in Swale in the prouince of Deira: for as yet in the beginning thus of the church in those countries, no temples or fonts could be builded or erected in so short a time.

Ediltrudis.

This chanced in the yéere 632, as *Matt. West.* saith. Redwald king of Eastangles baptised.

Redwald would serue God and the diuell.

Of such great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the setting foorth of Gods truth, that he persuaded Carpwald the sonne of Redwald king of the Eastangles to abandon the superstitious worshipping of idols, and to receiue the faith of Christ with all his whole prouince. His father Redwald was baptised in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counsell of his wife and other wicked persons, he was seduced, and being turned from the sincere puritie of faith, his last dooings were woorse than his first, so that according to the maner of the old Samaritans, he would séeme both to serue the true God and his false gods, (whom before time he had serued) and in one selfe church had at one time both the sacraments of Christ ministred at one altar, and sacrifice made vnto diuels at another.

Sibert or Sigibert.

But Carpwald within a while after he had receiued the faith, was slaine by one of his owne countrimen that was an ethnike, called Richbert, and then after his death, that prouince for the tearme of three yeeres was wrapped eftsoones in errour, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a most christian prince, and verie well learned, obteined the rule of that kingdome, who whilest he liued a banished man in France during his brothers

life time, was baptised there, and became a christian: and when he came to be king, he caused all his prouince to be partaker of the same fountaine of life, wherein he had beene dipped himselfe.

Vnto this godlie purpose also, a bishop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbishop of Canturburie Honorius that was successor vnto Iustus, and declaring vnto him his earnest desire, was sent by the same archbishop to preach the woord of life vnto the Eastangles, which he did with such good successe, that he conuerted the whole countrie to the faith of Iesus Christ, and placed the sée of his bishoprike at Dunwich, ending the course of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his bishoplike office the space of 17 yéeres. Moreouer Pauline, after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, preached the woord of God vnto them of Lindsey, which is a part of Lincolnshire: and first he persuaded one Blecca the gouernour of the citie of Lincolne to turne vnto Christ, togither with all his familie. In that citie he also builded a church of stone woorke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the woorke of the Lord, the same being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whose presence he baptised a great number of people in the riuer of Trent, néere to a towne, which in the old English toong was called *Tio vulfingacester*. This Pauline had with him a deacon named Iames, the which shewed himselfe verie diligent in the ministerie, and profited greatlie therein.

A bishop ordeined at Dunwich. *Beda lib.* 1. *cap.* 16.

This chanced in the yéere 628, as *Matth. West.* saith.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verelie of woorthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countries and obseruing of iustice, deserued highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were so banished out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might haue trauelled from sea to sea, and not haue incountred with anie creature that durst once haue offered hir iniurie. He was also verie carefull for the aduancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, insomuch that where there were any swéet and cleare water-springs, he caused postes to be set vp, and iron dishes to be fastened thereto with chaines, that waifaring men might haue the same readie at hand to drinke with: and there was none so hardie as to touch the same but for that vse. He vsed wheresoeuer he went within the cities or elsewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iustice to be ministred by his roiall authoritie.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. West. Beda lib. 2. *cap.* 16.

In the meane season, pope Honorius the fift, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, sent vnto the said Pauline the pall, confirming him archbishop in the sée of Yorke. He sent also letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduise to continue and procéed in the waie of vnderstanding, into the which he was entered. At the same time also, bicause Iustus the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that sée, pope Honorius sent to the said elect archbishop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was conteined a decrée by him made, that when either the archbishop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that suruiued should haue authoritie to ordeine another in place of him that was deceassed, that they should not néed to wearie themselues with going to Rome, being so farre distant from them. The copie of which letter is registred in the ecclesiasticall historie of Beda, bearing date the third Ides of Iune, in the yéere of our Lord 633. The same pope sent letters also to the Scotish people, exhorting them to celebrate the feast of Easter in such due time as other churches of the christian world obserued. And also bicause the heresie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongst them (as he was informed) he admonished them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a pastor it is necessarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and shew his sheepe the waies to a christian life, but also stronglie to withstand all such vniust meanes, as might hinder their procéeding in the truth of religion. For as poison is vnto the bodie, that is heresie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poison is disabled from all naturall faculties, and vtterlie extinguished, vnlesse by present meanes the force thereof be vanquished:

Beda lib. 2. *cap.* 17.

A decrée concerning the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke.

633.

The feast of Easter.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

quished: so truth and veritie by errors and heresies is manie times choked and recouereth, but neuer strangled.

But now that the kingdome of Northumberland flourished (as before is partlie touched) in happie state vnder the prosperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the space of 17 yeeres, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo, king of Britaine, who succeeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. saith, rebelled against him. For so it commeth to passe, that nothing can be so sure confirmed by mans power, but the same by the like power may be againe destroied. Penda king of Mercia enuieng the prosperous procéedings of Edwin, procured Cadwallo to mooue this rebellion against Edwin: and ioining his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland iointlie togither. Edwin heereof aduertised, gathered his people, & came to incounter them, so that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a verie sore and bloudie battell. But in the end Edwin was slaine with one of his sonnes named Osfride, and his armie beaten downe and dispersed. Also there was slaine on Edwins part, Eodbald king of Orkenie. Moreouer there was an other of Edwins sonnes named Eadfride constreined of necessitie to giue himselfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promised faith in king Oswalds daies that succéeded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield aforesaid, on the fourth ides of October, in the yere of our Lord 633, he being then about the age of 47 yéeres and vpwards.

Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Britaine.

Penda king of Mercia.

King Edwin slaine. *Matth. West.*

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo after their victorie, the Britains make no account of religion, Archbishop Pauline with queen Ethelburga flie out of Northumberland into Kent, honorable personages accompanie him thither, Romanus bishop of Rochester drowned, Pauline vndertaketh the charge of that see; Osrike is king of Deira, and Eaufride king of Bernicia, both kings become apostatas, and fall frō christianitie to paganisme, they are both slaine within lesse than a yeeres space; Oswald is created king of Northumberland, his chiefe practise in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oswalds superstitious deuotion and intercession to God against his enimies; both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is slaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whome he will without exception.

THE XXVII. CHAPTER.

CADWALLO and Penda hauing obteined the victorie aforsaid, vsed it most cruellie. For one of the capteins was a pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, shewed himselfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue doone. So that Penda being a worshipper of false gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no respect to the christian religion which latelie was begun amongst the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not sparing man, woman nor child: and so continued in their furious outrage a long time in passing through the countrie, to the great decay and calamitie of the christian congregations in those parties. And still the christian Britains were lesse mercifull than Penda his heathenish souldiers. For euen vnto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Englishmen, nor would communicate with them more than with the pagans, bicause they differed in rites from their accustomed traditions.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into this miserable case by the enimies inuasion, the archbishop Pauline taking with him the quéene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honorablie

Thearchbishop Pauline flieth into Kent.

receiued of the archbishop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Bassus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eaufred the daughter, and Vulfrea the sonne of Edwin, & also Iffi the sonne of Osfride Edwins sonne, whom their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold and Oswold did send into France where they died. The church of Rochester at that time was destitute of a bishop, by the death of Romanus, who being sent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was drowned by the way in the Italian seas. Whereupon at the request of archbishop Honorius, and king Eadbald, Pauline tooke vpon him the charge of that sée, and held it till he died.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 1

OSRIKE KING OF DEIRA.

Eaufrid king of Bernicia.

AFTER it was knowne that Edwin was slaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Osrike the sonne of his vncle Elfrike tooke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the preaching and vertuous instruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Eaufride the son of Edelferd or Edelfride, tooke vpon him to gouerne. This Eaufride during the time of Edwins reigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the christian faith was baptised. But both these princes, after they had obteined possession of their earthlie kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauenlie kingdome, so that they returned to their old kind of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long suffer this their vnthankefulnesse without iust punishment: for first in the next summer, when Osrike had rashlie besieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake foorth vpon him, and finding him vnprouided to make resistance, slue him with all his armie. Now after this, whilest Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant wasted and destroied them, in sleaing the people in tragicall maner, he also slue Eaufride, the which with twelue men of warre came vndiscréetlie vnto him to sue for peace: and thus within lesse than twelue moneths space both these runagate kings were dispatched.

The two kings of Northumberland slaine.

OSWALD began his reigne in the yeare 635. *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

THEN Oswald the sonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foresaid Eaufride was created king of the Northumbers, the sixt in number from Ida. This Oswald after that his father was slaine, liued as a banished person a long time within Scotland, where he was baptised, and professed the christian religion, and passed the flower of his youth in good exercises, both of mind & bodie. Amongst other things he practised the vnderstanding of warlike knowledge, minding so to vse it as it might stand him in stead to defend himselfe from iniurie of the enimies that should prouoke him, and not otherwise. Herevpō Cadwallo king of the Britains made in maner no account of him: for by reason that he had atchiued such great victories against the Englishmen, and hauing slaine their two kings (as before is expressed) he ceassed not to proceed in his tyrannicall doings, reputing the English people for slouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boasting that he was borne to their destruction. Thus being set vp in pride of courage, he feared no perils, but boldlie (without considering at all the skilfull knowledge which Oswald had sufficientlie learned in feates of war) tooke vpon him to assaile the foresaid Oswald, that had brought an armie against him, and was encamped in a plaine field néere vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times past against the inuasion of Scots and Picts.

Cadwallo streight prouoked Oswald to trie the matter by battell, but Oswald forbare the first day, and caused a crosse to be erected in the same place where he was incamped, in full hope that it should be an ensigne or trophie of his victorie, causing all souldiers to make their praiers to God, that in time of such necessitie it might please him to succour them that worship him. It is said, that the crosse being made, and the hole digged wherein it should be set, he tooke the crosse in his owne hands, and putting the foot thereof into that hole, so held it till his souldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then caused all the souldiers to kneele downe vpon their knées, and to make intercession to the true and liuing God for his assistance against the proud enimie, with whom they should fight in a iust quarell for the preseruation of their people and countrie.

After this, on the next morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, so that a sore and cruell fight insued betwixt them. At length Oswald perceiued that the Britains began somwhat to faint, and therfore caused his people to renew their force, and more lustilie to preasse forward, so that first he put that most cruell enimie to flight, and after pursuing the chase ouertooke him, and slue him with the most part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Denisborne, but the place where he caused the crosse to be erected he named Heuenfield. Thus Cadwallo the most cruell enimie of the English name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cause they say the Britains did afterwards set vp his image, that the same might be a terror to the enimies when they should behold it.

Beda. Wil. Malm.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the British historie of Gal. Mon. it should appeare that Cadwallo was not slaine at all, but reigned victoriouslie for the space of 48 yéeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it shall appéere. But for that the contrarietie in writers in such points may sooner be perceiued than reformed, to the satisfieng of mens fansies which are variable, we will leaue euerie man to his libertie to thinke as séemeth him good, noting now and then the diuersitie of such writers, as occasion serueth.

PENDA. 636.

PENDA the sonne of Wilba succéeded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Ciarlus, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yéeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to ieopard his person in place of danger, assured and readie of remembrance in time of greatest perill. His bodie could not be ouercome with anie trauell, nor his mind vanquished with greatnesse of businesse. But these his vertues were matched with notable vices, as first with such bitternesse of maners as had not béene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courtesie, great vnstedfastnesse in performing of woord and promise, and of vnmeasurable hatred toward the christian religion.

Now vpon confidence in these his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not good to let anie occasion passe that was offered to make war, as wel against his friends & confederats, as also against his owne sworne enimies. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more shall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the Eastsaxons & Eastangles ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient ye shall find further mention also, and so likewise of the kings of the Southsaxons: but bicause their kingdom continued not past fiue successions, litle remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds of his as the British writers haue recorded them, whereupon discord arose betweene Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres space were linked in friendship, Cadwallo vanquisht, his flight, of Pelitus the Spanish wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda and his power besieging Excester, he arreareth battell against the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he seeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda slaieth Oswald, whose brother and successor Osunus by gifts and submission obteineth peace, whom Penda spitefullie attempting to hill is killed himselfe, Cadwallo dieth, a brasen image on horssebacke set vp in his memoriall, saint Martins at Ludgate builded.

THE XXVIII. CHAPTER.

CADWALLO, OR CADWALLINE. 635.

CADWALLO or Cadwalline, (for we find him so named) began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 635, in the yéere of the reigne of the emperour Heracleus 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert K. of France. Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching

touching his dealings and warres against the Northumbers, and other of the English nation: but forsomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the British writers, we haue thought good in this place to rehearse the same in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find writen, leauing the credit still with the author, sith the truth thereof may be the more suspected, bicause other authors of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malmesburie, and others séeme greatlie to disagrée from him herein. But thus it is written.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the sonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride saith, were brought vp in France, being sent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yoong. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the space of two yéeres great friendship betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed solemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by persuasion of his nephue Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his request, wherewith Edwin tooke such displeasure, that he sent woord vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, sith he would not willinglie grant it. Wherto Cadwallo answered, that if he so did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he presumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Hereof discord arising betwixt these two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them against the other, and at length ioining in batell with their maine forces, Cadwallo lost the field, with many thousands of his men, and being chased fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally passed the seas into Britaine Armorike, where, of his coosin king Salomon he was courteouslie receiued, and at length obteined of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie, to assist him in recouerie of his lands & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie spoiled, wasted and haried by king Edwin.

Edwin was not sonne to Ethelfred, but to Alla, or Elle, as in other places plainlie apeareth.

Cadwallo vanquished by Edwin.

Cádwallo flieth the land.

At the same time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had sent into Britaine as little before to slea a certeine wizard or southsaier, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitus, that by disclosing the purpose of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterprises, had fortified the citie of Excester, mening to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherevpon Penda king of Mercia besieged that citie with a mightie army, purposing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertised hereof, immediatlie after his arriuall hasted to Excester, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, set vpon his enimies, tooke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other shift to escape, submitted himselfe wholie vnto Cadwallo, promising to become his liegeman, to fight against the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus subdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene dispersed abroad a long season, & with all spéed went against Edwin king of Northumberland, and slue him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his son Osfride, and Eodbold king of the Iles of Orknie, which was come thither to his aid.

¶ By this it should appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amisse in the account of the reignes of the British kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was slaine in the yéere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is said) attributeth that act & diuers other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the most part of all other writers signifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding assigneth but 13 yéeres to the reigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he died in the yéere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he saith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his séemeth best to agrée with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the British storie. After he had got this victorie against the Northumbers, he cruellie pursued the Saxons, as though he ment so farre as in him lay, to destroie the whole race of them out of the coasts of all Britaine: and sending Penda against king Oswald that succéeded Edwin, though at the first Penda receiued the ouerthrow at Heauenfield, yet afterwards Cadwallo himselfe highly displeased with that chance, pursued Oswald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Penda slue

634.

Oswald slaine.

slue the said Oswald. Wherevpon his brother Osunus succéeding in gouernment of the Northumbers, sought the fauour of Cadwallo now ruling as king ouer all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and siluer, and vpon his humble submission, obteined peace, till at length vpon spite, Penda king of Mercia obteined licence of Cadwallo to make warres against the said Osunus, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himselfe was slaine. Then Cadwallo after two yéeres granted that Vlfridus the sonne of Penda should succeed in Mercia.

Oswie. *Matth. West.* 654.

678.

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And finallie when he had reigned 48 yéeres, he departed this life the 22 of Nouember. His bodie being embalmed and dressed with swéet confections, was put into a brasen image by maruelous art melted and cast, which image being set on a brazen horsse of excellent beautie, the Britains set vp aloft vpon the west gate of London called Ludgate, in signe of his conquests, and for a terror to the Saxons. Moreouer the church of S. Martin vnderneath the same gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerse thinke that much of this historie is but fables, bicause of the manifest varieng both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue said.)

Matt. West. saith 676.

The true storie of the forenamed king Oswald, his desire to restore christian religion, Cormans preaching taking small effect among the Northumbers, persuadeth him to depart into his owne countrie, he slandereth them before the Scotish clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cause of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan commeth into England to instruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obseruation of Easter from the English churches custome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oswalds earnest zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and ministerie, 15000 baptised within 7 daies; Oswald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & English at his commandement, his commendable deed of christian charitie, the Westsaxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptised, he maketh Birinus bishop of Dorcester, Penda king of Mercia maketh war against the christian kings of the Westsaxons, both sides after a bloudie battell fall to agrement, Ercombert the first English king that destroied idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why English men became moonks, and English women nunnes in monasteries beyond the seas; why Penda king of Mercia enuieth vertuous king Oswald, he is assaulted, slaine in battell, and canonized a saint after his death.

THE XXIX. CHAPTER.

NOW will we (after all these differing discourses of the British chronologers) approch and draw as néere as we can to the truth of the historie touching Oswald king of the Northumbers, of whom we find, that after he had tasted of Gods high fauour extended to him-wards, in vanquishing his enimies, as one minding to be thankefull therefore, he was desirous to restore the christian faith through his whole kingdome, sore lamenting the decay thereof within the same, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he sent vnto Donwald the Scotish king (with whome he had béene brought vp in the time of his banishment the space of 18 yéeres) requiring him to haue some learned Scotishman sent vnto him, skilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly sermons and wholesome instructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promising to interteine him with such prouision as apperteined.

Oswald meaneth to be thankefull to God for his benefits. *Beda li. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6. Hector Boet.*

Corman.

At his instance, there was sent vnto him one Corman, a clerke singularlie well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted such facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waie of gentle persuading, as is requisite in him that shall instruct the simple, onelie setting

setting foorth in his sermons high mysteries, and matters of such profound knowledge, as the verie learned might scarselie perceiue the perfect sense and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to small effect, so that after a yéeres remaining there, he returned into his countrie, declaring amongst his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberland was a froward, stubborne and stiffe-harted generation, whose minds he could not frame by anie good meanes of persuasion to receiue the christian faith: so that he iudged it lost labour to spend more time amongst them, being so vnthankfull and intractable a people, as no good might be doone vnto them.

Amongst other learned and vertuous prelats of the Scots, there chanced one to be there present at the same time called Aidan, a man of so perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwise than he liued, hauing no regard to the cares of this world, but whatsoeuer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he fréelie bestowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to doo the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans woords, perceiued anon that the fault was not so much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were so that the people of Northumberland gaue no such attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Corman, as his godlie expectation was they should haue doone, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer manie mysticall articles amongst them, farre aboue the capacitie of the vnderstanding of simple men, was the cause why they so lightlie regarded his diuine instructions, whereas if he had (according to the counsell of Saint Paule) at the first ministred vnto their tender vnderstandings, onelie milke, without harder nourishments, he might happilie haue woone a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and so haue framed them by little and little to haue digested stronger food. And therefore he thought it necessarie in discharge of their duties towards God, and to satisfie the earnest zeale of king Oswald, that some one amongst them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by procéeding in this maner afore alledged, what profit would thereof insue.

Aidan.

S. Paules counsell.

The bishops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and therevpon not onelie allowed his woords, but also willed him to take the iournie vpon him, sith they knew none so able with effect to accomplish their wished desires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not seeme to refuse to take that in hand which he himselfe had motioned, was contented to satisfie their request, and so set forward towards Northumberland, and comming thither, was ioifullie receiued of king Oswald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the see of his new bishoprike.

Aidan commeth into England to preach the gospell.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vse of the new begun church of England, that is to say, touching the time of obseruing the feast of Easter, in like maner as all the bishops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in those daies did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holie and praise-woorthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the south parts of Ireland, alreadie were agréed to obserue that feast, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himselfe so earnestlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within short while in woonderfull estimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with such swéet and pleasant matter, that all men had a great desire to heare him, insomuch that sometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, bicause the audience was more than could haue roome in the church.

Beda li. 3. ca. 3. Hector Boet.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon toong. But Oswald himselfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being desirous of nothing so much, as to haue the faith of Christ rooted in the harts of his subiects, vsed as an interpretor to report vnto the people in their Saxon toong, such whole sermons as Aidan vttered in his mother toong. For Oswald hauing béene brought vp (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his banishment, was as readie in the Scotish, as he was in the Saxon toong. The people then seeing the kings earnest desire in furthering the

Beda. Oswald an interpretor to the preacher.

the doctrine set foorth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: so that it was a maruellous matter to note, what numbers of people dailie offred themselues to be baptised, insomuch that within the space of seuen daies (as is left in writing) he christened 15 thousand persons, of the which no small part forsaking the world, betooke themselues to a solitarie kind of life.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earnest trauell in continuall preaching and setting foorth the gospell in that countrie, it came to passe in the end, that the faith was generallie receiued of all the people, and such zeale to aduance the glorie of the christian religion dailie increased amongst them, that no where could be found greater. Heerevpon were no small number of churches built in all places abroad in those parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie consenting (according to the rate of their substance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flourished, as well in fame of increase in religion, as also in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: insomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oswald atteined to such power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure toongs (that is to say) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Englishmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or presumption, but shewed himselfe maruellous courteous amd gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and strangers.

Oswalds zeale to aduance religion.

Beda lib. 5. ca. 6.

Oswald had in estimation with his neighbours.

It is said, that he being set at the table vpon an Ester day, & hauing bishop Aidan at diner then with him, his almoner came in as the bishop was about to say grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks set before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king heerewith tooke a siluer dish, which was set on the table before him with meate, & commanded the same meate streightwaies to be distributed amongst the poore, & the dish broken into small peeces, and diuided amongst them: for which act he was highlie commended of the bishop, as he well deserued. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had beene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 7.

Birinus conuerteth the Westsaxons to the christian faith.

Kinigils king of Westsaxon becommeth a christian.

Polydor.

ABOUT the same time, the Westsaxons were conuerted to the christian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a bishop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to set foorth the gospell vnto those people which as yet were not baptised. By whose diligent trauell in the Lords haruest, Kimgils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptised about the fiue & twentith yeere of his reigne. K. Oswald that should haue had his daughter in mariage, was present the same time, who first yer he became a sonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that should be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontstone, in that his second birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or christian) appointed and assigned the citie of Dorcester, situat by the Thames, distant from Oxford about seuen miles, to be the see of his bishoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earnest trauell & setting foorth the woord of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yeere following, Quichelmus the other king of the Westsaxons, and sonne to Kinigils was also christened, and died the same yeere, and so Cinigilsus or Kinigils reigned alone.

Dorcester ordeined a bishops see.

Henr. Hunt.

This chanced in the yeere 620, as *Matth. West.* saith.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that succeeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to seeke trouble in one place or other, leauied warre against the kings of Westsaxon, Kinigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirenchester, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermost, as though they had forsworne to giue place one to another, insomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell slaughter till the night parted them in sunder. And in the morning, when they saw that if they shuld buckle togither againe, the one part should vtterlie destroie the other, they fell to agreement in moderating ech others demands.

640.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the first of the English kings, which tooke order for the vtter destroieng of all idols throughout

Beda lib. 3. cap. 7. Matth. West.

throughout his whole kingdome. He also by his roiall authoritie commanded the fast of fortie daies in the Lent season to be kept and obserued, appointing woorthie and competent punishment against the transgressors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, a daughter named Eartongatha, a professed nunne within the monasterie of Briege or Cala in France: for in those daies, bicause there were not manie monasteries builded within this land, a great number of Englishmen, that tooke vpon them the profession of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there professed themselues moonks: and manie there were which sent their daughters ouer to be professed nuns within the nunneries there, and speciallie at Briege, Cala, and Andelie: amongst other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the bastard daughter of the said king Anna, both which in processe of time were made abbesses of the said monasterie of Briege.

Lent first ordeined to be kept in England.
Segburga.
Aimoinus.

Ye haue heard alreadie, how Oswald king of Northumberland bare himselfe in all points like a most woorthie prince, not ceasing to releeue the necessitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reforming the euill, whereby he wan to himselfe excéeding praise and commendation of all good men, and still his fame increased for his vertuous dooings; namelie, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the christian faith. Herevpon Penda king of Mercia, enuieng the prosperous procéedings of Oswald, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-dooings, began to imagine how to destroie him, and to conquere his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrie by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maserfield, and there in sharpe and cruell fight Oswald was slaine on the fift day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after some, which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predecessors Osrike and Eaufride reigned, whome they number not amongest kings, because of their wicked apostasie and renouncing of the faith which before they had professed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oswald, being cruellie slaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceiued of his holinesse, the foresaid Oswald was canonized a saint, and had in great worship of the people, being the first of the English nation that approoued his vertue by miracles shewed after his departure out of this life.

Penda inuadeth the Northumbers.
Beda lib. 3. cap. 9.
King Oswald slaine.
Matt. Westm. saith 644.
Will. Malmes.

Oswie succeedeth Oswald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is sore vexed by Penda, Oswie and Oswin are partners in gouernement, they fall at strife, Oswin is betræied into the hands of Oswie and slaine, a commendation of his personage and goodlie qualities, bishop Aidan dieth; Cenwalch king of the Westsaxons, Penda maketh warre against him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becommeth a christian and recouereth his kingdome, Bishop Agilbert commeth into Westsaxon, and afterwards departing (vpon occasion) is made bishop of Paris, Wini buieth the bishoprike of London; Sigibert king of the Eastangles, the vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by him, he resigneth his kingdome and becometh a moonke, he and his kinsman Egric are slaine in a skirmish against Penda king of Mercia.

THE XXX. CHAPTER.

AFTER that king Oswald was slaine, his brother Oswie (being about 30 yeares of age) tooke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the same with great trouble for the space of 28 yeares, being sore vexed by the foresaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the first yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeare of our Lord 644. Pauline the bishop of Rochester which had beene also archbishop of

OSWIE King of Northumberland.
Beda li. 3. ca. 14.
644.

of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Englishman of the parties of Kent was ordeined bishop of Rochester by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. King Oswie had one Oswin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbers in the first beginning of his reigne, which was sonne to Osrike, so that Oswie gouerned in Bernicia, and Oswin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendship for a season, till at length, through the counsell of wicked persons, that coueted nothing so much as to sowe discord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and so began to make warres one against an other, so that finallie when they were at point to haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oswin perceiuing that he had not an armie of sufficient force to incounter with Oswie, brake vp his campe at Wilfaresdowne, ten mile by west the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himselfe onelie with one seruant named Condhere vnto the house of earle Hunwald, whome he tooke to haue béene his trustie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the said Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oswie, who by his captaine Edelwine slue the said Oswin and his seruant the forsaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 651.

Bernicia.

651.

This Oswin was a goodlie gentleman of person, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of spéech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, so that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be breefe, as bishop Aidan gessed that he should not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not woorthie of so good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humblenesse and obedience he perceiued to rest in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better instruction in good part, that he said, he neuer saw before that time an humble king. The same Aidan liued not past 12 daies after the death of the said Oswin, whome he so much loued, departing this world the last daie of August, in the seuenteenth yeare after he was ordeined bishop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindesferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made bishop in his place, a Scotishman also, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predecessor the foresaid Aidan came, being first a man of religion professed in the monasterie there (as some writers doo report.)

CENWALCH. *Henr. Hunt.* 643.

In the meane time, after that Kinigils or Cinigilsus king of the Westsaxons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life Anno 643, leauing his kingdome to his sonne Cenwalch or Chenwald, who held the same kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as some write) in manner as his father had doone before him. In the third, or (as others saie) in the fift yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made sharpe warre against him, because he had put awaie his wife the sister of the said Penda, and in this warre Chenwald was ouercome in battell, & driuen out of his countrie, so that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, with whome he remained the space of a yeare, or (as other say) three yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the christian religion, but now by the wholesome admonitions and sharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a christian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the prescript of Gods law, and (to be bréefe) in all things shewed himselfe a new man, imbracing vertue, & auoiding vice, so that shortlie after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

Ran. Higd.

Agilbertus a bishop.

Now when he was established in the same, there came a bishop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the scriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Westsaxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chenwald, at whose desire he tooke vpon him to exercise the roome of a bishop there: but afterwards, when the said king admitted another bishop named Wini, which had béene ordeined in France, and knew the toong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counsell therein, returned into France, and there was made bishop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foresaid Wini was expelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Vulfhere, of whome he bought the bishoprike of London, which he

he held during his life, and so the countrie of Westsaxon remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Elutherius that was his nephue.

SIGIBERT.

YE haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succéeded in rule of the East-angles, a man of great vertue and woorthinesse, who whilest he remained in France as a banished man, being constreined to flée his countrie vpon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countrie, and obteining at length the kingdome, those things which he had séene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and herevpon considering with himselfe that nothing could more aduance the state of the common-wealth of his countrie than learning & knowledge in the toongs, began the foundation of certeine schooles, and namelie at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had béene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 4.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by king Sigibert.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those hir learned men which haue bin brought vp & come foorth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun by him about the yeare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthie king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as apperteined to the dutie of a good king, wherevpon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yéeres, and to liue from thencefoorth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration vnto his kinsman Egricus, he became a moonke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Bale saith 636.

Sigibert resigneth his kingdome to Egricus.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egricus, whervpon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come foorth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constreined against his will, would not put on armour or beare anie other kind of weapon, than onelie a wand in his hand in steed of a scepter, and so the armie of the East-angles in hope of good spéed by the presence of Sigibert, ioined in battell with their enimies, but the Eastangles were finallie vanquished, and the more part of them slaine, togither with Sigibert and his coosen Egricus their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour (as some haue noted) 652.

Sigibert and Egricus slaine.

652.

In the daies whilest Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furseus, who comming into the countrie of the Eastangles, was gladlie receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumbreburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a moonke. Of this Furseus manie things are written, the which for briefenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had béene bishop fiue yéeres, died, and then one Beretgils was ordeined in his roome by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of his naturall life, deceassed also the last of September in the yéere of our Lord 653.

Baleus. Beda lib. 3. cap. 19.

Furseus.

653.

Anna king of Eastangles is slaine by Penda king of Mercia, his brother succeeding him is slaine also by Oswie king of Northumberland, the Mercians or Middleangles receiue the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberlands daughter in mariage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose meanes the Eastsaxons imbraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murthered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceiued hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

THE XXXJ. CHAPTER.

ANNA. *Will. Malmes.*

AFTER Egricus succeeded Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of Eastangle, and was likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that inuaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Edelhere succéeded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, togither with the foresaid Penda, and woorthilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the sée of Canturburie had béene vacant by the space of one whole yéere and six moneths, one Deus dedit of the countrie of the West-saxons, was elected and consecrated by Ithamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of Aprill. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yéeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Sussex.

Edelhere K. of Eastangle.

Deus dedit.

Beda hist. eccle. lib. 3. cap. 21. 653.

ABOUT this time, the people of Mercia commonlie called Middleangles, receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Peada, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie yoong gentleman, and woorthie to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middleangles during his owne life. [¶ Héere maie you note, that the kingdome of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This yoong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in mariage: but when he was informed that he might not haue hir except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall ioies and immortalitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had king Oswies daughter to wife or not, he would suerlie be baptised, and chieflie he was persuaded therevnto by his kinsman Alchfrid, who had in mariage his sister the daughter of Penda name Cimburgh.

Peda or Peada king of Middleangles.

Ad murum.

Wherefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him at a place called At the wall, and taking with him foure priests which were thought méete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuna, of the which, the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen. These priests comming into the prouince of the Middleangles, preached the woord, and were well heard, so that dailie a great number of the nobilitie & communaltie renouncing the filthie dregs of idolatrie, were christned. Neither did king Penda forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whome he knew to haue professed themselues christians, and yet shewed not the woorks of faith, saieng, that "Those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obeie their God in whome they beléeued." This alteration of things began, about two yéeres before the death of king Penda.

The saieng of king Penda.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 22.

ABOUT the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, receiued eftsoones the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Melitus.

Melitus. Ye haue heard that Serred, Siward, and Sigibert brethren, and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the reuolting of that prouince from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whome succéeded Sigibert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Siward, as some write. This Sigibert the litle left the kingdome to an other Sigibert that was sonne to one Sigebald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigibert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eastsaxons, being a most especiall friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, whervpon king Oswie ceassed not most earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to receiue the faith of Iesus Christ, and in the end by such effectuall persuasions as he vsed, Sigibert gaue credit to his woords, and so being conuerted, receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, bicause it was built néere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is often before remembred, being twelue miles distant from the east sea.

King Sigibert receiued the faith.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certeine instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent vnto the prouince of the Middleangles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cédda, and assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat, sent them vnto the prouince of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and inlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certeine things with bishop Finnan which kept his sée at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in aduancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

This was about the yéere 649, as *Matth. West.* hath noted.

Cedda.

Ced or Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Héerevpon, the same Cedda returned vnto his cure, went forward with more authoritie to performe the woorke of the Lord, & building churches in diuerse places, ordeined priests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of baptising, speciallie in the citie of Ithancester vpon the riuer of Pent, and likewise in Tileburge on the riuer of Thames. Whilest Ced was thus busie to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase dailie procéeding, it chanced thorough the instigation of the deuill, the common enimie of mankind, that king Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examined of the cause that should mooue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bicause they had conceiued an hatred against the king, for that he was too fauourable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgiue iniuries committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murthered, bicause he obserued the commandements of the gospell with a deuout hart.

Tilberie.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his offense was punished, wherein he had suerlie transgressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had vnlawfullie maried, and refused to put hir away at the bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excommunicated, and all other of the christian congregation commanded to absteine from his companie. This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him came to his house to a banket, and in his comming from thence met with the bishop, whome when the king beheld, he waxed afraid, and alighted from his horsse, and fell downe at his féet, beséeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horssebacke likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one somethings displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, spake these words; "Bicause (saith he) thou wouldst not absteine from entring the house of that wicked person being accurssed, thou shalt die in the same house:" and so it came to passe.

The authoritie of a bishop.

Suidhelme

Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons, he is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced in his natiue countrie of Northumberland; Ediswald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings deuout mind to further and inlarge religion; the maner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie vse; the old order of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Oswie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virgine to God if he got the victorie, he obteineth his request and performeth his vow, she liueth, dieth, and is buried in a monasterie, the benefit insuing Oswies conquest ouer his enimies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Oswie; prince Peada his kinsman murthered of his wife.

THE XXXIJ. CHAPTER.

SUIDHELME. *Beda lib. 3. cap. 22. Matt. West.*

AFTER Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, he was the son of Sexbald, and baptised of Ced in the prouince of the Eastangles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlessham. Ediswald king of the Eastangles (the brother of king Anna) was his godfather at the fontstone. Ced the bishop of the Eastsaxons vsed oftentimes to visit his countrie of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to godlie life. Whervpon it chanced that king Ediswald the son of king Oswald which reigned in the parties of Deira, mooued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to choose foorth some plot of ground where he might build a monasterie, in the which the king himselfe and others might praie, heare sermons the oftener, and haue place where to burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espied a place amongst high and desert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Lestinghem.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 23.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with praier & fasting, he asked leaue of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning vntill euening, according to the maner, nor receiued anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with praier and fasting, which they latelie had receiued to make in the same either church or monasterie.

The maner of the old fast.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbill, to supplie his roome, that his begun religious woorke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the moonks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindesferne where he was brought vp. Finallie this bishop Ced comming vnto this monasterie afterwards by chance in time of a sicknesse, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were bishops, as before is said.

Lindesferne holie Iland.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

About the same time, Oswie king of Northumberland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high gifts, and great rewards vnto the said Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant vtterlie to haue destroied the whole nation of Oswies people, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pagan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let us make offer vnto him that knoweth how to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that if he might obtein victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in

War betwéene king Oswie & king Penda.

in perpetuall virginitie : and further would giue twelue manors, lordships or farmes to the building of monasteries : and so with a small armie he put himselfe in hazard of battell.

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capteins or coronels, against whome came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armie, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Iesus. His other son Ecgfrid remained in hostage at that time with quéene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his vncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan capteins were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whome was Edilhere king of the Eastangles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought néere to the water of Inwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raine, drowned more of the enimies than died of the Northumbers swoords. The victorie of the Northumbers.

After that Oswie had obteined this victorie, he performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the profession of virginitie, and also gaue the twelue manors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, conteining euerie of them ten housholds a péece. Elfled also king Oswies daughter was professed in the monasterie of Herthew, where one Hilda was abbesse, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten housholds in Streanshall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a nouice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yéeres she departed this life, and was buried there, and so likewise was hir mother Eufled, and hir grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie aboue mentioned got by king Oswie in the countrie of Loides on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirtenth yéere of his reigne, happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie of Northumberland from the cruell destruction made in the same by the pagan people of Mercia, and conuerted those pagans themselues, and the countries néere adioining to them wholie vnto the faith of Iesus Christ. Elfled. Herteshey saith *Matt. West.* Hilda. Loides.

The first bishop in the prouince of Mercia, and also of Lindesferne and the Middleangles was one Diuma, who died amongst the Middleangles. The second was Cellach, the which leauing his bishoprike returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots. He was abbat of the monasterie of Ingethlingum, being builded in that place where king Oswin was slaine (as before is mentioned.) For quéene Eufled that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie vpon. The first bishop of Mercia.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gouerned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south prouinces, & subdued a great part of the Pictish nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gaue vnto Peada the son of king Penda (bicause he was his kinsman) the countrie of the Southmercies, conteining 5000 housholds, and separated from the Northmercies by the riuer Trent. The countrie of the Northmercies conteined in those daies 7000 housholds. But Peada in the next spring was wickedlie murthered through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter. 659. *Matt. West.* The victorious proceeding of king Oswie. Southmercia. Northmercia.

The

The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswie, recouer their owne bounds, and create Wulfhere their king; Cenwald king of the Westsaxons fighteth with the Britaines and preuaileth, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adelwold king of Sussex hath the Ile of Wight giuen him, and why; succession of Edelher, Edelwald, and Aldulfe in the kingdome of Eastangles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumberland, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God, Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the see of Canturburie void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a moonke supplieth the roome at the popes appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore and Adrian woorthilie praised, English men happie, glasiers first brought into this Iland.

THE XXXIIJ. CHAPTER.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

AFTER three yeeres were complet, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled against king Oswie, aduancing one Wulfhere a yoong gentleman the sonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whom they had kept in secret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oswie, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and so liuing in freedome with their owne naturall king the foresaid Vulfhere, they also continued with glad hearts in seruice of the celestiall king our God and Sauior.

VULFHERE. *Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.*

THIS Vulfhere gouerned the Mercies seuenteene yeares, the which Mercies (during the reigne of the said Vulfhere) had foure bishops successiuelie gouerning the church of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Iaroman, Ceadda, and Winfrid, as hereafter shall more at large appeare.

Henr. Hunt. Matt. West.

About the beginning of king Vultheres reigne, that is to say, in the seuenteenth yeare of the reigne of Chenwald king of the Westsaxons, the same Chenwald fought with the Britains at Pennum, where the Britains being assembled in great number, proudlie incountred with the Englishmen, and at the first put them to the woorst, but when the Englishmen would in no wise giue ouer, but did sticke to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to flight, so that the posteritie of Brute receiued that day an incurable wound. But within three yeares after, that is, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said Chenwald, he had not the like lucke in battell against the foresaid Vulfhere king of Mercia, as he had before against the Britains, for the said Vulfhere vanquishing him in the field, passed through this countrie with a great armie vnto the Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it vnto Adelwold king of Sussex, as a gift at that time, when he receiued him at the fontstone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Ile, to the end he should cause the people there to receiue the faith and religion of Christ. Now after that Edelhere king of Eastangles was slaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald succeeded him in that kingdome, reigning as king thereof by the space of nine yeares. Then after Edelwald succeeded Aldulfe the son of Edelhere in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned 25 yeares.

The Britains put to flight by Chenwald.

Chenwald vanquished by Vulfhere.

Adelwold of Sussex.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24. Colman ordeined b shop.

After Finan bishop of the Northumbers that held his see at Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one Colman was ordeined bishop, a Scot borne, and an earnest obseruer of the customes vsed amongest them of his nation, so that when the controuersie began to be reuiued for the holding of the feast of Easter, he would by no meanes yeeld to them that would haue perswaded him to haue followed the rite of the Romane church. There was a great disputation kept about this matter, and other things, as shauing or cutting of heares, and such like in the monasterie of Whitbie, at the which king Oswie and his sonne Alcfrid were present, where Colman for his part alledged the custome of Iohn the euangelist, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie side brought in proofe of their opinion, the custome of Peter and Paule.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 25.

Paule. At length, when bishop Colman perceiued that his doctrine was not so much regarded, as he thought of reason it ought to haue béene, he returned into Scotland with those, which taking part with him, refused to obserue the feast of Easter according to the custome of the church of Rome, nor would haue their crownes shauen, about which point no small reasoning had béene kept. This disputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664, and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oswie 22, and 30 yeare after the Scotishmen began first to beare the office of bishops within Northumberland, which was (as W. Harison saith) 624. For Aidan gouerned 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3 yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrie, one Tuda that had béene brought vp amongest the Southerne Scots, and ordeined bishop by them, succéeded in his roome, hauing his crowne shauen, and obseruing the feast of Easter according to the custome of the prouince and rite of the Romane church. ¶ The same yeare, there chanced a great eclipse of the sunne, the third of Maie about 10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mortalitie insued, both in all the parties of this our Britaine, and likewise in Ireland. Amongest other, the foresaid bishop Tuda died, and was buried in the abbeie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, succéeded in gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, otherwise called Holie Iland, one Wilfrid, which was sent by king Alcfrid into France, to be ordeined there.

Controuersie about shauing of crownes. *Cap. 6.* 664.

Tuda ordeined bishop.

Cap. 27. An eclipse. Punishment of God for yelding to superstition.

Wilfrid bishop.

About the same time king Oswie, the father of king Alcfrid, mooued with the good example of his sonne, sent Ceadda, the brother of Ced sometime bishop of the Eastsaxons into Kent, to be ordeined bishop of Yorke, but at his comming into Kent he found that Deus dedit the archbishop of Canturburie was dead, and none other as yet ordeined in his place, so that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Westsaxons, where he was ordeined by bishop Wini, who tooke two other bishops of the British nation vnto him to be his associats, which vsed to obserue the feast of Easter contrarie to the custome of the Romane church. But there was no other shift, sith none other bishop was then canonicallie ordeined in the prouince of the Westsaxons in those daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and therefore was he constreined to take such as he might get and prouide.

Cap. 28.

Ceadda ordeined archbishop of Yorke.

After that Ceadda was thus ordeined, he began forthwith to follow the true rules of the church, liued right chastlie, shewed himselfe humble and continent, applied his studie to reading, and trauelled abroad on foot and not on horssebacke through the countries, townes, and villages, to preach the word of God. He was the disciple of Aidan, and coueted by his example, and also by the example of Ced, to instruct his hearers with the like dooings & maners as he had knowen them to doo. Wilfrid also being consecrated bishop, and returned into England, indeuored to plant the orders of the Romane church in the churches of England, whereby it came to passe, that the Scots which inhabited amongst the Englishmen, were constreined either to follow the same, or else to returne into their owne countrie.

In this meane time, king Ercombert being departed this life, after he had gouerned the Kentishmen by the space of twentie yeares, his sonne Egbert succéeded him in the kingdome, and reigned nine yeares. There is little remembrance of his dooings, which in that short time were not much notable, except ye will ascribe the comming into this land of the archbishop Theodorus, and the abbat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time. For in the yeare of the great eclipse and sore mortalitie that insued, it chanced that both king Ercombert, & the archbishop Deus dedit departed this life, so that the see of Canturburie was void a certeine time, in so much that king Egbert, who succéeded his father Ercombert, togither with king Oswie, did send one Wighart a priest of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the scriptures, vnto Rome, with great gifts and rich vessels of gold and siluer, to be presented vnto the pope, requiring him that he would ordeine the foresaid Wighart archbishop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the English church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome, and declaring his message vnto Vitalianus then gouerning the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that citie) with all those that came with him.

EGBERT king of Kent.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 9. Wighart.

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1. Adrian.

The pope then taking aduice whome he might ordeine vnto the see of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a moonke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a roome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a moonke also, wherevnto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, eftsoones Adrian should haue beene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodore an other moonke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodore by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuerthelesse attend vpon him into England, both for that he had beene twise before this time in France, and so knew the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and looke well to the matter, that Theodore should not bring into the church of England anie rite or custome of the Greekes, contrarie to the vse of the Romane church. Theodore being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was growen, that he might haue his crowne shauen after the maner of Peter. For he was rounded or shauen after the maner of the East church, which was as they persuaded themselues, according to the vse of saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the sixt kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie. 668.

These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortlie after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: wherevpon with all conuenient speed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staied for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceiued that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so comming vnto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodore came thus vnto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundaie. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obeisance.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought conuenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the right and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of Yorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the see of Yorke, and Wilfrid was therevnto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraded of his degree of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, now they began in euerie church to vse singing of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodore finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namelie well seene in song and musicke to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Grogories disciples.

Ran. Cest. Matth. West. Beda.

Singing in churches brought in vse.

Putta bishop of Rochester.

To be breefe, the archbishop Theodore, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notablie well learned themselues in the Greeke and the Latine toongs, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberall arts, as in the scripture, they tooke great paines to traine vp scholers in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not seene more happie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof diuers being giuen to studie, proued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in companie of the said archbishop

The worthie praise of Theodore and Adrian.

Englishmen happie and why.

Beda.

archbishop from Rome, an English man named Benedict Biscop, which had taken vpon him the habit of a moonke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbeis, the one named Wiremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuer of Wire, and the other Girwie, distant from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newcastle foure miles, situated neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girwie in the yeare 673. There were a 600 moonks found in those two houses, and gouerned vnder one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glasiers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fiue times to Rome, and came againe.

Benedict or Benet surnamed Biscop.

670.

Glasiers first brought into England. *Ran. Cest.*

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the Eastsaxons, the one falleth from, the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that apostasie of the prince and the people, Cead bishop of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in hie reputation, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Bisi vnable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Escuius succeedeth hir in the roome, of Thunnir a murtherer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid deposed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons a professed moonke, his death.

THE XXXIIIJ. CHAPTER.

ABOUT the same time, after that Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succéeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were subiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chiefest lords, and also part of his commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idols, as though thereby they should haue beene defended from that mortalitie. But his associat Sebbie with great deuotion continued stedfast in the faith which he had receiued.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 30.

King Vulfhere being informed of Seghers apostasie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Eastsaxons were departed from the faith, sent thither bishop Iaruman or Iaroman, that was successour vnto Trumhere, which vsed such diligence and godlie meanes, that he reduced the said king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, so as the idolish synagogs were destroied, and the idols also with their altars quite beaten downe, the christian churches againe set open, and the name of Christ eftsoones called vpon amongest the people, coueting now rather to die in him with hope of resurrection in the world to come, than to liue in the seruice of idols, spotted with the filth of errors and false beleefe. And thus when bishop Iaroman had accomplished the thing for the which he was sent, he returned into Mercia.

Bishop Iaruman or Iaroman.

After this, when the said Iaroman was departed this life, king Vulfhere sent vnto the archbishop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new bishop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new bishop at that time, required Oswie king of Northumberland, that bishop Cead might come into Mercia to exercise the office of bishop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monasterie of Lestingham, for Wilfrid held the bishoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongest the Picts also, so farre as king Oswies dominion stretched. Therefore Cead hauing

hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Vulfhere, and well enterteined, in so much that the said king gaue vnto him lands and possessions conteining 50 families or housholds to build a monasterie in a certeine place within the countrie of Lindsey called Etbearne. But the sée of his bishoprike was assigned to him at Lichfield in Staffordshire, where he made him a house néere to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion vsed in an oratorie there to praie and reade, so often as they had leasure from labour and businesse of the world. Finallie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the space of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he should die, after a miraculous maner, which because in the iudgement of the most it may séeme méere fabulous, we will omit and passe ouer. His bodie was first buried in the church of our ladie, but after that the church of saint Peter the apostle were builded, his bones were translated into the same.

671. *Matth. West.* In the yeare of our Lord 671, which was the second yeare after that Theodorus the archbishop came into this land, Oswie king of Northumberland was attacked with a grieuous sicknesse, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares complet.

EGFRID. *Beda. lib. 4. cap 5. Matth. West.* 673. After Oswie, his sonne Egfrid succéeded in rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whose reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie kept a synod at Herford, the first session whereof began the 24 of September, all the bishops of this land being present either in person or by their deputies, as Bisi bishop of Estangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Putta bishop of Rochester, Eleutherius bishop of Westsaxon, and Wilfrid bishop of Mercia. In the presence of these prelats, the archbishop shewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the same might be receiued.

A synod holden at Herford.

Articles proponed by Theodore.

1 The first chapter was, that the feast of Easter should be kept on the sundaie following the fourtéenth day of the first moneth.

2 The second, that no bishop should intermedle in an others diocesse, but be contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no bishop should disquiet in anie thing anie monasterie consecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the same.

4 The fourth, that bishops being moonks should not go from monasterie to monasterie, except by sufferance and permission of their abbats, & should continue in the same obedience wherein they stood before.

5 The fift, that none of the cleargie should depart from his bishop to run into anie other diocesse, nor comming from anie other place should be admitted, except he brought letters of testimonie with him. But if anie such chanced to be receiued, if he refused to returne, being sent for home, both he and his receiuer should be excommunicated.

6 The sixt, that bishops and other of the cleargie being strangers shold hold them content with the benefit of hospitalitie, & should not take in hand anie priestlie office, without licence of the bishop, in whose diocesse he chanced so to be remaining.

7 The seuenth, that twice in the yeare a synod should be kept, but because of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of August a synod should be kept once in the yeare, at a certeine place called Cloofeshough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one bishop should by ambition séeke to be preferred aboue another, but that euerie one should know the time and order of his consecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the christians increased, so should there be more bishops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching mariages, that none should contract matrimonie with anie person, but with such as it should be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none should match with their kinsfolke, no man should forsake his wife, except (as the gospell teacheth) for cause of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfullie married,

ried, if he would be accounted a true christian, he might not be coopled with an other, but so remaine, or else be reconciled to his owne wife.

These articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the subscribing of all their hands, so as all those that did go against the same, should be disgraded of their priesthood, and separated from the companie of them all.

Bisi bishop of the Eastangles.

THE forsaid Bisi that was bishop of the Eastangles, and present at this synod, was successor unto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that sée 17 yéeres, and then departing this life, Bisi was made bishop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbishop Theodore. This Bisi at length was so visited with sicknesse, that he was not able to exercise the ministration, so that two bishops were then & there elected and consecrated for him, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

872.

In this meane while, that is, about the yéere of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Harison noteth, Kenwalch king of the Westsaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yéeres. This Kenwalch was such a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the woorst kind of rulers, but in the middest and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the best. His godlie zeale borne towards the aduancing of the christian religion well appéered in the building of the church at Winchester, where the bishops sée of all that prouince was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Westsaxons after him, a woman of stoutnesse inough to haue atchiued acts of woorthie remembrance, but being preuented by death yer she had reigned one whole yéere, she could not shew anie full proofe of hir noble courage. I remember that Matth. West. maketh other report heereof, declaring that the nobilitie remooued hir from the gouernment. But I rather follow William Malmesburie in this matter.

Matth. West. de reg. lib. 1.

ESCUINUS.

To procéed, after Segburga was departed this life, or déposed (if you will néeds haue it so) Escuinus or Elcuinus, whose grandfather called Cuthgislo, the brother of K. Kinigils, succéeding in gouernment of the Westsaxons, reigned about the space of two yéeres: and after his deceasse, one Centiuinus or Centwine tooke vpon him the rule, and continued therein the space of nine yeeres. But Beda saith that these two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdom betwixt them. Elcuinus fought against Vulfhere king of Mercia, a great number of men being slaine on both parties, though Vulfhere yet had after a maner the vpper hand, as some haue written.

Will. Malmes.

Hen. Hunt.

In the same yéere that the synod was holden at Herford, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Iulie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, which held the same eleuen yéeres, & seuen moneths. Some haue written that king Egbert by the suggestion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, suffered the same Thunnir in lamentable maner to kill the two innocent sonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt least they being towardlie yoong gentlemen, might in time grow so into fauour with the people, that it should be easie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his issue of the kingdome. Also, that they were priuilie put to death, and secretlie buried at the first, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being shewed after a miraculous maner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the sonne of king Edgar, were taken vp, & conueied vnto Ramsey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of those his coosens, did sore repent him, for that he vnderstood they died giltlesse, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be punished for that offense, as after shall be shewed.

Beda lib. & ca. supr. dict.

Io. Lothaire.

Wil. Malm.

Beda de reg. li.

Thunnir.

A vile murther.

Bishop Winfrid deposed.

Sexvulfe ordeined bishop of the Mercies.

Winfrid bishop of the Mercies for his disobedience in some point, was depriued by archbishop Theodore, and one Sexvulfe that was the builder and also the abbat of the monasterie of Meidhamsted, otherwise called Peterborough, was ordeined and consecrated in his place. About the same time, Erkenwald was ordeined bishop of the Eastsaxons, and appointed to hold his sée in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holinesse and

685, as *Matth. Westm.* saith.

Bishop Erkenwald.

and vertue. Before he was made bishop, he builded two abbeies, the one of moonks at Chertsey in Southerie, where he himselfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at Berking, within the prouince of the Eastsaxons, where he placed his sister Ethelburga, a woman also highlie esteemed for hir deuout kind of life. She was first brought vp and instructed in the rules of hir profession by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the seas, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpose.

Ethelburga.
Iohn Capgraue.

After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made bishop of London, in whose daies Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, being now vexed with a gréeuous sicknesse, professed himselfe a moonke: which thing he would haue doone long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died shortlie after within the citie of London, and was buried in the church of saint Paule. King Sighere, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eastsaxons, was departed this life before, so that in his latter time, the foresaid Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole prouince of the Eastsaxons, and left the same to his sonnes Sighard and Sewfred. About the yéere of our Lord 675, Vulfhere king of Mercia departed this life, after he had reigned (as some say) 19 yéeres, but (as other affirme) he reigned but 17 yèeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that passed after the slaughter of Penda, wherein Oswie and Peada held the aforesaid kingdome.

Waldhere.
Sebbie king of Eastsaxons.
Beda. lib. 4. cap. 16.
Wil. Malm.

675.
Wil. Malmes.
But other affirme that he reigned 17 yéeres.
Beda.
Peada or rather Weada.

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waste without resistance of Lothaire the king thereof, Putta of a bishop becommeth a poore curat and teacheth musicke, Wilfred deposed from his bishoprike by king Egfrid vpon displeasure, he preacheth the gospell in Sussex by the licence of king Edilualhe, no raine in Sussex for the space of three yeeres, the woord and sacraments bring blessings with them; bishop Wilfrid the first teacher to catch fish with nets, the people haue him in great reuerence, a great and bloudie battell betweene Egfrid & king Edilred, they are reconciled by the meanes of archbishop Theodore; a synod holden at Hatfield, the clergie subscribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbesse of Whitbie.

THE XXXV. CHAPTER.

EDILRED.

AFTER Vulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred succéeded in gouernment of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yéere of our Lord 677, destroieng the countrie afore him, not sparing churches nor abbeies, but spoiling the same without respect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durst not appéere in the field to giue him battell, so that Edilred went thorough the countrie, destroied the citie of Rochester, and with great riches gotten by the spoile he returned home. Putta the bishop of Rochester, after that his church was spoiled and defaced by the enimies, went to Sexvulfe bishop of Mercia, and there obteining of him a small cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to restore his church of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach song, and instruct such as would learne musicke, wheresoeuer he was required, or could get intertainment.

677.
Hen. Hunt.

Heerevpon the archbishop Theodore consecrated one William bishop of Rochester in place of Putta, and after, when the said William constreined by pouertie, left that church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his stéed. In the yéere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of August, a blasing starre appéered, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was séene euerie morning for the space of thrée moneths togither. The same Egfrid king of Northumberland, banished bishop Wilfrid vpon displeasure taken with him, out of his sée, and then were two bishops ordeined in his place, to gouerne the church of the Northumbers, the one named Bosa

678.
A blasing star.
Matth. West. Beda. lib. 4. ca. 12.
Bishop Wilfrid banished.

Bosa at Yorke, and the other called Eata at Hagustald or Lindesferne. Also one Eadhidus was ordeined about the same time bishop of Lindsey, the which prouince king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Vulfhere the late king of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battell, and droue him out of that countrie. The said thrée bishops were consecrated at Yorke by the archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus, the which within thrée yéeres after ordeined two bishops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to say, Tumbert at Hagustald, Eata that was appointed to remaine at Lindesferne, & Trumuine was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of those Picts which as then were vnder the English dominion. Also bicause Edilred king of Mercia recouered the countrie of Lindsey, and ioined it to his dominion, bishop Eadhedus comming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Rippon.

Hagustald. Hexham. Eadhidus. Lindesferne. Holie Iland.

The church of Rippon.

After that bishop Wilfrid was expelled out of his diocesse and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the South-saxons, the which conteining seuen thousand housholds or families, as yet was not conuerted to the christian faith. Wherefore the said Wilfrid began there to preach the gospell with licence of king Edilwalke, who (as before is mentioned) was conuerted and baptised in Mercia by the procurement of king Wolfher, that then became his godfather, and gaue him at the same time the Ile of Wight, and the prouince of the people ancientlie called Meanuari, which he had woon from the Westsaxons. Bishop Wilfrid then by king Edilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptised the chiefest lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certein priests baptised the residue of the people, either then or in the time following.

Wilfrid by licence of king Edilwalke preacheth the gospel to them of Sussex.

¶ It chanced that for the space of thrée yeeres (as it is said) before the comming thither of bishop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the South-saxons, so that the people were brought into great miserie by reson of famine, which through want of necessarie fruits of the earth sore afflicted the whole countrie, insomuch that no small numbers threw themselues hedlong into the sea, despairing of life in such lacke of necessarie vittels. But as God would, the same day that Wilfrid began to minister the sacrament of baptisme, there came downe swéet and plentifull showers of raine, so watering the earth, that thereby great store of all fruits plentifullie tooke root, and yéelded full increase in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of all the people, which before were in maner starued and lost through want of food.

Lacke of raine.

Bishop Wilfrid also taught them in that countrie the maner how to catch fish with nets, where before that time, they had no great skill in anie kind of fishing, except it were in catching éeles. Hereby the said bishop grew there in great estimation with the people, so that his words were the better credited amongst them, for that through him they receiued so great benefits, God by such meanes working in the peoples hearts a desire to come to the vnderstanding of his lawes. The king also gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Sealesew, compassed about on each side (except on the west halfe) with the sea, conteining 87 housholds or families, where he built an abbeie, and baptised all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and bondwomen, whome he made frée both in bodie and soule: for he did not onelie baptise them, but also infranchised them of all bodilie seruitude and bondage.

Catching of fish with nets.

Bondmen made trulie free.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and first in the yeere after the appéering of the blasing starre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the said Egfrid and Edilred king of Mercia, néere to the riuer of Trent, where Alswine the brother of king Egfrid was slaine, with manie other of the Northumbers, so that king Egfrid was constreined to returne home with losse. The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus perceiuing that great warre and effusion of bloud was like to follow therevpon, trauelled so in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a péece of monie in recompense of his losses. The foresaid battell was fought in the yéere of our Lord 679, and in the yeere following, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 680, which was also in the tenth yéere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland,

679.

680.

land, the sixt yéere of Edelred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldvulfe king of Eastangles, and in the 7 of Lother king of Kent.

A synod at Hatfield. Articles subscribed.

The archbishop of Canturburie Theodorus held another synod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there present subscribed to certeine articles touching the beléefe of the trinitie of persons, in vnitie of the Godhead of the like substance, and also of the same vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreouer, they acknowledged by the like subscription, the fiue generall councels, of Nice, of Constantinople the first, of Ephesus, of Calcedon, and of Constantinople the second, with the synod also holden at Rome in the daies of Martin bishop of Rome about the yéere of the emperour Constantine. At this synod holden at Hatfield, was present one Iohn the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, sent into this land of purpose to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agréement of the English church in matters of faith, with other churches of the christian world: but the foresaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towraine.

Bale. The abbesse Hilda. *Beda.*

The same yéere that famous woman Hilda abbesse of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other say) fiue yéeres after, hauing first beene deteined long with gréeuous sickenesse. She was the daughter of one Herrericus the nephue of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of Christ at the preaching of bishop Pauline, and afterwards instructed by bishop Aidan, she professed hirselfe a nun, applieng hir whole studie to the reading of the scriptures, to praier, & other godlie exercises. She builded the abbeie of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with such an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich person amongst them, nor anie that wanted things necessarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yéeres of age. As some haue written she argued stoutlie on bishop Colmans part, at the disputation holden in the monasterie of Whitbie, in the yéere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yéere of our Lord 682, that is to say, in the seuenth yere of Centwine or Centiuinus king of Westsaxons, the same Centwine fought with the Britains, and ouercame them in battell, pursuing them with fire and sword vnto the sea side.

Bale. Ran. Cest. Matth. West. Beda.

Henrie Hunt.

The Britains discomfited.

¶ Thus (at this time as also at diuerse other times) they were discomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and shared out as it were to suffer many an ouerthrow, and abide manie a sharpe and shamefull repulse at the hands of their enimies, who conuerted the distresse of that people to their profit, and tooke pleasure in the extreamitie of the miseries wherein they were plunged, as may be obserued by the pitifull alteration of their state vnder diuers gouernours, and speciallie vnder the Danish dominion, who kept them in no lesse vile seruitude than Pharao did the Hebrues at the making of bricke & chopping of straw. So that some thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bridania, that is, *Libera Dania, siue regio in qua Dani liberè viuant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they listed. But of this matter more shall be spoken hereafter in place conuenient.

Gorop. in Gota danica lib. 7. pag. 759.

Cadmallader

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the people are brought into great miserie, and he forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the British writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valorous mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forsake his countrie, he vanquisheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Westsaxons, his returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke of Sussex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might conquer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to bishop Wilfrid, the Ile of Wight receiueth the faith; Ceadwalla inuadeth Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious christian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king of Northumberland inuadeth Ireland, he is slaine by Brudeus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counsell is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow (hauing vowed chastitie) liued a virgine 12 yeeres with hir husband Egfride, she was called saint Auderie of Elie.

THE XXXVJ. CHAPTER.

CADWALLADER.

BUT now to returne vnto that which is found in the British histories, by the tenor wherof it should appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his son Cadwallader succéeded him in gouernement of the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yéere of the emperour Constantius Paganotus, and in the 13 yéere of the reigne of Childericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the sonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe sister of Penda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two sundrie mothers, for she had to mother a ladie descended of the noble blood of the Westsaxons, and was maried vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and hir brother the said Penda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the space of 12 yéers (as Geffrey of Monmouth saith) or (as others write) but 3 yéeres, the Britains were brought into such miserie through ciuill discord, and also by such great and extreme famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was constreined with the chéefest part of his people to forsake their natiue countrie, and by sea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to séeke reliefe by vittels for the sustentation of their languishing bodies.

676 saith *Matth. West.*

Galfrid.

Cadwallader constreined to forsake the land.

¶ Long processe is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admonished by a dreame to the contrarie, the which bicause it séemeth but fabulous, we passe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the christian religion by pope Sergius, where shortlie after he fell sicke, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yeere of our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the British writers in taking one for another, by reason of resemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons about that time mooued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptised, or else confirmed of the foresaid pope Sergius, and shortlie after departed this life in that citie in the foresaid yéere of 689 or therabouts. The Welshmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie vnlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approoued authors.

689.

CEADWALLA.

THIS Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons succeeded after Centwine or Centiuinus, which Centwine reigned nine yéeres, though it should appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of those yéeres at the least, the kingdome of Westsaxons was diuided betwixt him and Elcuinus or Escuinus, so that he should not reigne past seuen yeeres alone.

Wil. Malm.
Beda.

But now to Ceadwalla, whome some take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie descended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceauline or Keuling king of Westsaxons, as sonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was sonne to Ceadda the sonne of

Wil. Malm.
Ranulf. Cest.

of the foresaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble house of the kings of Westsaxons, he prooued in his youth a personage of great towardnesse, and such a one as no small hope was of him conceiued: he would let no occasion passe wherein he might exercise his force, to shew proofe of his high valiancie, so that in the end with his woorthie attempts shewed therein, he purchased to himselfe the enuie of those that ruled in his countrie, by reason whereof he was banished in a conspiracie made against him. Wherevpon he tooke occasion as it were in reuenge of such vnthankfulnesse to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the same, the which either pitieng his present estate, or mooued with pleasure taken in his valiant dooings, followed him at his going into exile.

Ceadwalla driuen to depart out of his countrie.

The first brunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southsaxons tasted, who in defense of himselfe comming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was slaine with the most part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his souldiers, filled with good hope of this happie atchiued victorie, returned with good and prosperous spéed into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earnestlie pursuing his aduersaries, droue them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the same as king, reigned two yéeres, during the which he atchiued diuers notable enterprises.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 15.

And first, whereas Berthun and Authun dukes of Sussex & subiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had slaine the said Edilwalke, and also taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now atteined to the gouernement of the Westsaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Sussex againe, and slue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He also set vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-néere destroied all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. Hee bound himselfe also by vow, although as yet he was not baptised, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto bishop Wilfride (who then chanced to be present) when he had taken that Ile, so much therof as conteined 300 housholds or families, where the whole consisted in 1200 housholds. Wilfrid receiuing thankefullie the gift, deliuered the same vnto one of his clearks named Bernewine that was his sisters sonne, appointing to him also a priest named Hildila, the which should minister the word and the sacrament of baptisme vnto all those that would receiue the same. Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Christ last of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the same faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons.

Berthun a duke of Sussex slaine.

Ceadwalla his vow.

The Ile of Wight conquered.

The Ile of Wight receiueth the faith.

Moreouer, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he lost his brother Mollo, as after shall appéere, but yet he reuenged his death with great slaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finallie, this worthie prince Ceadwalla, turning himselfe from the desire of warre and bloudshed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, so that ye could not haue wished more vertuous manners to rest in one as yet not christened. And shortlie after, willing to be admitted into the fellowship of the christians (of whose religion he had taken good tast) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptised, and named Peter, and shortlie after surprised with sickenesse, he died, and was buried there within the church of saint Peter in the yeere of our Lord 689.

689.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 26.

In the meane while, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland sent an armie vnder the guiding of a capteine named Bertus into Ireland, the which wasted that countrie, sparing neither church nor monasterie, sore indamaging the people of that countrie, which had euer beene friends vnto the English nation, and deserued nothing lesse than so to be inuaded and spoiled at their hands. The Irish men defended themselues to their power, beséeching God with manie a salt teare, that he would reuenge their cause in punishing of such extreme iniuries. And though cursers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceased not to curse, hoping the sooner that those which with good cause were thus accursed, should woorthilie be punished for their offenses by God, & so (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeere following, the said Egfride had lead an armie into Pictland against Brudeus king of the Picts, and being trained into straits within his land craggie

Ireland inuaded by the Northumbers.

King Egfride slain by Brudeus king of the Picts.

craggie mounteins, he was slaine with the most part of all his armie, in the yeere of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, vpon the 13 kalends of June.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutberd (whome he had aduanced the same yéere vnto the bishops sée of Lindesferne) that aduised him in no wise, either to haue taken this warre in hand against the Picts, or the other against them of Ireland, but he would not be counselled, the punishment appointed for his sinnes being such, that he might not giue eare to his faithfull friends that aduised him for the best. From that time foorth, the hope and power of the English people began to decaie. For not onelie the Picts recouered that part of their countrie which the Englishmen had held before in their possession, but also the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewise some part of the Britains tooke vpon them libertie, which they kept and mainteined a long time after, as Beda confesseth.

These Britains were those vndouttedlie yt dwelt in the northwest parts of this Ile, and is not ment onlie by them of Wales.

Egfride died without issue, & left no children behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Etheldrida, daughter vnto Anna king of the Eastangles, which liued with hir husband the forsaid Egfride twelue yéeres in perfect virginitie (as is supposed) contrarie to the purpose of hir husband, if he might haue persuaded hir to the contrarie, but finallie he was contented that she should kéepe hir first vow of chastitie which she had made. She was both widow and virgine when he maried hir, being first coupled in wedlocke with one Eunbert a noble man, and a ruler in the south parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the same where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnshire, Norffolke, Huntingtonshire, & Cambridgeshire, howbeit he liued with hir but a small while. After she had obteined licence to depart from the court, she got hir first into Coldingham abbeie, and there was professed a nun. Then she went to Elie, and there restored the monasterie, and was made abbesse of the place, in the which after she had gouerned seuen yeeres, she departed this life, and was there buried. This same was she which commonlie is called saint Audrie of Elie, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceiued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Ethelreda.

Giruij.

Alfride (the bastard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, John archbishop of Canturburie resigneth his see, Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike getteth the regiment thereof but not without bloudshed, Ceadwalla wasteth Kent being at strife in it selfe, his brother Mollo burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquisheth his enimies, Inas king of Westsaxons is made his friend, Suebhard and Nidred vsurpers of the Kentish kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation; the end of the British regiment, and how long the greatest part of this Iland was vnder their gouernement.

THE XXXVII. CHAPTER.

AFTER that king Egfride was slaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the bastard sonne of king Oswie, and in his brothers daies (either willinglie, or by violent means constreined) he liued as a banished man in Ireland, where applieng himselfe to studie, he became an excellent philosopher. And therfore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his subiects the space of 20 yeares and more, with great wisedome and policie, but not with such large bounds as his ancestors had doone: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one péece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 698, one of his capteins named earle Berthred, or Bertus, was slaine in battell by the Picts, whose confins he had as then inuaded. The curse of the Irish men, whose countrie in the daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie wasted (as before is mentioned) was thought at

ALFRIDE. 685.

698.

Matt. West.

this time to take place. Finallie king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeares & od months, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 705.

705.

Beda.

In the beginning of king Alfrids daies, Eata the bishop of Hexham being dead, one Iohn a man of great holinesse was admitted bishop, and after that, bishop Wilfrid was restored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The said Iohn was remoued to the church of Yorke, the same being then void by the death of the archbishop Bosa. At length the foresaid Iohn wearied with the cares of publike affaires resigned his sée, and got him to Beuerley, where he liued a solitarie life for the space of foure yeares, and then died, about the yeare of our Lord 721, king Osrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued bishop for the space of 24 yeares, and builded a church, and founded a colledge of priests at Beuerley aforsaid, in which church he lieth buried.

Iohn archbishop of Yorke.

He resigneth his sée.

721.

686 saith *Matt. West.* Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound.

The same yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfrid was slaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought against the Southsaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was sonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had mainteined warre against his vncle the said Lother, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the said battell striken thorough the bodie with a dart, and so died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and seuen moneths. It was thought that he was disquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finallie brought to his end before the naturall course of his time, for a punishment of his wicked consent giuen to the putting to death of his cousins Ethelbert & Ethelbrit, as appeared, in that when they were reported to be martyrs, because it was knowen they died innocentlie, he mocked them and made but a iest at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue in recompense to their mother a part of the Ile of Thanet to the building of a monasterie.

Wil. Malm.

Capgraue. saith, their sister.

EDRICKE.

THE foresaid Edricke (after Lother was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill warre, insomuch that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was slaine in the same warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the Westsaxons being thereof aduertised, supposing the time now to be come that would serue his purpose, as one still coueting to worke the Kentishmen all the displeasure he could, entred with an armie into their countrie, and began to waste and spoile the same on ech side, till finallie the Kentishmen assembled themselues togither, gaue battell to their enimies, and put them to flight. Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was driuen from his companie, and constrained to take an house for his refuge: but his enimies that pursued him set fire thereon, and burned both the house and Mollo within it to ashes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to wreake his wrath, and to reuenge the griefe which he tooke for the death of his brother, he wasted and destroied a great part of Kent yer he returned home, and left (as it were) an occasion to his successor also to pursue the quarell with reuenging. Wherein we sée the cankerd nature of man, speciallie in a case of wrong or displeasure; which we are so far from tollerating & forgiuing, that if with tooth and naile we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will breake with a full conceit of wrath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwise to be affected, namelie,

Mollo brother to king Ceadwalla burnt to death.

——— per te nulli vnquam iniuria fiat,
Sed verbis alijsque modis fuge lædere quenquam,
Quod tibi nolles, alijs fecisse caueto,
Quódque tibi velles, alijs præstare studeto;
Hæc est naturæ lex optima, quam nisi ad vnguem
Seruabis, non ipse Deo (mihi crede) placebis,
Póstque obitum infœlix non aurea sydera adibis.

Which lesson taught by nature, and commanded of God, if these men had followed (as they minded nothing lesse in the fier of their furie) they would haue béene content with a competent

competent reuenge, and not in such outragious maner with fier and sword haue afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike crueltie) haue ministred occasion to posterities to reuenge wrongs giuen and taken of their ancestors. But we will let this passe without further discourse, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the processe.

The Kentishmen being destitute of a king, after that diuers had coueted the place, and sought to atteine thereto, as well by force as otherwise, to the great disquieting of that prouince for the space of 6 yeares togither, at length in the 7 yeare after Edricks death, Withred an other of the sonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell ouercome enuie at home, & with monie redéemed peace abaoad, was with great hope conceiued of his worthinesse made king of Kent, the 11 of Nouember, & 205 after the death of Hengist, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his subiects of their good conceiued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduersaries which were readie to leuie ciuill warre against him, he also purchased peace of Inas king of the Westsaxons, which ment to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

Withred is made king of Kent.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suebhard and Nidred, or rather the same Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled "Ecclesiastica historia gentis Anglorum" haue not that name corrupted: for where he sheweth that the archbishop Theodorus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the first daie of Iulie one Brightwald was chosen to succéed in the archbishops sée of Canturburie, Withredus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that some other named Nidred, it forceth not: for certeine it is by the agréement of other writers, that till Withred obteined the whole rule, there was great strife and contention moued about the gouernement, and diuers there were that sought and fought for it. But this ought to be noted, that the forenamed Brightwald was the eight archbishop in number, and first of the English nation that sat in the sée of Canturburie: for the other seuen that were predecessors to him, were strangers borne, and sent hither from Rome.

Hen. Hunt. Beda. lib. 5. Suebhard and Nidred kings by vsurpation and not by succession, as *Hen. Hunt.* writeth.

Brightwald the first archbishop of the English nation.

¶ Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Britains, now called Welshmen, which tooke that name of their duke or leader Wallo or Gallo; or else of a queene of Wales named Gales or Wales. But howsoeuer that name fell first vnto them, now they are called Welshmen, which sometime were called Britains or Brutons, and descended first of the Troians, and after of Brute, and lastlie of Mulmucius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with sundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called English that in their beginning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this gouernement, so manie times intercepted by forren power, it appeareth by course of histories treating of these matters, that the last yeare of Cadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the yere of the world 4647. So that (as Fabian saith) the Britains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Brute till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxonish.

Thus farre the interrupted regiment of the Britains, ending at the fift booke.

THE

THE SIXT BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Inas king of the Westsaxons, the whole monarchie of the realme falleth into their hands, Inas for a summe of monie granteth peace to the Kentishmen, whom he was purposed to haue destroied, he & his coosen Nun fight with Gerent king of the Britains, and Ceolred king of Mercia, and Ealdbright king of Southsaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon toong; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas deuise to persuade Inas to forsake the world, he was the first procurer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become moonks; the setting vp of images in this land authorised by a vision; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is slaine of his owne subiects by the suggestion of Bernred the vsurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, nuns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

INAS. 689.

AFTER that Ceadwalla, late K. of the Westsaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is shewed) his coosen Inas or Ine was made king of the Westsaxons, begining his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 689, in the third yeere of the emperor Iustinianus the third, the 11 yéere of the reigne of Theodoricus K. of France, and about the second yéere of the reigne of Eugenius king of Scots. Now because the rule of the Britains commonlie called Welshmen, ceassed in this realme, as by confession of their owne writers it appéereth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the same realme came to the hands of the kings of Westsaxons, we haue thought méet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the same kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reseruing the particular dooings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the same haue fallen out, and shall come to hand.

The Britains ceasse to reigne in this land

Fabian. H. Hunt.

This Inas, whome some (mistaking N for V) doo wrongfullie name Iue or Iewe, prooued a right excellent prince, he was descended of the ancient linage of the kings of the Westsaxons, as sonne to one Kenred, that was sonne to Ceolwald the son of Cutha or Cutwine, that was sonne to Kenricke the sonne of Certicus, the first king of Westsaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant prowes knowne to rest in his woorthie person, than for the successiue ofspring of which he was descended. The first voiage that he made, was against the Kentishmen, on whome he purposed to reuenge the death of his coosen Mollo, the griefe whereof as yet he kept in fresh memorie. But when the Kentishmen perceiued, that to resist him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and so obteined their purpose, vpon paiment made to him of thirtie thousand marks of siluer.

Matt. Westm. Wil. Malm.

After

After this, about the 21 yéere of his reigne, king Inas and his coosen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Higelbald a noble man of the Westsaxons part was slaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chased. In the 26 yéere of his reigne, the same Inas fought a mightie battell against Cheolred king of Mercia, at Wodenessburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part susteined greater losse. In the 36 yéere of his reigne, king Inas inuaded the Southsaxons with a mightie armie, and slue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinius king of the Southsaxons, and ioined that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Westsaxons: so that from thencefoorth the kingdome of those Southsaxons ceassed, after they had reigned in that kingdome by the space of fiue kings successiuelie, that is to say, Ella, Cissa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this last Aldinius or Ealdbright.

Anno 708, as is noted by *Matt. West.* *H. Hunt.*

Matt. West. saith 718.

Matth. West. saith 722.

The end of the kingdome of the Southsaxons.

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yéeres, and 10 or 11 od moneths, he renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldlie pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there ended his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he shewed himselfe verie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement of the christian religion. He made and ordeined also good & wholesome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon toong, and translated into the Latine in times past, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentleman, and printed by Iohn Day, in the yéere 1568, togither with the lawes and statutes of other kings before the conquest, as to the learned maie appéere.

Inas went to Rome and there died.

Moreouer, king Ine builded the monasterie of Glastenburie, where Ioseph of Arimathea in times past builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other christians came into this land in the daies of Aruiragus, & taught the gospell heere to the Britains, conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreouer, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Welles, dedicating it vnto saint Andrew, where afterwards a bishops sée was placed, which at length was translated vnto Salisburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had béene earnest with him a long time to persuade him to forsake the world: but she could by no meanes bring hir purpose to passe, till vpon a time the king and she had lodged at a manor place in the countrie, where all prouision had béene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in most sumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of houshold, as also in costlie viands, and all other things needfull, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the quéene the foresaid Ethelburga caused the keeper of that house to remooue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had béen brought thither and ordeined for the beautifull setting foorth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that doone, to laie a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Héerevpon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she persuaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

Polydor.

Ethelburga.

Will. Malmes.

The deuise of quéene Ethelburga to persuade hir husband to forsake the world.

Now when he was returned to that house, which before séemed to the eie a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthie state as might loath the stomach of anie man to behold the same, she tooke occasion therevpon to persuade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, togither with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthie lumpe of claie, after it should once be disolued by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to mooue him to renounce the world, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that hir woords lastlie tooke effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his coosen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbeie of Barking, where she was made abbesse, and finallie there ended hir life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euerie houshold within his dominion a penie.

Peter pence.

In

King Ethelred becommeth a moonk. Ostrida.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the tearme of 29 yéeres, became a moonke in the abbeie of Bardenie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had to wife one Ostrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Vulfher to succéed him in the kingdome. The said Ostrida was cruellie slaine by the treason of hir husbands subiects, about the yéere of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the commonwealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sinceritie of maners. In the fift yéere of his reigne, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of the Eastsaxons, where he was made a moonke: and finallie died there, in the yéere of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a moonke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbeie of Eueshame, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.

Beda in Epit. 697.

King Kenred.

711.

Nauclerus. Egwin bishop of Worcester. A fabulous and trifling deuise.

¶ We find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning giuen him by visions (as he constantlie affirmed before pope Constantine) to set vp an image of our ladie in his church. Wherevpon the pope approouing the testifications of this bishop by his buls, writ to Brightwald archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yéere of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia successor to the foresaid Kenred.

Bale. 712.

H. Hunt.

After Kenred succéeded Ceolred, the sonne of his vncle Edilred, & died in the 8 yéere of his reigne, and was buried at Lichfield. Then succéeded Ethelbaldus that was descended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped diuerslie.

Ran. Cestren.

In the 18 yéere of his reigne, he besieged Sommerton and wan it. He also inuaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him.

Hen. Hunt.

He ouercame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and ioined as confederats with Cuthred K. of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yéere of his reigne, he was ouercome in battell at Bereford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yéeres after, that is to say, in the 41 yéere of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Secandon, or Sekenton, by his owne subiects, which arreared warres against him, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, tooke vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succéeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton.

Bereford. 755.

Three miles from Tamworth. *Wil. Malm.* 758.

Matth. West.

The historie of Magd.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Mentz or Moguntz, hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the reliefe of the poore, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdooers: but in that he absteined from mariage, and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wiues, and defloured other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreouer, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, vsed to make awaie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other espistle which he wrote vnto Cutbert the archbishop of Canturburie, counselled him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, bicause there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonlie in fornication and whordome.

Nuns kept for concubines.

Pilgrimage of nuns.

Offa

Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a moonke, succession in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons and Eastangles, Osred king of Northumberland hath carnall knowledge with nuns, he is slaine in battell, Osrike renouncing his kingdome becommeth a moonke, bishop Wilfrid twise restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two diocesses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses; Ethelard succeedeth Inas in regiment, two blasing starres seene at once, and what insued, the king dieth: the successiue reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops; of what puissance Ethelbald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

IN this meane time Sighard and Seufred, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succéeded in gouernment of that kingdome, a man of great towardnesse, and of right comelie countenance: but after he had ruled a certeine time, being mooued with a religious deuotion, he went to Rome in companie of Kenred king of Mercia, and of one Egwine bishop of Worcester, and being there shauen into the order of moonks, so continued till he died. After him one Selred the sonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eastsaxons the tearme of 38 yéeres. After Aldulfe the king of Eastangles departed this fraile life, which chanced about the yéere of our Lord 688, his brother Elcwold or Akwold succéeded him, and reigned about twelue yéeres. After whose decease one Beorne was made king of Eastangles, and reigned about 26 yéeres. In this meane while, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumberland being dead, his sonne Osred, a child of 8 yéeres of age succeeded him in the kingdome, and reigned 11 yéeres, spending his time when he came to ripe yeeres in filthie abusing his bodie with nuns, and other religious women.

Kings of the Eastsaxons. *Beda lib. 5. cap. 20.*

Offa king of Eastsaxons.

King Selred.

688.

705.

Wil. Malm. Osred king of Northumberland.

About the seuenth yéere of his reigne, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 711, one of his capteins named earle Berthfride fought with the Picts, betwixt two places called Heue and Cere, and obteining the victorie, slue an huge number of the enimies. At length king Osred by the traitorous means of his coosens that arreared warre against him, was slaine in battell, and so ended his reigne, leauing to those that procured his death the like fortune in time to come. For Kenred reigning two yéeres, and Osricke ten yeeres, were famous onelie in this, that being worthilie punished for shedding the bloud of their naturall prince and souereigne lord, they finished their liues with dishonourable deaths, as they had well deserued. Osricke before his death, which chanced in the yéere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceolwolfe the brother of his predecessor Kenred, to succeed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as king of the Northumbers by the space of 8 yéeres currant, and then renouncing his kingdom, became a moonke in the Ile of Lindesferne.

Henr. Hunt. Picts ouerthrowne by the Northumbers.

King Osred slaine in batell.

729.

In this meane while, bishop Wilfride being dead, one Acca that was his chapline was made bishop of Hexham. The said Wilfride had béene bishop by the space of 45 yéeres: but he liued a long time in exile. For first being archbishop of Yorke, and exercising his iurisdiction ouer all the north parts, he was after banished by king Egbert, and againe restored to the sée of Hexham in the second yeere of king Alfride, and within fiue yéeres after eftsoones banished by the same Alfride, and the second time restored by his successor king Osred, in the fourth yeere of whose reigne, being the yéere after the incarnation of our Sauiour 709, he departed this life, and was buried at Rippon. Moreouer, after Iohn the archbishop of Yorke had resigned, one Wilfride surnamed the second was made archbishop of that sée: which Wilfride was chapline to the said Iohn, and gouerned that sée by the space of fiftéene yéeres, and then died. About the yéere of our Lord 710, the abbat

Beda. Acca bishop of Hexham.

710.

Adrian which came into this land with Theodore the archbishop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) departed this life, about 39 yeeres after his comming thither.

Two bishops sées. *Matth. West.* Bishop Daniell.

Also Inas the king of Westsaxons, about the 20 yeere of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the Westsaxons into two bishops sées, whereas before they had but one. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the one of those sees, being placed at Winchester, hauing vnder him Sussex, Southerie and Hamshire.

Bishop Aldhelme.

And Aldhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeshire, Wiltshire, Sommersetshire, Dorsetshire, Deuonshire, and Cornwall.

The abbeie of Malmesburie.

This Aldhelme was a learned man, and was first made abbat of Malmesburie, in the yéere of our Lord 675, by Eleutherius then bishop of the Westsaxons, by whose diligence that abbeie was greatlie aduanced, being afore that time founded by one Medulfe a Scotish man, but of so small reuenues afore Aldhelms time, that the moonks were scarse able to liue thereon. Also the same Aldhelme was a great furtherer vnto king Inas in the building of Glastenburie.

ETHELARD. 728.

ETHELARD, the coosen of king Inas, to whome the same Inas resigned his kingdome, began to gouerne the Westsaxons in the yéere of our Lord 728, or rather 27, which was in the 11 yéere of the emperor Leo Isaurus, in the second yeere of Theodorus king of France, and about the 8 or 9 yéere of Mordacke king of the Scots.

Matt. West. saith 727.

In the first yéere of Ethelards reigne, he was disquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oswald a noble man, descended of the roiall bloud of the Westsaxon kings, procured against him: but in the end, when he perceiued that the kings power was too strong for him, he fled out of the countrie, leauing it thereby in rest.

Matth. West. 729.

In the yéere 729, in the moneth of Ianuarie there appeered two comets or blasing starres, verie terrible to behold, the one rising in the morning before the rising of the sunne, and the other after the setting thereof: so that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the closing of the night, stretching foorth their fierie brands toward the north; and they appeered thus euerie morning and euening for the space of a fortnight togither, menacing as it were some great destruction or common mishap to follow. The Saracens shortlie after entred France, and were ouerthrowne. Finallie, when king Ethelard had reigned the terme of fouretéene yeeres currant, he departed this life.

Blasing stars.

Wil. Malm.

Now when Wichtred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentishmen by the space of 33 yéeres, with great commendation for the good orders which he caused to be obserued amongst them, as well concerning matters ecclesiasticall as temporall, he departed this life, leauing behind him thrée sonnes, who successiuelie reigned as heires to him one after another (that is to say) Edbert 23 yéeres, Ethelbert 11 yeeres currant, and Alrike 34 yeeres, the which three princes following the steps of their father in the obseruance of politike orders & commendable lawes, vsed for the more part their fathers good lucke and fortune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie of Canturburie was burned by casuall fire, and Alrike lost a battell against them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of their times was somewhat blemished: for so it came to passe, that whatsoeuer chanced euill, was kept still in memorie, and the good haps that came forward, were soone forgotten and put out of remembrance.

Beda. lib. 5. cap. 24.

731.

In the yéere of our Lord 731, Betrwald archbishop of Canturburie departed this life in the fift ides of Ianuarie, after he had gouerned that see by the space of 27 yéeres, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whose place the same yéere one Tacwine was ordeined archbishop, that before was a priest in the monasterie of Bruidon within the prouince of Mercia. He was consecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the reuerend fathers Daniell bishop of Winchester, Ingwald bishop of London, Aldwin bishop of Lichfield, and Aldwulfe bishop of Rochester, the tenth day of Iune being sundaie.

Bishops w^t at prouinces they gouerned.

¶ As touching the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the same was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of Canturburie was gouerned touching the ecclesiasticall state by archbishop Tacwine, and bishop Aldwulfe. The pro-

uince

vince of the Eastsaxons by bishop Ingwald. The prouince of Eastangles by bishop Eadbertus and Hadulacus, the one kéeping his sée at Elsham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was gouerned by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succéeded next after Aldhelme in the sée of Shereburne. This Forthere in the yéere of our Lord 738, left his bishoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the quéene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laiemen, togither with women, vsed to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walstod holding his sée at Herford gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Wiccies, that is, Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned. The Southsaxons and the Ile of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, Edilwald bishop of Lindisferne, Acca bishop of Hexham, and Pecthelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, he was the first that gouerned that church after the same was made a bishops sée. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernors in that season. *Matth. West.*

And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolvulfe had the souereigne dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the prouinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, went not about to practise anie deceitfull traines nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwise called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to atteine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie frée, yet in some point remained still as thrall and mancipate to the subiection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laieng armour and weapon aside, applied themselues to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come therof (saith he) the age that followeth shall sée and behold. With these words dooth Beda end his historie, continued till the yéere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the Englishmen into this land, about 285 yéeres, according to his account. Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puisance he was.

In the yéere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie aduanced the see of Yorke, and recouered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same sée before him sith Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simplie but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got togither a great number of good books, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. ¶ In the yéere 733, on the 18 kalends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about three of the clocke in the after noone, in somuch that the earth seemed to be couered with a blacke and horrible penthouse. 732. *Wil. Malm.* 733.

In the yéere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yéeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of Iune, and 26 of Maie, as Matt. Westm. hath diligentlie obserued. W. Harison addeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cutbert moonke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospell of saint Iohn into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of good bookes, and not to exercise themselues with fables and friuolous matters. Finallie he was buried in the abbeie of Geruie, distant fiue miles from Wiremouth, an abbeie also in the north parts, not far from Newcastell (as is before remembred.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and 735. *Beda departed this life.*

and was scholer to Iohn of Beuerley. How throughlie he was séene in all kinds of good literature, the bookes which hée wrote doo manifestlie beare witnesse. His iudgement also was so much estéemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celfride the abbat of Wiremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certein questions mooued there, which without his opinion might séeme to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthie of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Geruie and Wiremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celfride, in whose time he receiued orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop Iohn, surnamed of Beuerley: so that it may be maruelled that a man borne in the vttermost corner of the world, should proue so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his natiue countrie to séeke it. But who that marketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the maner of our schooles or colleges, hauing in them diuerse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in townes and villages adioining.

Crantzius.

735. The same yéere died archbishop Tacuine, and in the yéere following, that is to say 735, Nothelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yéere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Fruidberd, and Fruidwald. But some refer it to the yéere 744.

Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuthreds sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelleth against him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth sicke and dieth; Sigebert succedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murther reuenged with murther, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for moonks cowles; the Britaines subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

CUTHRED. AFTER the decease of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his coosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yéeres. He began his reigne in

740. the yeere of our Lord 740, in the twentie fourth yere of the emperour Leo Isaurus, in the 14 yéere of the reigne of the second Theodorus Cala K. of France, and about the 6 yéere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to doo against Edilbald king of Mercia, who one while with stirring his owne subiects the Westsaxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and sometime by secret craft and subtill practises sought to disquiet him. Howbeit, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then ioining their powers togither, they went against the Welshmen, & gaue them a great ouerthrow, as before is partlie touched. In the 9 yeere of this Cuthreds reigne, his sonne Kenric was slaine in a seditious tumult amongst his men of warre, a gentleman yoong in yeeres, but of a stout courage, and verie forward, wherby (as was thought) he came the sooner to his wofull end.

Matt. West. Hen. Hunt.

Kenric the kings sonne slaine.

749.

Matth. West.

751. In the 11 yeere of his reigne, Cuthred had wars against one of his earls called Adelme, who raising a commotion against him, aduentured to giue battell though he had the smaller number of men, and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that instant receiued, his periurie had not béene punished, and the kings iust cause aduanced to triumph

triumph ouer his aduersarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 13 yeere of his reigne, king Cuthred being not well able to susteine the proud exactions and hard doings of Edilbald king of Mercia, raised his power, and encountered with the same Edilbald at Hereford, hauing before him the said earle Adelme, in whose valiant prowesse he put great hope to atteine victorie; neither was he deceiued, for by the stout conduct and noble courage of the said Adelme, the loftie pride of king Edelbald was abated, so that he was there put to flight, and all his armie discomfited, after sore and terrible fight continued and mainteined euen to the vttermost point. In the 24 yeere of his reigne, this Cuthred fought eftsoones with the Welshmen, and obteined the vpper hand, without anie great losse of his people: for the enimies were easilie put to flight and chased, to their owne destruction. In the yeere after, king Cuthred fell sicke, and in the 16 yeere of his reigne he departed this life, after so manie great victories got against his enimies.

752. *Matt. West.*

K. Edilbald put to flight.

AFTER him succéeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnmercifull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigbert or Sigibert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie néere ended. He intreated his subiects verie euill, setting law and reason at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him, and therefore he cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his councell, and faithfullie admonished him to reforme his euill doings: wherevpon the rest of his nobles assembled themselues togither with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his estate in the beginning of the second, or (as some say) the first yeare of his reigne. Then Sigibert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeswald, and there hid himselfe, but by chance a swineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Priuetsfloud found him out, and perceiuing what he was, slue him in reuenge of his maisters death.

SIGIBERT. 755.

¶ Lo here you may sée how the righteous iustice of God rewardeth wicked doings in this world with worthie recompense, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes sometimes to reigne for the punishment of the people, according as they deserue, permitting some of them to haue gouernement a long time, that both the froward nations may suffer long for their sins, and that such wicked princes may in an other world tast the more bitter torments. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppression, and also that the naughtie ruler for his misdemeanour may spéedilie receiue due punishment.

AFTER Beorne king of Eastangles one Ethelred succéeded in gouernment of that kingdome a man noted to be of good and vertuous qualities, in that he brought vp his sonne Ethelred (which succéeded him) so in the feare of the Lord, that he prooued a right godlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers say) the terme of 52 yeares.

ETHELRED. 738.

After that Ceolvulfe king of Northumberland was become a moonke in the abbie of Lindesferne, his vncles sonne Egbert (by order taken by the said Ceolvulfe) succeeded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the same right woorthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a moonke, by the example both of his predecessor the forsaid Ceolvulfe, and also of diuers other kings in those daies, so that he was the eight king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a moonks cowle (as Simon Dunel. writeth.)

Egbert king of Northumberland. 758.

Changing of crownes for moonkes cowles.

This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reigne) and Vngust king of Picts came to the citie of Alcluid with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their subiection, the first day of August: but the tenth day of the same month, the armie which he led from Ouan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part lost and destroied. ¶ The same yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the moone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length she came to hir accustomed shew, after a maruellous meanes, for a starre which followed hir, passed by hir, & went before hir, the like distãce as it kept in following hir before she lost hir vsuall light.

756.

Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories against the Kentishmen and Westsaxons, he killeth Egilbert king of Eastangles by a policie or subtill deuise of profered curtesie, he inuadeth his kingdome, and possesseth it, the archbishops see of Canturburie remoued to Lichfield; archbishop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogatiue is depriued by king Offa, he seizeth vpon churches and religious houses; mistrusting his estate, he alieth himselfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had doone to churches and religious houses, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the said see, Peter pence paid, he falleth sicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the short reigne of his sonne.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

OFFA. 758.

Matth. West. Wil. Malm.

AFTER that Offa had slaine Bernred the vsurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the same Offa tooke vppon him the gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that he thought he should be able to bring to passe all things whatsoeuer he conceiued in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and maruellous, and such as some times his vertues surpassed his vices, and sometime againe his vices seemed to ouermatch his vertues. He ouercame the Kentishmen in a great battell at Otteford, and the Northumbers also were by him vanquished, and in battell put to flight. With Kenvulfe king of Westsaxons he fought in open battell, and obteined a noble victorie, with small losse of his people, although the same Kenwulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good capteine.

The victories of king Offa. *Matth. West.* 779.

Falsehood in fellowship.

Againe, perceiuing that to procéed with craft, should sooner aduance his purpose, than to vse open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, vnder faire promises to giue vnto him his daughter in mariage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palace, caused his head to be striken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken vp, and put in a rich shrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent woorkmanship, and founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he indowed with great possessions. He remoued the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & preheminence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obteined it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then gouerning the Romane sée. And so Eadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, hauing all those bishops within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans vnto him; namelie, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werebertus bishop of Chester, Eadulfus bishop of Dorcester, Wilnardus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elsham, and Cedferth bishop of Donwich. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

The archbishops sée remoued from Canturburie to Lichfield. 785.

Matt. West.

The archbishop Lambert defended his cause.

This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he trauelled earnestlie to mainteine his prerogatiue. Now, for that he still defended his cause, and would not reuolt from his will, Offa depriued him of all his possessions & reuenues that he held or inioied within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewith, but he also tooke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and fléeced the house of Malmesburie of a part of hir reuenues. Because of these & other his hard dooings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of forren princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Westsaxons he gaue his daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And sending diuers ambassadours ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both emperor & king of France, he purchased his friendship at length, although before there had depended a peece

Offa alieth himselfe with other princes. *Matt. Westm.*

of

of displeasure betwixt them, insomuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was staied for a time. One of the ambassadours that was sent vnto the said Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine or Alcwine, by whose persuasion the same Charles erected two vniuersities, as in place due and conuenient may more largelie appeare. The intercourse of merchants staied. Alcwine an Englishman.

Finallie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to be iustlie conceiued towards him for his sinnes and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all his goods vnto churchmen, and to poore people. He also indowed the church of Hereford with great reuenues, and (as some write) he builded the abbeie of Bath, placing moonkes in the same, of the order of saint Benet, as before he had doone at saint Albons. Moreouer he went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 775, and there following the example of Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subiect by way of tribute vnto the church of Rome, appointing that euerie house within the limits of his dominions, should yearelie pay vnto the apostolike see one pennie, which paiment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiuing himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortlie after departing out of this world, left the kingdome vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares. *Polydor.* 775. Peter pence, or Rome Scot. *Will. Malmes.* 797. Offa departed this life.

Amongst other the dooings of this Offa, which suerlie were great and maruellous, this may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marshes of his countrie, and the Welsh confines, to diuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. This ditch was called Offditch euer after, and stretched from the south side by Bristow, vnder the mountaines of Wales, running northward ouer the riuers of Seuerne and Dée, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that riuer falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwikeshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch euen to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to follow the approoued good dooings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient priuileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceiued of his further good procéeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the space of foure moneths, not for his owne offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much bloud to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioied. Offditch. Egfrid king of Mercia.

Osulph king of Northumberland traitorouslie murthered, Edilwald succeedeth him, the reward of rebellion, a great mortalitie of foules fishes and fruits, moonkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelred king of Northumberland is driuen out of his countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of missehaps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdome, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greuouslie, and becommeth a nun, the decaie of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernement of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to rauish virgine Friswide, and at hir praiers restored to his sight.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

WHEN Eadbert or Egbert K. of Northumberland was become a moonke, his sonne Osulphus succéeded him: but after he had reigned onelie one yeare, he was traitorouslie murthered by his owne seruants at Mikilwongton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succéeded one Moll, otherwise called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our sauiour 759. EADBERT king of Northumberland. 758. *Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.* Edilwold king of Northumberland. *Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt.*

This

This man prooued right valiant in gouernement of his subiects. He slue in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitcht field at Eadwines Clive, and receiued the worthie reward of rebellion.

Simon Dun. 764.

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and shortlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell such a maruellous great snow, and therwith so extreame a frost, as the like had not béene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almost till the middest of the spring, with the rigour whereof, trees and fruits withered awaie, and lost their liuelie shape and growth: and not onelie feathered foules, but also beasts on the land, & fishes in the sea died in great numbers. The same yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, vnto whome Beda did dedicate his booke of histories of the English nation.

Moonks licenced to drinke wine.

After that he was become a moonke in the monasterie of Lindesferne, the moonks of that house had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke anie other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule prescribed them of the bishop Aidan first founder of the place. The same yeare sundrie cities, townes, and monasteries were defaced and sore wasted with fier chancing on the sudden, as Stretehu, Giwento, Anwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaster, &c.

Wil. Malm. Altred began his reigne in the yeare 765 as *Sim. Dun.* saith. *Henr. Hunt. Matth. West.* Ethelbert.

After that Moll had reigned 6 yeares, he resigned his kingdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end slaine by treason of his successor Altred. This Altred reigned ten years ouer the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his owne subiects. Then was Ethelbert, named also Edelred, the sonne of the foresaid Moll, made king of Northumberland, and in the fift yeare of his reigne, he was driuen out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Edelbald and Herebert, who mouing warre against him, had slaine first Aldulfe the sonne of Bosa the generall of his armie at Kingescliffe; and after Kinewulfe and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Helatherne in a sore foughten field: so that Ethelbert despairing of all recouerie, was constrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miserable state, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the same.

Henr. Hunt. Iohn Capgraue. Matth. West. and others. Ethelbert king of Eastangles.

After that Ethelbert king of Eastangles was dead, his sonne Ethelbert succéeded him, a prince of great towardnesse, and so vertuouslie brought vp by his fathers circumspect care and diligence, that he vtterlie abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exercises, for the better atteining to knowledge and vnderstanding of good sciences. There remaine manie sundrie saiengs & dooings of him, manifestlie bearing witnesse that there could not be a man more honorable, thankefull, courteous or gentle. Amongest other he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themselues: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their seates, and exalteth the humble and méeke.

The saieng of king Ethelbert.

Moreouer he did not onelie shew himselfe wise in words, but desired also to excell in staiednesse of maners, and continencie of life. Whereby he wan to him the hearts of his people, who perceiuing that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not mariage, they of a singular loue and fauour towards him, required that he should in anie wise yet take a wife, that he might haue issue to succéed him. At length the matter being referred to his councell, he was persuaded to follow their aduises. And so Alfreda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affianced to him: so that he himselfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from hir fathers house.

Tokens of mishap to follow.

Manie strange things that happened to him in taking vpon him this iournie, put him in great doubt of that which should follow. He was no sooner mounted on his horsse, but that (as séemed to him) the earth shooke vnder him: againe, a she was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, such a darke mist compassed him on ech side, that he could not sée nor discerne for a certeine time anie thing about him at all: lastlie, as he laie one night asléepe, he thought he saw in a dreame the roofe of his owne palace fall downe to the ground. But though with these things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iournie, as he

he that mistrusted no deceit, measuring other mens maners by his owne. King Offa right honourablie receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wise woman, but therewith wicked, conceiued a malicious deuise in hir hart, & streightwaies went about to persuade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome. The innocent mistrustfull of no euill.

Offa at the first was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate request of the woman, he consented to hir mind. The order of the murther was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had serued both the said Ethelbert & his father before time, the which feining as though he had beene sent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night season, slue him that once mistrusted not anie such treason. Offa hauing thus dispatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it. *Iohn Cuper Winnebert.* *Sim. Dun. saith 771.* Offa conquereth Eastangles.

But when the bride Alfreda vnderstood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, abhorring the fact, she cursed father and mother, and as it were inspired with the spirit of prophesie, pronounced that woorthie punishment would shortlie fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in persuading so detestable a déed: and according to hir woords it came to passe, for hir mother died miserablie within three moneths after. The maid Alfreda refusing the world, professed hirselfe a nun at Crowland, the which place began to wax famous about the yéere of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Gutlake, a man esteemed of great vertue and holinesse, which chose to himselfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yéere of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbeie of moonks was builded of saint Benets order. The bodie of K. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though first it was committed to burial in a vile place, néere to the banke of a riuer called Lug. Alfreda a nun. *Beda. Matth. West.*

The kingdome of Eastangles from thencefoorth was brought so into decaie, that it remained subiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Westsaxons, and somewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund surnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after shall appéere.) After that Selred king of the Eastsaxons had gouerned the tearme of 38 yéeres, he was slaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expressed. After him succéeded one Swithed or Swithred, the 11 and last in number that particularlie gouerned those people. He was finallie expelled by Egbert K. of Westsaxons, the same yéere that the said Egbert ouercame the Kentishmen (as after shall be shewed) and so the kings of that kingdome of the Eastsaxons ceassed and tooke end. *H. Hunt.*

¶ About this time, there was a maid in Oxford named Friswide, daughter to a certeine duke or noble man called Didanus, with whome one Algar a prince in those parties fell in loue, and would haue rauished hir, but God the reuenger of sinnes was at hand (as the storie saith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, she getting into the towne, the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from him. But the maid by hir praiers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. But whether this be a fable or a true tale, héereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Oxford. So easilie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.) Friswide a virgine.

Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest ouer the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard the principall procurer of that mischiefe, he is slaine in fight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a councell holden at Mercia; iudge Bearne burnt to death for cruelties, Alfwold reigneth ouer Northumberland, his owne subiects murther him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrarie to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

KINEWULF. *Hen. Hunt.* 756.

AFTER that the Westsaxons had depriued their vnprofitable king Sigibert, they aduanced Kinewulfe, or Cinevulfus, the which began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yéere of the emperor Constantinus, surnamed Copronimos, in the 6 yéere of the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yéere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe prooued a right woorthie and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obteined great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Bensington or Benton he lost a battell against Offa king of Mercia, in the 24 yéere of his reigne: and from that time forward tasting manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were aduanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the suertie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, ahd therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceiued to increase more than he would haue wished.

Simon Dun. saith 755.

The Britains vanquished.

This Kineard dissembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled togither a knot of vngratious companie, and returning priuilie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whome he kept a paramour at Merton, wherevpon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiuing himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by curteous woords to appease his enimies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could doo good, in a great chafe he brake foorth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie néere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enimies, whilest he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flée, he was beaten downe and slaine, togither with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in séeking reuenge of their maisters death, than by cowardise to yéeld themselues into the murtherers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuerthelesse sore wounded and hurt.

Kinewulfe slaine by conspirators.

The brute of such an heinous act was streightwaies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had béene committed. Amongst other, one Osrike, for his age and wisedome accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their soueraigne lord to passe vnpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproofe. Wherevpon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to please his cause, to make large promises, to pretend coosenage, and so foorth: but when he perceiued all that he could say or doo might not preuaile, he incouraged his companie to shew themselues valiant, and to resist their enimies to the vttermost of their powers. Heerevpon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striuing to saue their

their liues, and the other to atteine honour, and punish the slaughter of their souereigne lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murtherer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, togither with fourescore and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murtherers at Repingdon. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yéeres. *Simon Dun. H. Hunt.*

In the yeere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuderto, with letters commendatorie vnto Offa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Ieanbright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Eaubald archbishop of Yorke. These legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswell spirituall as temporall of the land, & namelie of Kinewulfe king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Offa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were conteined in the popes letters. *Eccle. hist. Magd.* 786. *H. Hunt.* Legats from the pope.

There were twentie seuerall articles which they had to propone on the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene councell, and obeieng of the other generall councels, with instructions concerning baptisme and kéeping of synods yéerelie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers. Moreouer touching discretion to be vsed in admitting of gouernors in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behauior of priests in wearing their apparell, namelie that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest their dishonestie might be discouered. And that in no wise the chalice or paten were made of the horne of an oxe, bicause the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops vsed to sit in councels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to doo. Twentie articles which the legats had to propone.

Manie other things were as meanes of reformation articled, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not begot in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes or secular women. Also of paiment of tithes, performing of vowes, auoiding of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all maner of heathenish vsages and customes that sounded contrarie to the order of christanitie, as curtailing of horsses, and eating of horsses flesh. These things with manie other expressed in 20 principall articles (as we haue said) were first concluded to be receiued by the church of the Northumbers in a councell holden there, and subscribed by Alfwold king of the Northumbers, by Delberike bishop of Hexham, by Eubald archbishop of Yorke, Higwald bishop of Lindisferne, Edelbert bishop of Whiterne, Aldulfe bishop of Mieth, Ethelwine also another bishop by his deputies, with a number of other of the clergie; and lords also of the temporaltie, as duke Alrike, duke Segwulfe, abbat Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was also a councell holden in Mercia at Cealtide, in the which these persons subscribed, Iambert or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, Offa king of Mercia, Hughbright bishop of Lichfield, Edeulfe bishop of Faron, with Vnwone bishop of Ligor, and nine other bishops, besides abbats; and thrée dukes, as Brorda, Farwald, and Bercoald, with earle Othbald. Nuns concubines. Curtailing of horsses.

But now to returne backe to speake of other dooings, as in other parts of this land they fell out. About the yéere of our Lord 764, the sée of Canturburie being void, one lambert or Lambert was elected archbishop there, and in the yéere 766, the archbishop of Yorke Egbert departed this life, in whose place one Adelbert succéeded. About the 25 yéere of Kenwulf king of Westsaxons, the Northumbers hauing to their capteine two noble men, Osbald and Ethelherard, burned one of their iudges named Bearne, bicause he was more cruell in iudgement (as they tooke the matter) than reason required. In which vengeance executed vpon the cruell iudge (if he were so seuere as this attempt of the two noble men dooth offer the readers to suspect) all such of his liuerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes, wherwith they should leuen the rigor of the lawe. For 764. *Sim. Dun.* saith 780. *Simon Dun.*

Ouid. lib. 2. de art. am.

——— capit indulgentia mentes,
Asperitas odium sæuáque bella mouet.
Odimus accipitrem, quia viuit semper in armis,
Et pauidum solitos in pecus ire lupos.
At caret insidijs hominum, quia mitis hirundo est,
Quásque colat turres Chaonîs ales habet.

At the same time, one Aswald or Alfewald reigned ouer the Northumbers, being admitted K. after that Ethelbert was expelled, and when the same Alfwald had reigned 10, or (as some say) 11 yéeres, he was traitorouslie and without all guilt made away; the chéefe conspirator was named Siga. The same Alfwald was a iust prince, and woorthilie gouerned the Northumbers to his high praise and commendation. He was murthered by his owne people (as before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the yéere of our Lord 788, and was buried at Hexham.

He began his reigne *ann.* 779, as saith *Simon Dun.* and reigned but ten yéeres.

788.

In the yéere 792, Charles king of France sent a booke into Britaine, which was sent vnto him from Constantinople, conteining certeine articles agreed vpon in a synod (wherein were present aboue the number of thrée hundred bishops) quite contrarie and disagréeing from the true faith, namelie in this, that images ought to be worshipped, which the church of God vtterlie abhorreth. Against this booke Albinus that famous clearke wrote a treatise confirmed with places taken out of holie scripture, which treatise, with the booke in name of all the bishops and princes of Britaine, he presented vnto the king of France. ¶ In the yéere 800, on Christmasse éeuen chanced a maruellous tempest of wind, which ouerthrew whole cities and townes in diuerse places, and trees in great number, beside other harmes which it did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yeere following a great part of London was consumed by fire.

Matth. West. Simon Dun. 792.

Sim. Dunel. 800.

Britricus K. of the Westsaxons, his inclination, Egbert being of the bloud roiall is banished the land, & why; crosses of bloudie colour and drops of bloud fell from heauen, what they did prognosticate; the first Danes that arriued on the English coasts, and the cause of their comming; fiue dragons flieng in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Britricus is poisoned of his wife Ethelburga, hir ill qualities; why the kings of the Westsaxons decreed that their wiues should not be called queenes, the miserable end of Ethelburga; Kenulfe king of Mercia, his vertues, he restoreth the archbishops see to Canturburie which was translated to Lichfield, he inuadeth Kent, taketh the king prisoner in the field, and bountifullie setteth him at libertie, the great ioy of the people therevpon; his rare liberalitie to churchmen, his death and buriall.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

BRITRICUS.

Hen. Hunt. Matt. West. saith 787. *Simon Dun.* saith 786.

AFTER Kenwulfe, one Britricus or Brightrike was ordeined king of Westsaxons, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 787, which was about the 8 yéere of the gouernment of the empresse Eirene with hir son Constantinus, and about the second yeere of the reigne of Achaius K. of Scots. This Brightrike was descended of the line of Cerdicus the first king of Westsaxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet & temperate, more desirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he stood in doubt of the noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after succéeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicus was in that season so confounded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew in greatest power, stroue to be king and supreame gouernour. But speciallie Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted that place, as he that was of the bloud roiall, and a man of great power and

and lustie courage. King Brightrike therefore to liue in more safetie, banished him the land, and appointed him to go into France. Egbert vnderstanding certeinlie that this his departure into a forreine countrie should aduance him in time, obeied the kings pleasure. Egbert banished.

About the third yéere of Brightrikes reigne, there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked abroad, crosses of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raine. Some tooke this woonder for a signification of the persecution that followed by the Danes: for shortlie after, in the yeere insuing, there arriued thrée Danish ships vpon the English coasts, against whome the lieutenant of the parties adioining made foorth, to apprehend those that were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himselfe ouer rashlie amongst them, he was slaine: but afterwards when the Danes perceiued that the people of the countries about began to assemble, and were comming against them, they fled to their ships, and left their prey and spoile behind them for that time. These were the first Danes that arriued here in this land, being onelie sent (as was perceiued after) to view the countrie and coasts of the same, to vnderstand how with a greater power they might be able to inuade it, as shortlie after they did, and warred so with the Englishmen, that they got a great part of the land, and held it in their owne possession. In the tenth yéere of king Brightrikes reigne, there were séene in the aire firie dragons flieng, which betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. First a great dearth and famine: and secondlie a cruell war of the Danes, which shortlie followed, as ye shall heare. A strange woonder. *Matt. West. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt.* Danes. Famin & war signified.

Finallie, after that Brightrike had reigned the space of 16 yéeres, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter vnto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he maried hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated she would accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so wreake hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them. *Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap. 25.* Brightrike departed this life. Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a yoong gentleman, against whome she had a quarell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) Hir purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the yoong gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also; the poison was so strong and vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the Westsaxons would not suffer their wiues to be called quéenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should bée shewed) manie yéeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbeie, and demeaned hirselfe so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne countriemen, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie. A decrée of the kings of the Westsaxons against their wiues. The end of Ethelburga. *Simon Dun.*

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordeined his coosine Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Penda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother Kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisdome, and vpright dealing, was woorthie to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enuie could with iust cause reprooue. At home he shewed himselfe godlie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops sée againe to Canturburie, wherein his humblenes was to be praised, that made no account of worldlie honour in his prouince, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Offa against them of Kent, and thervpon entring that countrie with a mightie armie, wasted and spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Edbert or Ethelbert, otherwise called Preune, ouerthrew his armie, and tooke him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For whereas he builded a church at Winchcombe, vpon the day of the dedication thereof, he *Wil. Malm.* Kenulfe. The archbishops sée restored to Canturburie. The king of Kent taken prisoner.

led

led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vp to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of his good nature.

There were present at that sight, Cuthred whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in reioising at the kings bountious liberalitie was maruellous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a peece of gold, and euerie moonke a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbeie, indowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, he departed this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbeie of Winchcombe, leauing behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was soone murthered by his vnnaturall sister Quendred, the 17 of Iulie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Kenulfs liberalitie towards churchmen which was not forgotten by them in their histories.

Osrike king of Northumberland leaueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserablie slaine, Osred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his wife and marieth another, his people rise against him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driuen out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke Wade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men affict one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulfe deposed from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers refused as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu of their disloialtie; the Danes inuade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decaieth, the state of that kingdome; the primasie restored to the see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of Britricus) is sent for to vndertake the gouernement of the Westsaxons, his linage.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

OSRED. 788.

Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

WHEN Aswald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Osred the sonne of Alred tooke vpon him the rule of that kingdom anno 788, and within one yeere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yéeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbers 4 yéeres, or (as some say) 7 yéeres; in the second yéere whereof duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the moonks taking his bodie, and laieng it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found aliue in the church.

Duke Ardulf taken and wounded.

Moreouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald were by force drawne out of the citie of Yorke, but first by a wile they were trained out of the head church where they had taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, one of them was named Alfus, & the other Alfwin. In the yéere of our Lord 792, Osred vpon trust of the others and promises of diuerse noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsooke him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandement put to death at Cunbridge on the 14 day of September.

792.

The same yéere king Ethelbert maried the ladie Alfled the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no iust cause of diuorce giuen on hir part, wherby his people tooke such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yéeres, or (as other say) seuen yéeres, he could not auoid the destinie of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subiects at Cobre, the 18 of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after

was

was expelled, and constreined to flie first into the Ile of Lindesferne, and from thence vnto the king of the Picts. Holie Iland Ardulfe.

Then Ardulfe that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cumhald, and three other bishops, the 25 of June, in the yeere 396. About two yeeres after, to wit, in the yeere 798, one duke Wade, and other conspirators which had beene also partakers in the murthering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardulfe, and fought a battell with him at Walleg, but king Ardulfe got the vpper hand, and chased Wade and other his enimies out of the field. In the yeere 799, duke Aldred that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred king of Northumberland, was slaine by another duke called Chorthmond in reuenge of the death of his maister the said Ethelbert. Shortlie after, about the same time that Brightrike king of Westsaxons departed this life, there was a sore battell foughten in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which Alricke the sonne of Herbert, and manie other with him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battels with their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and irkesome to the readers, for the English people being naturallie hard and high-minded, continuallie scourged each other with intestine warres. About six or seuen yeeres after this battell, king Ardulfe was expelled out of the state.

796.

Walalege.

799.

The English men afflicted each other with ciuill warre.

¶ Thus ye may consider in what plight things stood in Northumberland, by the often seditions, tumults and changings of gouernors, so that there be which haue written, how after the death of king Ethelbert, otherwise called Edelred, diuers bishops and other of the chiefest nobles of the countrie disdaining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditions, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dailie practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of their natiue borders into voluntarie exile, and that from thencefoorth there was not anie of the nobilitie that durst take vpon him the kinglie gouernement amongst them, fearing the fatall prerogatiue thereof, as if it had beene Scians horsse, whose rider came euer to some euill end. But yet by that which is heeretofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm, it is euident, that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers, but in what authoritie and power to command, it may be doubted.

Howbeit this is certeine, that the sundrie murtherings and banishments of their kings and dukes giue vs greatlie to gesse, that there was but sorie obedience vsed in the countrie, whereby for no small space of time that kingdome remained without an head gouernor, being set open to the prey and iniurie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewise vnto strangers. For the Danes, which in those daies were great rouers, had landed before in the north parts, & spoiled the abbeie of Lindesferne otherwise called holie Iland, and perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to inuade it (bicause that through their priuate quarelling there was little publike resistance to be looked for) at their comming home, entised their countriemen to make voiages into England, and so landing in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obteined a great part of the countrie in manner without resistance, bicause there was no ruler there able to raise anie power of men by publike authoritie to incounter with the common enimies, whereby the countrie was brought into great miserie, partlie with war of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongest the nobles and people themselues, no man being of authoritie (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet we find that the nobles and capteines of the countrie assembling togither at one time against the Danes that were landed about Tinmouth, constreined them by sharpe fight to flée backe to their ships, and tooke certeine of them in the field, whose heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other that got to their ships, suffered great losse of men, and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

This chanced in the yeere of our Lord 700, as *Simon Dun.* saith.

The Danes inuade Northumberland.

The Danes vanquished. This was in anno 794, as *Simon Dun.* saith.

¶ Here then we are taught that the safest way to mainteine a monarchie, is when all degrées liue in loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one supereminent, vnto whome all the residue should stoope: this fraile bodie of ours may giue vs sufficient instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as souereigne, and hath subiect vnto it all the affections and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are directed by hir gouernement: whereto if the will be obedient there cannot créepe in anie outrage or disorder. Such should be the sole regiment of

of a king in his kingdome; otherwise he may be called "Rex á regendo, as Mons a mouendo." For there is not a greater enimie to that estate, than to admit participants in roialtie, which as it is a readie way to cause a subuersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer to a disordered anarchie. But to procéed in the historie.

After that Alrike (the last of king Witchreds sonnes, which reigned in Kent successiuelie after their father) was dead, the noble ofspring of the kings there so decaied, and began to vade awaie, that euerie one which either by flattering had got rithes togither, or by seditious partaking was had in estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to vsurp the title of king, abusing by vnworthie means the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongest others, one Edbert or Edelbert, surnamed also Prenne, gouerned the Kentishmen for the space of two yeares, and was in the end vanquished by them of Mercia, and taken prisoner, as before is said: so that for a time he liued in captiuitie, and although afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is vncerteine what end he made. Cuthred that was appointed by Kinevulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne in place of the same Edbert or Edelbert, continued in the gouernement eight yéeres as king, rather by name than by act, inheriting his predecessors euill hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord.

Edelbert.

Lambert.

After that Iambrith or Lambert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed this life, one Edelred was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the primasie was restored, which in his predecessors time was taken awaie by Offa king of Mercia, as before is recited. Also after the death of Eubald archbishop of Yorke, another of the same name called Eubald the second was admitted to succeed in that sée. After that Brightrike the king of Westsaxons was departed this life, messengers were sent with all spéed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constreined by the said Brightrike to depart the countrie. At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia, with whome he remained for a time, till at length (through suit made by Brightrike) he perceiued he might not longer continue there without danger to be deliuered into his enimies hands; and so Offa winking at the matter, he departed out of his countrie, and got him ouer into France. But being now aduertised of Brightriks death, and required by earnest letters sent from his friends to come and receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he returned with all conuenient spéed into his countrie, and was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall consent of the Westsaxons, as well in respect of the good hope which they had conceiued of his woorthie qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of his roiall linage, being lineallie descended from Inigils the brother of king Inas, as sonne to Alkemound, that was the sonne of one Eaffa, which Eaffa was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Inigils.

Egbert receiued a king of Westsaxons His linage.

Egbert reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, his practise or exercise in the time of his exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia taketh indignation at Egbert for the inlarging of his roiall authoritie, they fight a sore battell, Egbert ouercommeth, great ods betweene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a warriour; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Sussex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert; he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whitlafe the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselues to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the citie of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this Ile was called England, the Danes inuade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

EGBERT. 802 as *Simeon Dunel.* and

THIS Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Eirine began the second time to rule the empire, and in

in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperour of the west, and about the second yeare of Conwall king of Scots. Whilest this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had béene a grindstone to grind awaie and remoue the rust of sluggish slouthfulnes, in so much that hawnting the wars in France, in seruice of Charles the great, he atteined to great knowledge and experience, both in matters apperteining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he tooke in hand, after he had atteined to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortlie ouercame and subdued. Then he thought good to tame the vnquiet Welshmen, the which still were readie to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he inuaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding anie person that durst resist him.

M. W. hath noted but 801.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

King Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to grow in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this land, in somuch that euerie of them began to feare their owne estate, but namelie Bernulfe king of Mercia sore stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a loftie courage, and yet doubted to haue to doo with Egbert, who was knowen also to be a man both skilfull and valiant. At length yet considering with himselfe, that if his chance should be to speed well, so much the more should his praise be increased, he determined to attempt the fortune of warre, and therevpon intimated the same vnto Egbert, who supposing it should be a dishonor vnto him to giue place, boldlie prepared to méete Bernulfe in the field. Herevpon they incountred togither at Ellendon, & fought a sore battell, in the which a huge number of men were slaine, what on the one part, and on the other, but in the end the victorie remained with Egbert, although he had not the like host for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men ; where Bernulfs souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharged with flesh. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

Bernulf king of Mercia.

A battell fought at Ellendon.

Egbert wan the victorie.

Wil. Malm. 826.

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoo to ouercome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plainlie sore weakened and fallen into great decaie. Herevpon before all other, he determined to assaile Edelvulfe king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongest his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leuied, he appointed his sonne Ethelwulfe & Alstan bishop of Shireborne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct therof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maisteries, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselues, out of the countrie, constreining them to passe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Essex, Southerie, and Sussex. The Eastangles also about the same time receiued king Egbert for their souereigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had doone to them latelie before, by inuading their countrie, and as it came to passe, incountring with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Alstan bishop of Shireborn a warrior.

The conquests of the Westsaxons.

Henr. Hunt.

Bernulf king of Mercia slaine.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles eftsoones in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and ouercame them againe, and slue their king Ludicenus, who succéeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an assured hope of good successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whitlafe king of Mercia (that succéeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yéere next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitlafe, with condition, that he should inioy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of

Simon Dun.

These were the Cornish men as is to be supposed.

of Mercia was slaine by the Eastangles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gauelford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led foorth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vexed with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon good aduisement taken in the matter, they resolued to submit themselues, and therevpon sent ambassadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselues wholie vnto his protection. King Egbert gladlie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forren enimies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection to the kings of the Westsaxons, after the state had béen sore weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countrie, for the space of manie yeeres, beside the inuasion made by outward enimies, to the gréeuous damage of the people.

King Egbert inuadeth Northumberland. The Northumbers submit themselues to king Egbert.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with the citie of Chester, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obteined these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people héere in this land, he caused a councell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by aduise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as souereigne gouernour and supreame lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed foorth into all parts of the realme, to giue commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appéere (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortlie after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

Ran. Higd. Northwales and the citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.

The name of this Ile when it was changed.

Now was king Egbert setled in good quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arriued on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient spéed got togither an armie, and went foorth to giue battell to the enimies. Heerevpon incountring with them, there was a sore foughten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to haue gone awaie with victorie, were vanquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies hands: but two of his chiefe capteins Dudda and Osmond, with two bishops, to wit, Herferd of Winchester, and Vigferd of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yéere of king Egberts reigne.

The Danes.

The Englishmen discomfited by Danes. *Simon Dun. H. Hunt. Matth. West.*

834.

In the yeere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Westwales, and there the Welshmen ioining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slue both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yéere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew another armie of Danes which came against him, as one autor writeth. Finallie, when king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 yéeres and seuen moneths with great glorie for the inlarging of his kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compasse, he departed this life, leauing to his issue matter of woorthie praise to mainteine that with order which he with painefull diligence had ioined togither. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulfe, otherwise named Athaulfe and Adelstan. The first he appointed to succéed him in the kingdome of Westsaxons, and Adelstan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Sussex, and Essex.

Danes and Welshmen vanquished.

836.

Matth. West.

Egbert departeth this life.

837.

Matth. West.

¶ Héere we sée the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well forren as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his education in his tender yéeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters

matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no policie, so he had prowesse inough to incounter with his enimies, to whome he gaue manie a fowle discomfiture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his martiall affaires, was the good choise that he made of seruiceable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and hauing gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their benefit, by their warinesse and heedtaking; for

Sæpiùs incautæ nocuit victoria turbæ.

The kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelme king of Mercia murthered by the meanes of his owne sister Quendred, the order of hir wicked practise; his death prophesied or foreshewed by a signe, the kings of Mercia put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulfe king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enimies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulfe in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethelwulfe dieth, his foure sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

WHEN Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeeres, as before is mentioned, he was constreined to giue place vnto one Baldred, that tooke vpon him the gouernment, & reigned the space of 18 yéeres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but sorilie, so that in the end, when his countrie was inuaded by the Westsaxons, he was easilie constreined to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yéers, that is to say, from the yéere of our Lord 464, vnto the yéere 827. Suithred or Suthred king of Essex was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdome by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yéere that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verie shortlie after. This kingdome continued 281 yeeres, from the yéere 614, vnto the yeere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set foorth by Alexander Neuill appéereth. After the deceasse of Kenwulfe king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seuen yéeres was admitted king, about the yeere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a malicious mind, mooued through ambition, enuied hir brothers aduancement, and sought to make him awaie, so that in the end she corrupted the gouernour of his person one Ashbert, with great rewards and high promises persuading him to dispatch hir innocent brother out of life, that she might reigne in his place. Ashbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yoong king foorth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an impe by reason of his tender yéeres and innocent age, vnto the world void of gilt, and yet thus traitorouslie murthered without cause or crime: he was afterwards reputed for a martyr.

Wil. Malm.

The end of the kingdome of Kent. 827.

The end of the kingdome of Essex. *Matt. Westm.* 821.

The wickednes of Quendred.

King Kenelm murthered.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a strange manner: for (as they say) a white doue came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scroll in hir bill, which she let fall on the same altar, in which scroll among other things this was conteined, "In clenc kou bath, Kenelme kiñbarne lieth vnder thorne, heaued bereaued:" that is, at Clenc in a cow pasture, Kenelme

Sée legenda aurea. fol. 163. in the life of S. Kenelme.

nelme the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale I rehearse, not for anie credit I thinke it woorthie of, but onelie for that it séemeth to note the place where the yoong prince innocentlie lost his life.

Ceolwulfe K. of Mercia 823.

After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his vncle Ceolwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yéere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe in the third yéere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsaxons, and shortlie after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye haue heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yeeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to reuenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to réele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erection of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succeeded Wightlafe, who first being vanquisht by Egbert king of Westsaxons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yeeres, whereof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paied to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supreame gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subiection to the kings of Westsaxons, as before is mentioned, in the yéere of our Lord 828, and in the yéere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet héere it tooke not end, as after shall appéere.

Matt. Westm. 728.

828.

ETHELWULFUS.

ETHELWULFUS, otherwise called by some writers Athaulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons in the yéere 837, which was in the 24 yéere of the emperor Ludouicus Pius that was also K. of France, in the tenth yéere of Theophilus the emperor of the East, & about the third yéere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfe minding in his youth to haue béene a priest, entered into the orders as subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoeuer the matter stood, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortlie after he was absolued of his vowes by authoritie of pope Leo, and then maried a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernment of manie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsaxons, he permitted his brother Adelstan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Essex, with other. He aided Burthred the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie aduanced his estimation, by giuing vnto him his daughter in mariage.

Henrie Hunt. Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

Foure especiall destructions of this land.

But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forren enimies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rouers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and preies as they had taken in the same, so that perceiuing they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to inuade the same on ech side, as they had partlie begun in the daies of the late kings Brightrike and Egbert. The persecution vsed by these Danes séemed more gréeuous, than anie of the other persecutions, either before or sithens that time: for the Romans hauing quicklie subdued the land, gouerned it noblie without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Picts onelie inuaded the north parts. And the Saxons seeking the conquest of the land, when they had once got it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing estate.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

The Danes sought the destruction of this land.

The Normans likewise hauing made a conquest, granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destroie it: who if they were at anie time ouercome, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new nauie, and a greater armie was readie to make some new inuasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and an other in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.

This

This mischiefe began chieflie in the daies of this king Ethelwulfe, but it continued about the space of two hundred yeeres, as by the sequele of this booke it shall appéere. King Ethelwulfe was not so much giuen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued, and speciallie chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisedome. Amongst other, there were two notable prelats, Suithune bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, who were readie euer to giue him good aduise. Suithune was not so much expert in worldlie matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chieflie counselled the king in things apperteining to his soules health: but Adelstan tooke in hand to order matters apperteining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouiding of monie, and furnishing foorth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun, and happilie atchiued, as by writers hath béene recorded. He gouerned the sée of Shireborne the space of 50 yéeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduise of those two prelats.

How long the persecution of the Danes lasted. *Will. Malmes.*

Two notable bishops in Ethelwulfs daies.

King Ethelwulfe gouerned his subiects verie politikelie, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands great losses, and sundrie sore detriments. In the first yéere of his reigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whome he sent earle Wulhard with part of his armie, the which giuing battell to the enimies, made great slaughter of them, and obteined a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Portesmouth, but after long fight, the said Adelhelme was slaine, and the Danes obteined the victorie. In the yéere following, earle Herbert fought against the Danes at Merseware, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yeere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, Eastangle, and Kent, slue and murthered an huge number of people. The next yéere after this, they entered further into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischiefe.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Danes discomfited. *Matth. West.*

Englishmen put to flight. They are eftsoones vanquished.

King Ethelwulfe in the fift yéere of his reigne, with a part of his armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arriued in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so much that they obteined the victorie at that time, and put the king to the woorse. About the tenth yéere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, one of his capteins called Ernwulfe, and bishop Adelstan, with the Summersetshire men, and an other capteine called Osred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Pedredesmuth, and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sixtéenth yeere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled all their powers togither, gaue battell at Ocley, to an huge host of Danes, the which with foure hundred and fiftie ships had arriued at Thames mouth, and destroied the famous cities of London and Canturburie, and also had chased Brightwulfe king of Mercia in battell, and being now entered into Southerie, were incountered by king Ethelwulfe at Ocley aforesaid, & after sore fight and incredible slaughter made on both sides, in the end, the victorie by the power of God was giuen to those that beléeued on him, and the losse rested with great confusion to the miscreants.

Carrum.

The Danes wan the victorie in battell. Danes are vanquished. *Simon Dun.* 851.

Ocley. Two hundred and fiftie ships saith *Hen. Hunt.*

Thus king Ethelwulfe obteined a glorious victorie in so mightie a battell, as a greater had not beene lightlie heard of to chance within the English dominions. The same yeere also Athelstan king of Kent and duke Ealhere fought by sea with the Danes, and tooke 9 of their ships, and chased the residue. Moreouer, one earle Ceorle hauing with him the power of Deuonshire, fought with the Danes at Winkleshore, and got the victorie. This yeére was verie luckie to the English nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged all the winter season in the Ile of Tenet. And this was the first time that they remained héere all the winter, vsing afore time but to come and make an inuasion in one place or other, and immediatlie to returne home with the prey.

The Danes eftsoones vanquished. Danes ouercome by sea.

The Deuonshire men vanquish the Danes.

In

Simon Dun. 852. In the 18 yeere of king Ethelwulfes reigne, he aided Burthred king of Mercia against the Welshmen (as before is mentioned) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the solemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The same yéere king Ethelwulfe sent his sonne Alured as then but fiue yeeres of age to Rome, where he was consecrated K. by pope Leo the fourth, and was receiued of him as if he had beene his owne sonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentishmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southerie, fought against the armie of Danes at Tenet, where great slaughter was made on both sides, the Englishmen preuailing in the beginning, but in the end, both their foresaid dukes or leaders died in that battell, beside manie other that were slaine and drowned.

Great slaughter of Danes at Tenet.

In the 19 yéere of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe ordeined that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, should be frée from all tribute, duties, or seruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receiued with great honour, and taried there one whole yéere: he tooke with him his sonne Alured, who had béene there before as ye haue heard. He repaired the Saxons schoole, which Offa king of Mercia had sometime founded in that citie, and latelie had béene sore decaied by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Englishmen from thence-foorth should doo penance in bounds as he saw some there to doo before his face. It is also written, that he should acquit all the churches of his realme of paieng tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) & moreouer couenanted to send vnto Rome euerie yéere three hundred marks, that is to say, one hundred marks to saint Peters church, an other hundred marks to saint Paules light, and the third hundred marks to the Pope.

The Saxons schoole.

King Ethelwulfs liberalitie to churches. *Will. Malmes. Simon Dun. Mancusse.*

In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Iudith, daughter to Charles the bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his countrie, placed hir by him in a chaire of estate, with which déed he offended so the minds of his subiects, bicause it was against the order taken before him, for the offense of Ethelburga, that his sonne Ethelbald and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, with Enwulfe earle of Summerset, conspired to depose him from his kinglie authoritie; but by mediation of friends, the matter was taken vp, and so ordered, that the kingdome was diuided betwixt the father and the sonne, with such parcialitie, that the sonne had the better part lieng westward, and the father was constreined to content himselfe with the east part being the woorst.

The ladie Iudith.

Wil. Malm.

857. Of this trouble of Ethelwulfe some write otherwise, after this manner word for word. ¶ Ethelwulfe king of the Westsaxons being returned from Rome & the parties beyond the seas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelstane bishop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his eldest sonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alfride, the mariage of Iudith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the table, to be the onelie cause of this their manifest rebellion. Whereby he séemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Adelstane and his son, should procéed of the ambitious desire of Ethelbald to reigne, and likelie inough, or else this vnequall partition should neuer haue béene made.

But howsoeuer the matter stood, king Ethelwulfe liued not long after his returne from Rome, but departed this life, after he had ruled the kingdome of the Westsaxons the space of 20 yéeres and od moneths. His bodie was buried at Winchester. He left behind him foure sonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert or Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alsred or Alured, which was begotten of his first wife Osburga. A little before his death he made his testament and last will, appointing his sonne Ethelbald to succéed him in the whole regiment of his kingdoms of Westsex and Sussex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdoms of Kent and Essex he assigned to his son Ethelbright. About the same time also the Danes soiourned all the winter season in the Ile of Shepie.

Onelie Westsex saith *Matt. Westm.* and *Sim. Dunel.* saith that Ethelbright had Sussex also, and so dooth *H. Hunt. Matth. Paris.*

¶ The old Saxons doo bring the genealogie of this Ethelwulfe to Adam, after this maner following.

Ethelwulfe

Ethelwulfe the sonne of Egbert,

the son of Alcmund,	the son of Wingie,	the son of Teathwie,
the son of Eaffa,	the son of Freawin,	the son of Beame,
the son of Eoppa,	the son of Fridagare,	the son of Sceldie,
the son of Ingils,	the son of Brendie,	the son of Seafe,
the son of Kenred,	the son of Beldegie,	the son of Heremod,
the son of Coelwald,	the son of Woden,	the son of Itermod,
the son of Cudwine,	the son of Frethelwold,	the son of Hordie,
the son of Ceawlin,	the son of Freolaffe,	the son of Wale,
the son of Kenric,	the son of Frethewolfe,	the son of Bedwie,
the son of Cerdic,	the son of Finnie,	the son of Sem,
the son of Eslie,	the son of Godulfe,	the son of Noah,
the son of Gewise,	the son of *Geta,	and so foorth to Adam, as you

shall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verse vnto the first of the fift chapter of Genesis. Which genealogicall recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people also haue obserued; as the Spaniards, who reckon their descent from Hesperus, before the Gothes and Moors ouerran their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lumbards; the Saxons from Woden, before they were mixed with the Danes and Normans; the Frenchmen at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from the children of Gwiston; and other people from their farre fetcht ancestrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulfe it is written, that he was so well learned & deuout, that the clerks of the church of Winchester did chuse him in his youth to be bishop, which function he vndertooke, and was bishop of the said see by the space of seuen yéeres before he was king.

* *De quo Sodulius in car. pasch*

John Castor. Simon Dun. Matt. Parker. A kings son and heire a bishop.

Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to the Westsaxons, the fame of Modwen an Irish virgine, she was a great builder of monasteries, she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethelbald and Ethelbright diuide their fathers kingdome betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Winchester destroied by the Danes, they plaied the trucebreahers and did much mischiefe in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the Westsaxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie successe, the kings of Mercia fall from their fealtie and allegiance to Ethelred; Hungar & Vbba two Danish capteines with their power lie in Eastangle, Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set Yorke on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelstan, his departure out of this life.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

AFTER Wightlafe king of Mercia, one Bertwolfe reigned as tributarie vnto the Westsaxons, the space of 13 yeeres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrie by the Danes, and then one Burthred was made king of that kingdome, which maried Ethelswida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowmed in the world, vnto whome the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by hir meanes he recouered health, and therefore when hir monasterie was destroied in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to be professed a nun. Modwen herevpon built two monasteries, one at Pouleswoorth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Osith and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie

Bertwolfe, of Mercia.

Matt. West. saith the daughter. *Ranulf. Cest. Iohn Capgraue.*

monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thrice to Rome, and finallie died, being 130 yéeres of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrew, which she had built in the same Iland, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yéeres. Manie monasteries she builded, both in England (as partlie aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Striueling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Celestline, and elsewhere.

ETHELBALD AND ETHELBRIGHT. 857.

ETHELBALD and ETHELBRIGHT diuiding their fathers kingdom betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the Westsaxons and the Southsaxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Essex, in the yéere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yéere of the emperor Lewes the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Caluus or the bald king of France, and about the first yéere of Donald the fift of that name king of Scots. The said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch tooke to wife his mother in law quéene Iudith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past fiue yéeres in gouernement of the kingdome, but was taken out of this life to the great sorrow of his subiects whome he ruled right worthilie, and so as they had him in great loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright tooke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the Westsaxons & them of Sussex, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Essex.

The vnlawful mariage of Ethelbald. *Wil. Malm.*

Hen. Hunt. Winchester destroied by Danes. Danes vanquished.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroid the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe with the Barkeshire men gaue the enimies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the fift yeere of Ethelbrights reigne, a nauie of Danes arriued in the Ile of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake foorth and wasted all the east part of Kent: wherevpon the Kentishmen assembled togither, made towardes those truce-breakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yéere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the Westsaxons fiue yeeres, and the Kentishmen ten yéeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

ETHELRED. 867.

AFTER Ethelbright succéeded his brother ETHELRED, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons and the more part of the English people, in the yéere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yéere of the emperour Lewes, in the 27 yéere of the reigne of Charles Caluus king of France, and about the 6 yéere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Touching this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and sterne, as he that vnderstood what apperteined to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape vnpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

Foure yéeres six moneths saith *Harison.* *Wil. Malm.* Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yéere.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeeres, he was continuallie during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and speciallie towards the latter end, insomuch that (as hath béene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yéere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their forragers, and such as straied abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and ouerthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the meaner sort without number.

But here is to be vnderstood, that in this meane time, whilest Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings

and

and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion therof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the Westsaxons, and tooke vpon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to susteine the enimies within their dominions, than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obeie. The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilest the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euerie late getten victorie by the enimies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other conquest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, there arriued vpon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowmed capteins Hungar and Vbba, men of maruellous strength and valiancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They lay all the winter season in Estangle, compounding with them of the countrie for truce vpon certeine conditions, sparing for a time to shew their force for quietnesse sake. The Danes grow in puisance. Hungar and Vbba.

In the second yéere of king Ethelred, the said capteins came with their armies into Yorkshire, finding the country vnprouided of necessarie defense bicause of the ciuill discord that reigned among the Northumbers, the which had latelie expelled king Osbright, that had the gouernement of those parts, and placed one Ella in his roome: howbeit now they were constreined to reuoke him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yer that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this inuasion attempted by forren enimies, and then raising their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine, were lodged. *Hen. Hunt.* King Osbright deposed and Ella placed.

The English host entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by reason whereof a sore battell insued betwixt them: but in the end the two kings Osbright and Ella were slaine, and a great number of the Northumbers, what within the citie, and what without lost their liues at that time, the residue were constreined to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 21 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palmsunday, in the yere 657. Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine. It must be vpon the 10 kalends of Aprill, or else it will not concurre with Palmsunday. See *Mat. West.*

¶ Some haue written otherwise of this battell, reporting that the Northumbers calling home king Osbright (whome before they had banished) incountred with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Yorke, but they were easilie beaten backe, and chased into the citie, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fier and burnt, togither with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soeuer it came about, certeine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now hauing subdued the Northumbers, appointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, vnder their protection, which Egbert reigned in that sort six yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuer of Tine. In the same yeare, Adelstane bishop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing gouerned that sée the terme of 50 yeares. This Adelstane was a man of high wisedome, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulfe returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had doone in certeine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, wherevpon by this bishops means Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwulfe was established king, and so continued till by agréement the kingdome was diuided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finallie, he greatlie inriched the sée of Shireborne, and yet though he was feruentlie set on couetousnesse, he was neuerthelesse verie free and liberall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being considered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable; yet simplie & in truth they were vtterlie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which biddeth that none should doo euill that good may come thereof. Against which precept because Adelstane could not but offend in the heat of his couetousnes, which is termed the root of all mischiefe, though he was excéeding bountifull and large in distributing the wealth he had gréedilie gotten togither, he must néeds incur Yorke burnt by Danes. The commendation of Adelstan bishop of Shirborne. Bishop Adelstan couetous. *Hen. Hunt.*

incur reprehension. But this is so much the lesse to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant what (by the rule of equitie and conscience) was requirable in a christian man, or one of his vocation.

Burthred king of Mercia with aid beseegeth the Danes in Notingham, Basreeg and Halden two Danish kings with their powers inuade the Westsaxons, they are incountred by Ethelwulfe earle of Barkeshire; King Ethelred giueth them and their cheefe guides a sore discomfiture; what Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one Iuarus king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death; Edmund king of Eastangles giueth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion sake is by them most cruellie murthered, the kingdome of the Eastangles endeth, Guthrim a Dane gouerneth the whole countrie, K. Osbright rauisheth the wife of one Bearne a noble man, a bloodie battell insueth therevpon, wherein Osbright and Ella are slaine.

THE TWELFT CHAPTER.

BURTHRED king of Mercia.

IN the yeare following, that is to say, in the third yeere of Ethelreds reigne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, against the two foresaid Danish capteines Hungar and Vbba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had woon the towne for the winter season. Wherevpon the foresaid Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and besieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiuing themselues in danger, made suite for a truce & abstinence from war, which they obteined, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they soiourned the most part of all that yeare.

Danes besieged in Notingham.

In the sixt yeare of king Ethelreds reigne, a new armie of great force and power came into the countrie of the Westsaxons vnder two leaders or kings of the Danes, Basreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and within three daies after the earle of Berrockshire Edelwulfe fought at Englefield with two earles of those Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those earles, whose name was Sidroc. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great host vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

Basreeg and Halden.

Edelwulfe erle of Barkshire fought at Englefield with the Danes.

The Danes wan the victorie at Reading.

After this also king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought againe with those Danes at Aschdon, where the armies on both sides were diuided into two parts, so that the two Danish kings lead the one part of their armie, & certeine of their earles lead the other part. Likewise on the English side king Ethelred was placed with one part of the host against the Danish kings, and Alured with the other part was appointed to incounter with the earles. Herevpon they being on both parts readie to giue battell, the euening comming on caused them to deferre it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning when the armies should ioine, king Ethelred staied in his tent to heare diuine seruice, whilest his brother vpon a forward courage hasted to incounter his enimies, the which receiued him so sharplie, and with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen were at point to haue turned their backs. But herewith came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, staied his people from running away, and so encouraged them, and discouraged the enimies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had serued) the Danes finallie were chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings (that is to say) Basreeg or Osreeg, and 5 earles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yoonger, Osberne, Freine, and Harold. This battell was sore foughten, and continued till night, with the slaughter of manie thousands of Danes. About 14 daies after, king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought eftsoones with the

The Danes discomfited.

Danish

Danish armie at Basing, where the Danes had the victorie. Also two moneths after this they likewise fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes, after they had beene put to the woorse, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of woorthie fame and good account. A battell at Merton. He was bishop of Shireborne as *Matt. West.* saith.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, and there soiourned for a time. ¶ These things agrée not with that which Polydor Virgil hath written of these warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and like a stout enimie inuaded the countrie adioining. Against whome Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and incountring the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day togither, and was in danger to haue beene put to the woorse, but that the night seuered them asunder. In the morning they ioined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they were easilie put to flight, of whome (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recouered themselues togither, and found out a conuenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capteines Agnerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which indeuored themselues by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that within 15 daies after, the Danes eftsoones fought with the Englishmen, and gaue them such an ouerthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all incounters to be attempted after by the Englishmen. *Polyd. Virg. Iuarus.* Danes put to flight. Agnerus and Hubba.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter was made of them, but yet not without some losse of the Englishmen. Amongest others, Ethelred himselfe receiued a wound, whereof he shortlie after died. Thus saith Polydor touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confesseth (as the trueth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers doo record of these matters, and namelie touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danish historie you may sée more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt receiued in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or otherwise, certeine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter departed this life, in the sixt yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish capteins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came vnto Thetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season ouer the Eastangles, being aduertised, raised an armie of men, and went foorth to giue battell vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of Framingham, where being enuironed with a siege by his enimies, he yéelded himselfe vnto them. And because he would not renounce the christian faith, they bound him to a trée, and shot arrowes at him till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the same into a thicke groue of bushes. But afterwards his friends tooke the bodie with the head, and buried the same at Eglesdon: where afterward also a faire monasterie was builded by one bishop Aswin, and changing the name of the place, it was after called saint Edmundsburie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeare of his reigne, and so ceased the kingdome of Eastangles. For after that the Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they conquered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through their tyrannie it remained without anie gouernor by the space of nine yeares, and then they appointed a king to rule ouer it, whose name was Guthrun, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the Eastangles and the Eastsaxons. Winborne abbeie. Agnerus. *Fabian.* 870. Edmund K. of the Eastangles. Framingham castell. King Edward shot to death. Eglesdon. *Will. Malm.* Eastangles without a gouernour. Guthrun a Dane king of Eastangles.

Ye haue heard how the Danes slue Osrike and Ella kings of Northumberland. After

Polychron. *Caxton.*

which victorie by them obteined, they did much hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongest other cruell deeds, they destroied the citie of Acluid, which was a famous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Beda and other writers dooth manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the cause to be this. Osbright or Osrike king of Northumberland rauished the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Yorke, who tooke such great despight thereat, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there complained vnto the king of Denmarke his coosin of the iniurie doone to him by king Osbright. Wherevpon the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarell against them of Northumberland, furnished foorth an armie, and sent the same by sea (vnder the leading of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they slue first the said king Osbright, and after king Ella, at a place besides Yorke, which vnto this day is called Ellas croft, taking that name of the said Ella, being there slaine in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which Ella (as we find registred by writers) was elected king by such of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Osbright.

Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and the greatest part of England, the Danes afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make wast of his kingdome, they lie at London a whole winter, they inuade Mercia, the king whereof (Burthred by name) forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome, his death and buriall; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Northumberland among his people; Alfred incountreth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdome, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (besides a great discomfiture) killeth manie of their capteines, the Danes and English fight neere Abington, the victorie vncerteine, seuen foughten fieldes betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes soiourne at London.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

ALURED OR ALFRED. 871. as *Mat. West.* & *Sim. Dunelmen.* doo note it: *Henr. Hunt.*

AFTER the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alured or Alfred succeeded him, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and other the more part of the people of England, in the yeare of our Lord 872, which was in the 19 yeare of the emperour Lewes the second, and 32 yeare of the reigne of Charles the bald, king of France, and about the eleuenth yeare of Constantine the second king of Scotland. Although this Alured was consecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as before ye haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the decease of his three elder brethren: for he being the yoongest, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wisdome and policie most highlie esteemed and had in all honour.

Alured persecuted by Danes. *Matt. Westm.*

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in manie great troubles and miseries, speciallie by the persecution of the Danes, which made sore and greeuous wars in sundrie parts of this land, destroieng the same in most cruell wise. About a moneth after he was made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, so that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the woorse, yet in the end they obteined the victorie. Shortlie after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Westsaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter season. In the second yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the same armie from London into Lindseie, and there lodged all that winter at Torkseie. In the yeare following, the same Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintered at Ripindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Esketell, & Ammond, so that their power was greatlie increased. Burthred king

The Danes obteine the victorie.

The Danes wintered at London.

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Repton.

Burthred king of Mercia.

king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the space of 22 yeeres, was not able to withstand the puissance of those enimies: wherevpon he was constreined to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladie, neere to the English schoole.

In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it selfe into two parts, so that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter season neere to the riuer of Tine, where hee diuided the countrie amongest his men, and remained there for the space of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preies out of the countrie of the Picts. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foresaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the same yeare king Alured fought by sea with 7 ships of Danes, tooke one of them, & chased the residue. In the yeare next insuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Westsaxons, and king Alured tooke truce with them againe, and they sware to him (which they had not vsed to doo to anie afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by sea sailing from Warham toward Excester, susteined great losse by tempest, for there perished 120 ships at Swanewicke. 875. The Danes went into Northumberland. The Danes at Cambridge. 876. The Danes tooke an oth. *Hen. Hunt.*

Moreouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Excester in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not ouertake them till they came to Excester, and there he approched them in such wise, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of such couenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And so then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But shortlie after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to suffer king Alured to continue in rest with the residue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foresaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Esketell, and Ammond, inuading the countrie of Westsaxons came to Chipnam, distant 17 miles from Bristow, & there pitched their tents. The Danes went to Excester. *Henr. Hunt.* 877.

King Alured aduertised hereof, hasted thither, and lodging with his armie neere to the enimies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiuing that either they must fight for their liues, or die with shame, boldlie came foorth, and gaue battell. The Englishmen rashlie incountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with such violence they gaue the onset, that the enimies at the first were abashed at their hardie assaults. But when as it was perceiued that their slender ranks were not able to resist the thicke leghers of the enimies, they began to shrinke & looke backe one vpon an other, and so of force were constreined to retire: and therewithall did cast themselues into a ring, which though it seemed to be the best way that could be deuised for their safetie, yet by the great force and number of their enimies on each side assailing them, they were so thronged togither on heaps, that they had no roome to stir their weapons. Which disaduantage notwithstanding, they slue a great number of the Danes, and amongest other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Danish capteins. At length the Englishmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enimies, which had compassed them about, at last brake out and got them to their campe. To be briefe, this battell was foughten with so equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be ascribed. But after they were once seuered, they tooke care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodies, namelie the Danes interred the bodie of their capteine Hubba with great funerall pompe and solemnitie: which doone, they held out their iournie till they came to Abington, whither the English armie shortlie after came also, and incamped fast by the enimies. *Polydor.* Hubba slaine. The victorie doubtfull. Abington.

In this meane while, the rumor was spread abroad that king Alured had béene discomfited by the Danes, bicause that in the last battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatlie to his aduantage: for thereby a great number of Englishmen hasted to come to his succour. On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie readie to fight into the field: neither were the enimies slacke on their parts to receiue the battell, and so the two armies ioined and fought verie sore on both sides: so that it séemed the English- The Danes and Englishmen fight néer to Abington.

men

men had not to doo with those Danes, which had beene diuerse times before discomfited and put to flight, but rather with some new people fresh and lustie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue ouer: in so much that the horssemen alighting on foot, and putting their horsses from them, entered the battell amongst the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affraie, being one of the sorest foughten fields that had beene heard of in those daies. To whether partie a man might iustlie attribute the victorie, it was vtterlie vncerteine, with so like losse & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the semblable chance of danger and glorie seuen times that yéere did the English and Danes incounter in battell, as writers haue recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were sore diminished, they agréed vpon a peace, with these conditions, that the Danes should not attempt anie further warre against the Englishmen, nor bring into this land anie new supplie of souldiers out of Denmarke. But this peace by those peacemakers was violated and broken, in so much as they ment nothing lesse than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of inriching themselues with the goods, possessions, rents and reuenues of the inhabitants. The same yéere the Danes soiorned in the winter season at London, according as they had doone often times before.

Vncerteine victorie
Thus farre *Polydor.*
Ran. Higd.
A peace agreed vpon.
The Danes soiourned at London.

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with a fresh power, entreth England, and beginneth to waste it, king Alured giueth him battell, Rollo saileth ouer into France; who first inhabited Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and Alured, he is driuen to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behauiour vnsuspected, assalteth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.

THE XIIII. CHAPTER.

ABOUT the same time, or shortlie after, there came into England one Rollo, a noble man of Denmarke or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithstanding the peace concluded betweene the Englishmen and the Danes) began to waste and destroy the countrie. King Alured hearing these newes, with all spéed thought best in the beginning to stop such a common mischiefe, and immediatlie assembling his people, went against the enimies, and gaue them battell, in the which there died a great number of men on both sides, but the greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew Westmin. saith that the Englishmen were put to flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned in a dreame, left England, & sailed ouer into France, where he found fortune so fauourable to him, that he obteined in that region for him and his people a countrie, the which was afterwards named Normandie, of those northerne people which then began to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France you maie sée more at large.

Ann. 876. saith *Simeon Dun.*
30 yéeres after this he was baptised.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue heard) shortlie after, vpon the first occasion, brake the same, and by often inuasions which they made into the countrie of Westsaxons, brought the matter to that passe, that there remained to king Alured but onelie the three countries of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summersetshire, in so much that he was constreined for a time to kéepe himselfe close within the fennes and maresh grounds

King Alured driuen to his shifts.

of

of Summersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreined to get their liuing with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He remained for the most part within an Ile called Edlingsey, that is to say, the Iland of noble men, enuironed about with fennes and mareshes. Edlingsey.

Whiles he was thus shut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortlie to follow: for as it hath beene said, saint Cuthbert appeered to him as he laie in sleepe, and comforted him, declaring to him, that within a while fortune should so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enimies. And to assure him that this should prooue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring home great plentie, although the season was against them, by reason that the waters were frosen, and that a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpose. His mother also at that time being in sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed, so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their sleepe, in came his men with so great foison of fish, that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of men, for the vittelling of them at that season. A vision if it be true.

Shortlie after, king Alured tooke vpon him the habit of a minstrell, and going foorth of his closure, repaired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie accompanied with one trustie seruant, and tarrieng there certeine daies togither, was suffered to go into euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well afore the king as others, so that there was no secret, but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had seene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there declared to his nobles what he had seene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enimies, and how easie a matter it should be for him to indamage them. Wherevpon they conceiuing a maruellous good hope, and imboldened with his words, a power was assembled togither, and spies sent foorth to learne and bring woord where the Danes lodged: which being doone, and certificat made accordinglie, king Alured comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a great number, hauing them at great aduantage. King Alured disguiseth himselfe. *Polydor. Fabian.* *Henr. Hunt.* 877.

878.

About the same time the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into the countrie of Westsaxons, on the coast of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell, and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himselfe was present at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwise called Hungar, and that they were both slaine there, with twelue hundred of their companie (before a certeine castell called Kinwith) receiuing as they had deserued for their cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them with fire and swoord, not sparing abbeies more than other common buildings. *Matth. West.* *Simon Dun.*

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortresse in the Ile of Edlingsey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out oftentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sundrie times with the aid of the Summersetshire men, which were at hand. About the seuenth weeke after Easter, in the seuenth yeere of his reigne, king Alured went to Egleirighston, on the east part of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Summersetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioising greatlie to see him abroad. From thence he went to Edanton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afore them the space of foureteene daies. Then the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and couenants to depart out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurthrun, whome some name Gurmond, a prince or king amongst these Danes, came to Alured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at the fontstone, named him Adelstan, and gaue to him the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned (or rather spoiled) by the space of twelue yeeres. Athelney. Edantdune. This battell should seeme the same that *Polydor* speaketh of fought at Abingdon. *Polychron. Iohn Pike.* Gurthrun or Gurmond baptised, and named Adelstan, is made king of Eastangle.

Diuerse other of the Danish nobilitie to the number of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun, and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is to be thought) was the

the league concluded betwixt king Alured and the said Gurthrun or Gurmond, in which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set foorth thus: "First therefore let the bounds or marshes of our dominion stretch vnto the riuer of Thames, and from thence to the water of Lée, euen vnto the head of the same water, and so foorth streight vnto Bedford: and finallie going alongst by the riuer of Ouse, let them end at Watlingstréet."

This league being made with the aduise of the same sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set foorth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes or ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may sée more at large.

Th' English called diuers people Danes whom the French named Normans, whervpon that generall name giuen them; Gurmo Anglicus K. of Denmark, whose father Frotto was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Rochester, Alfred putteth them to flight, recouereth London out of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hasting a capteine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth foorth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c: are taken, and fauourablie giuen him againe; the Danes besiege Excester, they flie to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

HERE is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to reigne in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedeners, Norwegians, the Wondens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) vsed to roaue on the seas, and to inuade forren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers verelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Anglicus, bicause he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Frotto in gouernement of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Frotto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

Gurmo.

Hen. Hunt.

878. In the eight yéere of king Alfred his reigne, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yéere an other armie of strangers called Wincigi laie at Fulham, and in the yéere following departed foorth of England, and went into France, and the armie of

879. king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yéere of king

Simon Dun. Matth. West. Alfred his reigne, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approched to the reskue, the enimies

Rochester besieged.

885. fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a nauie of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle, the which at the mouth of the riuer called Sture, incountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: but as they returned with their prises, they incountered with another mightie armie of the enimies, and fighting with them were ouercome and vanquished.

889. In the yeere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, reioising that there was such a prince bred of their nation, that was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deli-

London recouered out of the hands of the Danes.

uered into the keeping of duke Eldred, which had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possesed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued K. Burthred (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of K. Alfred, an armie of those Danes & Normans, which had beene in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Limene in the east part of Kent, neere to the great wood called Andredesley, which did conteine in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Appledore.

Wil. Malm. Ethelfleda. Colwolphus. Limer, now Rother. Andredesleia. A castell built at Appledore.

893.

In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middleton, but he was constreined by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who vpon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Aldred was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger) Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifieng that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuerthelesse this Hasting was euer most vntrue of word and déed, he builded a castle at Beamfield. And as he was going foorth to spoile and wast the kings countries, Alfred tooke that castle, with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got togither of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, bicause he was their godfather.

Simm Dun. At Milton. Hasting the capteine of the Danes besieged. He receiueth an oth. Beamfield saith *M. West.* This enterprise was atchiued by Etheldred duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as *Matth. West.* hath noted.

Shortlie after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whilest king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore inuaded Essex, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell neere vnto the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen out of that countrie, they returned againe into Essex. Those that had besieged Excester, vpon knowledge had of king Alfreds comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, séeking preies. Besides this, other armies there were sent foorth, which comming out of Northumberland tooke the citie of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constreined to eate their horsses. At length, in the 24 yéere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compas about Northwales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Essex, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Luie. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, tooke preies about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diuerse of their ships.

Excester besieged. Seuerne. Chester taken by Danes. Great famine. *Hen. Hunt.* The water of Luie, now Lée.

In the yéere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the riuer Luie, began to build a castell néere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slue foure of the chiefe capteins. But by Simon Dunel. and Matt. Westm. it should seeme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Howbeit Henrie Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Luie to be diuided into three chanels, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laie at anchor. When the Danes perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge vpon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners tooke the enimies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

Hen. Hunt. The Londoners' victors against the Danes. Quathbridge or Wakebridge.

Thus for the space of three yéeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the hauen of Luie, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselues susteined more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yéere after their comming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another

The Danish armie diuided into parts.

another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came vpon the coast of the Westsaxons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred tooke order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certeine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed foorth to incounter with the enimies ships.

The death of king Alfred.

Thus like a worthie prince and politike gouernor, he preuented each way to resist the force of his enimies, and to safegard his subiects. Finallie after he had reigned 29 yeeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester.

His issue.

Elfleda.

he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succeeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfleda or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Edgiua, and Ethelwitha.

How Elfleda king Alfreds daughter (being maried) contemned fleshlie pleasure; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, his lawes for the redresse of theeues, his diuiding of countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 265 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murthering of John Scot by his owne scholers, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdome of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.

THE XVJ. CHAPTER.

IN the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whome we made report of Elfleda, who (as you haue heard) was maried vnto duke Edelred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind hir of despising fleshlie plesure, for bearing hir husband one child, and sore handled before she could be deliuered,

The notable saieng of Elfleda.

she euer after forbare to companie with hir husband, saieng that it was great foolishnesse to vse such pleasure which therwith should bring so great griefe.

To speake sufficientlie of the woorthie praise due to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And al-

Will. Malmes.

though he was (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the inuasion of forren enimies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time indeuour himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to see his subiects gouerned in good and vpright iustice. And albeit that good

King Alfred his lawes.

lawes amongst the clinking noise of armor are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greeued with theeues and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, deuised good statutes and wholsome ordinances for punishing of such offendors.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters conteining a certeine number of townships adioining togither, so that euerie Englishman liuing vnder prescript of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his good demeanor: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he tast extremitie of the lawes. And if anie man that was giltie fled before he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, should be put to their fine,

fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged vp aloft on hils where anie common waies lay, to see if anie durst be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberall prince namely in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the bishop of Shireborne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and sweet oiles of inestimable valure. From Rome also he brought a peece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

Foundation of monasteries.

Moreouer king Alfred founded three goodlie monasteries, one at Edlingsey, where he liued sometime when the Danes had bereaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Sumersetshire about fiue miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgeda or Edgiua abbesse. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Neotus an abbat, in those daies highlie esteemed for his vertue and lerning with Alfred. This worke he tooke in hand about the 23 yeere of his reigne, which was in the yeere of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 265 yeeres, as Polydor gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yeere of our Lord 630.

895.

Polydor.

The vniuersitie of Oxford erected.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, insomuch that beside diuerse good lawes which he translated into the English toong, gathered togither and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as *Orosius*, *Pastorale Gregorij*, *Beda de gestis Anglorum*, *Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ*, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being preuented by death. So this worthie prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little esteemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his subiects in the trade of leading an honest life, and to incourage them generallie to imbrace learning. He would not suffer anie to beare office in the court, except he were lerned: and yet he himselfe was twelue yeeres of age before he could read a word on the booke, and was then trained by his mothers persuasion to studie, promising him a goodlie booke which she had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

The vertuous zeale of Alured to bring his people to an honest trade of life.

He is persuaded by his mother, to applie himselfe to learning.

Herevpon going to his booke in sport, he so earnestlie set his mind thereto, that within a small time he profited maruellouslie, and became such a fauorer of learned men, that he delighted most in their companie, to haue conference with them, and allured diuerse to come vnto him out of other countries, as Asserius Meneuensis bishop of Shirborne, & Werefridus the bishop of Worcester, who by his commandement translated the bookes of Gregories dialogs into English. Also I. Scot, who whiles he was in France translated the book of Dionysius Ariopagita, intituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latine, and after was schoolemaister in the abbeie of Malmesburie, and there murthered by his scholers with penknifes. He had diuerse other about him, both Englishmen & strangers, as Pleimond afterward archbishop of Canturburie, Grimbald gouernor of the new monasterie at Winchester, with others.

Asserius Meneuensis. Werefridus. Iohn Scot.

Grimbald.

But to conclude with this noble prince king Alured, he was so carefull in his office, that he diuided the 24 houres which conteine the day and night, in three parts, so that eight houres he spent in writing, reading, and making his praiers, other eight he emploied in relieuing his bodie with meat, drinke and sleepe, and the other eight he bestowed in dispatching of businesse concerning the gouernement of the realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts, whereof euerie one lasted an houre: so that the sexton, to whome that charge was committed, by burning of this candle warned the king euer how the time passed away. A little before his death, he ordeined his last will and testament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goods iustlie gotten, vnto such monasteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the first part he diuided into three, bestowing the first vpon his seruants in houshold, the second to such labourers and workemen as he kept in his works of

Alured diuided the time for his necessarie vses.

His last will and testament.

sundrie new buildings, the third part he gaue to strangers. The second whole part of his reuenues was so diuided, that the first portion thereof was dispersed amongst the poore people of his countrie, the second to monasteries, the third to the finding of poore scholers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the sea. He was diligent in inquirie how the iudges of his land behaued themselues in their iudgements, and was a sharpe corrector of them which transgressed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued so as he was had in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie honored among strangers. He maried his daughter Ethelswida or rather Elstride vnto Baldwine earle of Flanders, of whome he had two sonnes Arnulfe and Adulfe, the first succéeding in the erledome of Flanders, and the yoonger was made earle of Bullogne.

The bodie of king Alured was first buried in the bishops church: but afterwards, because the Canons raised a fond tale that the same should walke a nights, his sonne king Edward remoued it into the new monasterie which he in his life time had founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine learned clarke made an epitath in Latine, which for the woorthinesse thereof is likewise (verse for verse, and in a maner word for word) translated by Abraham Fleming into English, whose no litle labor hath béene diligentlie imploied in supplieng sundrie insufficiences found in this huge volume.

NOBILITAS innata tibi probitatis honorem
Nobilitie by birth to the (ô Alfred strong in armes)
(Armipotens Alfrede) dedit, probitásque laborem,
Of goodnes hath the honor giuen, and honor toilesome harmes,
Perpetuúmque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
And toilesome harmes an endlesse name, whose ioies were alwaies mext
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
With sorow, and whose hope with feare was euermore perplext.
Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella pauebas,
If this day thou wert conqueror, the next daies warre thou dredst,
Si modò victus eras, in crastina bella parabas,
If this day thou wert conquered, to next daies war thou spedst,
Cui vestes sudore iugi, cui sica cruore,
Whose clothing wet with dailie swet, whose blade with bloudie stainte,
Tincta iugi, quantum sit onus regnare probârunt,
Do proue how great a burthen tis in roialtie tó raine,
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
There hath not beene in anie part of all the world so wide,
Cui tot in aduersis vel respirare liceret,
One that was able breath to take, and troubles such abide,
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
And yet with weapons wearie would not weapons lay aside,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finisse labores:
Or with the sword the toilesomnesse of life by death diuide.
Iam post transactos regni vitæque labores,
Now after labours past of realme and life (which he did spend)
Christus ei fit vera quies sceptrúmque perenne.
Christ is to him true quietnesse and scepter void of end.

In the daies of the foresaid king Alured, the kingdome of Mercia tooke end. For after that the Danes had expelled king Burthred, when he had reigned 22 yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife also Ethelswida, the daughter of king Athulfe that was sonne to king Egbert followed him, and died in Pauia in Lumbardie. The Danes hauing got the countrie into their possession, made one Cewulfe K. thereof, whome they bound with an oth and deliuerie of pledges, that he should not longer kéepe the state with their pleasure, and

Cewulfe.

further

further should be readie at all times to aid them with such power as he should be able to make. This Cewulfe was the seruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeares after the Danes returned, and tooke one part of that kingdome into their owne hands, and left the residue vnto Cewulfe. But within a few yeares after, king Alured obteined that part of Mercia which Cewulfe ruled, as he did all the rest of this land, except those parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countries of the Eastangles, some part of Mercia, and other.

The yeare, in the which king Alured thus obteined all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which Cewulfe had in gouernance, was after the birth of our Sauiour 886, so that the foresaid kingdome continued the space of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings, from Crida to this last Cewulfe. But there be that account the continuance of this kingdome, onelie from the beginning of Penda, vnto the last yeare of Burthred, by which reckoning it stood not past 270 yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the last Cewulfe for none, who began his reigne vnder the subiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604. 886. *Matth. West.*

The Eastangles and the Northumbers in these daies were vnder subiection of the Danes, as partlie may be perceiued by that which before is rehearsed. After Guthrun that gouerned the Eastangles by the terme of 12 yeares, one Edhirike or Edrike had the rule in those parts, a Dane also, and reigned 14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his gouernement by king Edward the sonne of king Alured, as after shall appeare. But now, although that the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder foot by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accustomed maner to stirre tumults and rebellion against their gouernours, insomuch that in the yeare 872, they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the countrie (as before you haue heard) but also their archbishop Wilfehere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Rigsig or Ricsige succeeded as king, and the archbishop Wolfehere was restored home. Gurthrun K. of the eastangles died 890. *Simon Dun.* *Simon Dun.* 872. Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome. Egbert departed this life. Ricsig.

In the same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Lindseie, at a place called Torkseie, and went the next yeare into Mercia. And in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Ricsig the king of Northumberland departed this life: after whome an other Egbert succeeded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselues there, chose Guthrid the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Witingham. But now by the aduise of an abbat called Aldred, they redeemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbat of holie Iland, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthberd, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthrid king. This chanced about the 13 yeare of the reigne of Alured king of Westsaxons. The Danes winter in Lindseie. 975. Ricsig departed this life. 983. Guthred ordeined king of Northumberland.

When Guthrid was established king, he caused the bishops sée to be remoued from holie Iland vnto Chester in the stréet, and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Teise and Tine. ¶ Which christian act of the king, liuing in a time of palpable blindnesse and mistie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and péeres of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and professe (in shew) the truth with feruencie) not to impouerish the patrimonie of the church to inrich themselues and their posteritie, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall liuings into temporall commodities, not to seeke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions; not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supporte of their owne priuat lordlines; not to destroy whole townships for the erection of one statelie manour; not to take and pale in the commons to inlarge their seueralles; but like good and gratious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gaine and The bishops sée remoued frō holie iland to Chester in the stréet.

and glorie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

Priuiledges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine.

Moreouer, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoeuer fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in anie wise for the space of thirtie, & seuen daies. And this freedome was confirmed not onelie by king Guthrid, but also by king Alured. Finallie king Guthrid departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much crueltie (as some say) by the terme of 11 yeares, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Gurmond, and also Gurmo, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Guthrid, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the fontstone: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Guthrid or Gurmo his sonne Sithrike succeeded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelstane depriued them of the dominion, and tooke it into his owne hands.

894.

Polydor. Will. Malmes.

Wil. Malm. Sithrike.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured in regiment, he is disquieted by his brother Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the Danes, Adelwold with a nauie of Danes entreth Eastangles, the Essex men submit themselues, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience preiudiciall to themselues, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castels he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof to flight, his owne subiects murther him for his crueltie, his kingdome returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elfleda gouerned the countrie of Mercia during hir life.

THE XVIJ. CHAPTER.

EDWARD THE ELDER. 901.

AFTER the deceasse of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer the more part of England, in the yeare of our Lord 901, which was in the second yeare of the emperor Lewes, in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simplex king of France, and about the eight yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the maner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he ioined the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glorie and high commendation.

Winborne.

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which tooke the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and maried a nun there, whome he had defloured, & attempted manie things against his brother. Wherevpon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidden the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was ioifullie receiued of the Danes. The king tooke his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. ¶ Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vncles sonne.

Hen. Hunt. Adelwold fleeth to the Danes. *Wil. Malm.*

After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subiects against the forraies, which the Danes vsed to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and stuffed them with great garrisons of souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enimies. And suerlie the Englishmen were so inured with warres in those daies, that the people being aduertised of the in-

The English nation practised in wars, go

uasion

uasion of the enimies in anie part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or capteine, and setting vpon the enimies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they ouermatched them both in number and practise. So were the enimies despised of the English souldiers, and laughed to scorne of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a nauie of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen at the first the Essex men yeelded themselues vnto him. In the yeere following he inuaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, wasting and spoiling the same vnto Crikelade, and there passing ouer the Thames, rode foorth till he came to Basingstoke, or (as some bookes haue) Brittenden, harieng the countrie on each side, and so returned backe vnto Eastangles with great ioy and triumph.

commonlie awaie with the victorie.

Hen. Hunt.

Essex yeelded to Adelwold.

Ran. Higd.

Brittenden.

King Edward awakened heerewith assembled his people, and followed the enimies, wasting all the countries betwixt the riuer of Ouse and saint Edmunds ditch. And when he should returne, he gaue commandement that no man should staie behind him, but come backe togither for doubt to be forelaid by the enimies. The Kentishmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king sent seuen messengers for them. The Danes awaiting their aduantage, came togither, and fiercelie fought with the Kentishmen, which a long time valiantlie defended themselues. But in the end the Danes obteined the victorie, although they lost more people there than the Kentishmen did: and amongst other, there were slaine the foresaid Adelwold, and diuerse of the chiefe capteins amongst the Danes. Likewise of the English side, there died two dukes, Siwolfe & Singlem or Sigbelme, with sundrie other men of name, both temporall and also spirituall lords and abbats. In the fift yeere of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Eastangle and Northumberland at Itingford. But in the yeere following, he sent an armie against them of Northumberland, which slue manie of the Danes, and tooke great booties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the space of fiue weekes.

Hen. Hunt.

The Kentishmen disobeiing the kings commandement, are surprised by the enimies. Adelwold king Edwards brother.

Fortie daies saith *Simon Dun.*

The yeere next insuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & spoile the countrie, against whome king Edward sent a mightie host, assembled togither of the Westsaxons & them of Mercia, which set vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and slue of them an huge multitude, togither with their chiefe capteins and leaders, as king Halden, and king Eolwils, earle Vter, earle Scurfa, and diuerse other. In the yeere 912, or (as Simon Dunel. saith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edred or Etheldred departed this life, and then king Edward seized into his hands the cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he suffered his sister Elfleda to inioy the most part thereof, except the said cities of London and Oxford, which he still reteined in his owne hand. This Elfleda was wife to the said duke Edred or Etheldred, as before you haue heard: of whose woorthie acts more shall be said heereafter.

Hen. Hunt.

In the ninth yeere of his reigne, king Edward built a castell at Hertford, and likewise he builded a towne in Essex at Wightham, and lay himselfe in the meane time at Maldon, otherwise Meauldun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his subiection, which before was subiect to the Danes. In the yeere following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former truce, and slue a great number of men at Hochnerton in Oxfordshire. And shortlie after their returne home, an other companie of them went foorth, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being assembled together, fought with them & put them to flight, taking from them all the spoile which they had got, and also their horsses.

Wightham.

Chester, or rather Leicester, as I thinke.

Digetune.

In the 11 yeere of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compassed about the west parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and so tooke preies in Wales: they also tooke prisoner a Welsh bishop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ships: but king Edward redeemed him out of their hands, paieng them fortie pounds for his ransome. After that the armie of Danes went foorth to spoile the countrie about Irchenfield, but the people of Chester, Hereford, and other townes and countries thereabout assembled togither, and giuing battell to the enimies, put them to flight, and slue one of their noble men called earle Rehald,

Irchenfield.

Danes discomfited.

Rehald, and Geolcil the brother of earle Vter, with a great part of their armie, & draue the residue into a castell, which they besieged till the Danes within it gaue hostages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king caused the coasts about Seuerne to be watched, that they should not breake into his countrie: but yet they stale twise into the borders: neuerthelesse they were chased and slaine as manie as could not swim, and so get to their ships.

The Ile of Stepen. Deomedun. Danes saile into Ireland.

Then they remained in the Ile of Stepen, in great miserie for lacke of vittels, bicause they could not go abroad to get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence sailed into Ireland.

The same yéere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two castels, the one vpon the one side of the water of Ouse, and the other vpon the other side of the same riuer. He also subdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the residue of the noble men and barons of the shires of Bedford and Northampton. In the 12 yéere of king Edwards reigne, the Kentishmen and Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared.

Turketillus an earle.

Simon Dun.

Simon Dunelm. speaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought against a number of Danish rouers at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that should be (as he noteth) 8 yéeres before this supposed time, as in the yéere 904, which was about the third yéere of king Edwards reigne.

Anno 911. *Simon Dun.*

After this, other of the Danes assembled themselues togither, and in Staffordshire at a place called Totterhall fought with the Englishmen, and after great slaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and so likewise were they shortlie after at Woodfield or Wodenfield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the woorse in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that those in Northumberland ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrie, and so afflicted the same, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladlie continued in rest and peace. But in this meane time, Ericke the king of those Danes which held the countrie of Eastangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him against the Englishmen, that with common agréement they might set vpon the English nation, and vtterlie subdue them.

Polydor. Ericke king of Eastangles.

King Edward hauing intelligence héereof, purposed to preuent him, and therevpon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruellie wasted and spoiled the same. King Ericke hauing alreadie his people in armor through displeasure conceiued heereof, and desire to be reuenged, hasted foorth to incounter his enimies: and so they met in the field, and fiercelie assailed ech other. But as the battell was rashlie begun on king Ericks side, so was the end verie harmefull to him: for with small adoo, after great losse on both sides, he was vanquished and put to flight.

King Edward inuadeth the countrie of the Eastangles.

Ericke put to flight.

After his comming home, bicause of his great ouerthrow and fowle discomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & sharper dealing than before time he had vsed: Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Eastangles so highlie against him, that they fell vpon him and murthered him: yet did they not gaine so much hereby as they looked to haue done: for shortlie after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrie, were compelled to submit themselues vnto king Edward. And so was that kingdome ioined vnto the other dominions of the same king Edward, who shortlie after annexed the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatlie vpon the death of his sister Elfleda, whom he permitted to rule that land all hir life.

The kingdom of the Eastanglessubdued by K. Edward.

Elfleda the sister of king Edward highlie commended for gouernment, what a necessarie staie she was vnto him in hir life time, what townes she builded and repared, hir warlike exploits against the Danes, hir death and buriall; the greatest part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and reparer of townes, his death. the dreame of his wife Egina, and the issue of the same, what children king Edward had by his wiues, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the meanes of troubles procured by the Danes, England first cursed and why; a prouinciall councell summoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie sent to Rome, bishops ordeined in sundrie prouinces; dissention among writers what pope should denounce the foresaid cursse; a succession of archbishops in the see of Canturburie, one brother killeth an other.

THE XVIII. CHAPTER.

NOT without good reason did king Edward permit vnto his sister Elfleda the gouernment of Mercia, during hir life time: for by hir wise and politike order vsed in all hir dooings, he was greatlie furthered & assisted; but speciallie in reparing and building of townes & castels, wherein she shewed hir noble magnificence, in so much that during hir gouernment, which continued about eight yéeres, it is recorded by writers, that she did build and repare these towns, whose names here insue: Tamwoorth beside Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewsburie, Watersburie or Weddesburie, Elilsburie or rather Eadsburie, in the forrest of De la mere besides Chester, Brimsburie bridge vpon Seuerne, Rouncorne at the mouth of the riuer of Mercia with other. Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Chester, which by Danes had beene greatlie defaced, was newlie repared, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie inlarged. So that the castell which stood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compasse of the new wall.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Tamwoorth was by hir repared, anno 914. Eadsburie and Warwike. 915. Chester repared, 905. *Sim. Dun.*

Moreouer she boldlie assalted hir enimies which went about to trouble the state of the countrie, as the Welshmen and Danes. She sent an armie into Wales, and tooke the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welshmen at Bricenamere. Also she wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrie adioining. In this enterprise she put hir owne person in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entries, in so much that they slue foure of hir chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of hir person, euen fast by hir at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithstanding, with valiant fight hir people entered, and so the towne was woon: she got diuerse other places out of their hands, & constreined them of Yorkeshire to agree with hir, so that some of them promised to become hir subiects: some vowed to aid hir, and some sware to be at hir commandement.

Quéene of the Welshmen taken. Breeanamere. *Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.* 918. Darbie won from the Danes.

Finallie, this martiall ladie and manlie Elfleda, the supporter of hir countriemen, and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Tamwoorth about the 12 of Iune, in the 18 or rather 19 yéere of hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Matth. West. it should appeere. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that she deceassed in the yeere of Christ 915, which should be about the 14 yéere of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conueied to Glocester, and there buried within the monasterie of S. Peter, which hir husband and she in their life time had builded, and translated thither the bones of saint Oswill from Bardona. The same monasterie was after destroied by Danes. But Aldredus the archbishop of Yorke, who was also bishop of Worcester, repared an other in the same citie, that was after the chiefe abbeie there. Finallie, in memorie of the said Elfleds magnanimitie and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on hir toome.

Hen. Hunt. *Anno Christi* 919. *Matt. West.* *Simon Dun.* *Ranul.*

O Elfleda potens, ó terror virgo virorum,
O Elfleda potens, nomine digna viri.
Te quóque splendidior fecit natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.

Te mutare decet sed solùm nomina sexus,
Tu regina potens réxque trophea parans.
Iam nec Cæsareos tantùm mirere triumphos,
Cæsare splendidior virgo virago, vale.

Translated by *Abraham Fleming.*

O puissant Elfled, ô thou maid
of men the dread and feare,
O puissant Elfled woorthie maid
the name of man to beare.
A noble nature hath thee made
a maiden mild to bee,
Thy vertue also hath procurde
a manlie name to thee.
It dooth but onelie thee become,
of sex to change the name,
A puissant queene, a king art thou
preparing trophes of fame.
Now maruell not so much at Cæ-
sars triumphs [trim to vieu ;]
O manlike maiden more renowmd
than Cæsar was, adieu.

This Alfwen was sister to Edelfled, as *H. Hunt.* saith. Stratcluid or Stretcled, a kingdome in Wales. K. Edward a great builder and reparer of townes. Notingham bridge built. *Matt. West.* Manchester repared. Anno 816. *Simon Dun.*

After the deceasse of Elfleda, king Edward tooke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue said) into his owne hands, and so disherited his néece Alfwen or Elswen, the daughter of Elfleda, taking hir awaie with him into the countrie of Westsaxons. By this meanes he so amplified the bounds of his kingdome, that he had the most part of all this Iland of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welshmen ; namelie the king of Stretcled, and of the Scots, acknowledging him to be their chiefe souereigne lord, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept so short, that they durst attempt nothing against him in his latter daies: so that he had time to applie the building and reparing of cities, townes, and castels, wherein he so much delighted. He builded a new towne at Notingham on the south-side of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne and the new. He also repared Manchester beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancashire, accounted as then in the south end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Thilwall, neere to the same riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garrison of souldiers: diuerse other townes and castels he built, as two at Buckingham on either side of the water of Ouse (as before is shewed) and also one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. He likewise built or new repared the townes of Tocetor and Wigmore, with diuerse other, as one at Glademuth, about the last yéere of his reigne. Some also he destroied which séemed to serue the enimies turne for harborough, as a castell at Temnesford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

Henr. Hunt.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned somewhat aboue the tearme of 23 yéeres, he was taken out of this life at Faringdon: his bodie was conueied from thence vnto Winchester, and there buried in the new abbeie. He had three wiues, or (as some haue written) but two, affirming that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of whome he begat his eldest sonne Adelstan, who succéeded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hath béene reported) dreamed on a time that there rose a moone out of hir bellie, which with the bright shine thereof gaue light ouer all England: and telling hir dreame to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniecturing by the dreame that which followed, tooke care of hir, and caused hir to be brought vp in good manners and like a gentlewoman, though she were borne but of base parentage.

Polydor.

A dreame,

Heerevpon when she came to ripe yéeres, king Edward by chance comming to the place where she was remaining, vpon the first sight was streight rauished with hir beautie (which in déed excelled) that she could not rest till he had his pleasure of hir, and so begot of hir the foresaid

foresaid Adelstan: by hir he had also a daughter that was maried vnto Sithrike a Dane and K. of Northumberland. The Scotish writers name hir Beatrice, but our writers name hir Editha. His second or rather his first wife (if he were not maried to Eguina mother to Adelstan) was called Elfleda or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Ethelme, by whom he had issue; to wit, two sonnes Ethelward and Edwin, which immediatlie departed this life after their father; and six daughters, Elfleda, Edgiua, Ethelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgiua. Elfleda became a nun, and Ethelhilda also liued in perpetuall virginitie, but yet in a laie habit. *Mart. West. Polydor.* The issue of K. Edward.

Edgitha was maried to Charles king of France, surnamed Simplex. And Ethilda by helpe of hir brother Adelstan was bestowed vpon Hugh sonne to Robert earle of Paris, for hir singular beautie most highlie estéemed: sith nature in hir had shewed as it were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all gifts and properties of a comelie personage. Edgiua and Elgiua were sent by their brother Adelstan into Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who bestowed one of them vpon his sonne Otho, that was after emperor, the first of that name; and the other vpon a duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his last wife named Edgiua, he had also two sonnes, Edmund & Eldred, the which both reigned after their brother Adestan successiuelie. Also he had by hir two daughters, Edburge that was made a nun, and Edgiue a ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelstan gaue in mariage vnto Lewes king of Aquitaine. Alias Edgiua. *Wil. Malm.*

Whilest this land was in continuall trouble of warres against the Danes, as before is touched, small regard was had to the state of the church, in somuch that the whole countrie of the Westsaxons by the space of seuen yéeres togither (in the daies of this king Edward) remained without anie bishop, to take order in matters apperteining to the church. Wherevpon the pope had accurssed the English people, bicause they suffred the bishops sées to be vacant so long a time. King Edward to auoid the cursse, assembled a prouinciall councell, 905, in the which the archbishop of Canturburie Pleimond was president. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the prouince of Westsaxons in times past had but two bishops, now it should be diuided into fiue diocesses, euerie of them to haue a peculiar bishop. *Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Matth. West.* England first accurssed. Anno 903.

When all things were ordered and concluded in this synod (as was thought requisite) the archbishop was sent to Rome with rich presents, to appease the popes displeasure. When the pope had heard what order the king had taken, he was contented therewith. And so the archbishop returned into his countrie, and in one day at Canturburie ordeined seuen bishops, as fiue to the prouince of Westsaxons, that is to say, Fridestane to the sée of Winchester, Adelstan to S. German in Cornwall, Werstan to Shireborne, Adelme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Also to the prouince of Sussex he ordeined one Bernegus, and to Dorchester for the prouince of Mercia one Cenulfus. Winchester. Cornwall. Shireborne. Welles. Kirton. Mercia.

¶ Héere ye must note, that where William Malme. Polychro. and other doo affirme, that pope Formosus did accursse king Edward and the English nation, for suffering the bishops sées to be vacant, it can not stand with the agréement of the time, vnlesse that the cursse pronounced by Formosus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had respect thereto. For the same Formosus began to gouerne the Romane sée about the yéere of our Lord 892, and liued in the papasie not past six yéeres, so that he was dead before king Edward came to the crowne. But how so euer this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to consider: although that Pleimond was sent vnto Rome to aduertise the pope what the king had decréed & doone, in the ordeining of bishops to their seuerall sées, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maister Fox hath noted) the gouernance and direction of the church depended chieflie vpon the kings of this land in those daies, as it manifestlie appeereth, as well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king Edward, whose authoritie in the election of bishops (as before ye haue heard) séemed then alone to be sufficient. *Wil. Malm.* saith that pope Formosus pronounced this cursse. 904. *Polydor.*

Moreouer, I thinke it good to aduertise you in this place, that this Pleimond archbishop of Canturburie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in number from Augustine the first archbishop there: for after Brightwold that was the 8 in number, and first of the English nation that gouerned the sée, succéeded Taduin, that sat thrée yéeres, Notelin fiue yéeres, Cuthbert

bert 18 yéeres, Brethwin thrée yéeres, Lambert 27 yéeres, Adelard 13 yéeres, Wilfred 28 yéeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yéeres, Celuotus or Chelutus 10 yéeres. Then succéeded Aldred, of whome king Edward receiued the crowne, and he was predecessor to Pleimond. A *Hen. Hunt.* litle before the death of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumberland killed his brother Nigellus, and then king Reinold conquered the citie of Yorke.

Adelstane succeedeth his father Edward in the kingdome, Alfred practising by treason to keepe him from the gouernement, sanke downe suddenlie as he was taking his oth for his purgation; the cause why Alfred opposed himselfe against Adelstane, whose praise is notable, what he did to satisfie the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice king Edwards daughter maried to Sithrike a Danish gouernor of the Northumbers, by whose meanes Edwin king Edwards brother was drowned, practises of treason, the ladie Beatrice strangelie put to death by hir stepsons for being of counsell to poison hir husband Sithrike, hir death reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father king Edward, and how chronographers varie in the report of this historie.

THE XIX. CHAPTER.

ADELSTAN. *Matt. West. Will. Malmes.* 924.

ADELSTANE the eldest sonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more part of all England, the yéere of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yere of the emperour Henrie the first, in the 31 yéere of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simplex king of France, thrée moneths after the burning of Pauie, & about the 22 or 23 yéere of Constantine the third, king of Scotland. This Adelstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vpon Thames, of Aldelme the archbishop of Canturburie, who succéeded Pleimond. He was the 24 king in number from Cerdicus or Cerdike the first king of the Westsaxons. There were in the beginning some that set themselues against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to haue kept him from the gouernement: but he was apprehended yer he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe giltie or not giltie. And as he tooke his oth for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenlie fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants tooke him vp, and bare him into the English schoole or hospitall, where the third night after he died.

Alfred striueth in vaine to kéepe Adelstane from the gouernment. *Wil. Malm.* See more hereof in the acts and monuments set foorth by *M. Fox*, vol. 1. leafe 195.

Pope Iohn the tenth sent vnto king Adelstane, to know if he would that his bodie should be laid in christian buriall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and kinsfolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred amongst other christians. His lands being forfeited were giuen by the king vnto God and saint Peter. The cause that mooued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certeine, that except that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstane worthie of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in thy selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand vpon the woorthinesse of thine ancestors, sith that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Adelstane was established in the estate, he indeuored himselfe to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to insue by his noble and prudent *Anno 925. Simon Dun. Polydor.* gouernance. First therfore meaning to prouide for the suertie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whome (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not past one yéere after he had *Wil. Malm.* so maried hir. And then Adelstane brought the prouince of the Northumbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that

write, that Godfrie and Aulafe the sonnes of Sithrike succéeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to mooue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their countrie, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulafe fled into Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Reignold which wan Yorke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Nigellus, as before is mentioned. *H. Hunt.*

¶ The Scotish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if anie male were procreated in that mariage, the same should inherit the dominions of king Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a iolie gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into Flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great reioising of all the Danes, least if he had suruiued his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne. *Hect. Boetius.* The Scotish writers varie from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward as the Scotish writers say. Edwin was not brother to K. Edward but son to him.

About the same time Adelstane a base sonne of K. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Shortlie after, king Edward vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischiefe toward him, persuaded his daughter to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulafe or Aualassus, and Godfrie the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set naked vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithie, and therewith hard rosted egs being taken out of the hot imbers were put vnder hir armepits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in reuenge of his daughters death mooued warre against the two brethren, Aulafe and Godfrie, and in battell finallie vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe. Adelstane flieth the realme. Beatrice put to death by hir stepsons.

Thus haue the Scotish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Adelstane: but the truth thereof we leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers deceasse was by hir brother king Adelstane, about the first yéere of his reigne, giuen in mariage (as before ye haue heard) vnto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danish bloud, who for the loue of the yoong ladie, renounced his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortlie after, forsaking both his wife and the christian faith, he set vp againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserablie ended his life. Whervpon the yoong ladie, hir virginitie being preserued, and hir bodie vndefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Polleswoorth in Warwikeshire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praieng, and doeing of almesdéedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scotish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in mariage with Sithrike. Editha a virgine.

Adelstane subdueth Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelstane conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enimie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelstane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelstane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Aulafe sometimes king of Northumberland inuadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe vnsuspected, he is discouered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelstane being comforted with a miracle discomfiteth his enimies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeis & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what pretious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.

THE XX. CHAPTER.

AFTER that king Adelstane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was aduertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Huduale or Howell K. of Wales went about a priuie conspiracie against him. Herevpon with all conuenient speed assembling his power, he went against them, and with like good fortune subdued them both, and also Vimer or Wulferth K. of Northwales, so that they were constreined to submit themselues vnto him, who shortlie after moued with pitie in considering their sudden fall, restored them all three to their former estates, but so as they should acknowledge themselues to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable saieng, that More honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. West. The noble saieng of king Adelstane.

926.

Ye must vnderstand, that (as it appeareth in the Scotish chronicles) the Scotishmen in time of wars that the Danes gaue the English nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the north countries into their possession, and so by reason of their neere adioining vnto the confines of the English kings, there chanced occasions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelstane his sonne, although in deed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelstane conquered the same out of their hands, and ioined it vnto other of his dominions, constreining as well the Danes (of whome the more part of the inhabitants then consisted) as also the Englishmen, to obey him as their king and gouernour. Godfrie (as is said) being fled to the Scots, did so much preuaile there by earnest sute made to king Constantine, that he got a power of men, and entring with the same into Northumberland, besiged the citie of Duresme, soliciting the citizens to receiue him, which they would gladlie haue doone, if they had not perceiued how he was not of power able to resist the puissance of king Adelstane: and therefore doubting to be punished for their offenses if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out. King Adelstane being sore moued against the king of Scots, that thus aided his enimies, raised an armie, and went northward, purposing to reuenge that iniurie.

Polydor.

934.

At his comming into Yorkshire, he turned out of the way, to visit the place where saint Iohn of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promising that if he returned with victorie, he would redeeme the same with a woorthie price: and so proceeded and went forwards on his iournie, and entring Scotland, wasted the countrie by land vnto Dunfoader and Wertermore, and his nauie by sea destroied the coasts alongst the shore, euen to Catnesse, and so he brought the king of Scots and other his enimies to subiection at his pleasure, constreining the same K. of Scots to deliuer him his son in hostage.

Ran. Higd.

Sim. Dun.

The Scots subdued.

It is said, that being in his iournie neere vnto the towne of Dunbar, he praied vnto God, that at the instance of saint Iohn of Beuerlie, it would please him to grant, that he might shew some open token, whereby it should appeare to all them that then liued, and should hereafter succeed, that the Scots ought to be subiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith, the

A token shewed miraculouslie that the Scots ought to be subiect to the kings of England.

the king with his sword smote vpon a great stone standing néere to the castle of Dunbar, and with the stroke, there appeared a clift in the same stone to the length of an elme, which remained to be shewed as a witnesse of that thing manie yeares after. At his comming backe to Beuerlie, he redéemed his knife with a large price, as before he had promised.

Wil. Malm. Matt. West m. 934.

After this was Edwin the kings brother accused of some conspiracie by him begun against the king, wherevpon he was banished the land, and sent out in an old rotten vessell without rower or mariner, onelie accompanied with one esquier, so that being lanched foorth from the shore, through despaire Edwin leapt into the sea, and drowned himselfe, but the esquier that was with him recouered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withsand besides Canturburie. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders saieth, that he was drowned by fortune of the seas in a small vessell, and being cast vp into a créeke on the coast of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his coosin germane, and honorablie buried by the same Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In consideration of which déed of pietie and dutie of mindfull consanguinitie, the king of England both hartilie thanked earle Adolfe, and bestowed great gifts vpon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verelie king Adelstane after his displeasure was asswaged, and hearing of this miserable end of his brother, sore repented himselfe of his rigour so extended towards him, in so much that he could neuer abide the man that had giuen the information against him, which was his cupbearer, so that on a time as the said cupbearer serued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to slide, but he recouered himselfe with the helpe of the other foot, saieng, "One brother yet hath holpen & succored the other:" which words cost him his life. For the king remembring that by his accusation he had lost his brother that might haue béene an aid to him, caused this said cupbearer to be straight put to death.

Repentance too late.

Wil. Malm.

In this meane while, Aulafe the sonne of Sitherike, late king of Northumberland (who is also named by writers to be king of the Irishmen, and of manie Ilands) assembled a great power of Danes, Irishmen, Scots, and other people of the out Iles, and imbarked them in 615 ships and craiers, with the which he arriued in the mouth of Humber, and there comming on land, began to inuade the countrie. This Aulafe had maried the daughter of Constantine king of Scots, by whose procurement, notwithstanding his late submission, Aulafe tooke in hand this iournie. King Adelstane aduertised of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient spéed hasted towards them, and approching néerer vnto them, pitcht downe his field at a place called by some Brimesburie, by others Brimesford, and also Brunaubright, and by the Scotish writers Browmingfield.

937.

Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies campe, Aulafe enterprised a maruelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the English campe, offring himselfe disguised as a minstrell, to shew some part of his cunning in musicke vpon his instrument: and so being suffered to passe from tent to tent, and admitted also to plaie afore the king, surueied the whole state and order of the armie. This doone, he returned, meaning by a cammisado to set vpon the kings tent. But one that had serued as a souldier sometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vttered to the king what he knew. The king séemed to be displeased, in that he had not told him so much before Aulafs departure: but in excusing himselfe, the souldier said: "Ye must remember (if it like your grace) that the same faith which I haue giuen vnto you, I sometime owght vnto Aulafe, therfore if I should haue betraied him now, you might well stand in doubt least I should hereafter doo the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduise, remoue your tent, least happilie he assaile you vnwares." The king did so, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulafe came to assaile the English campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent stood before, he found a bishop lodged, which with his companie was come the same day to the armie, and had pitcht vp his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and so was the same bishop, and most part of his men there slaine, which slaughter executed, Aulafe passed forward, and came to the

Matth. West. Hector Boet. Run. Higd.

Aulafe disguised, commeth to view the English camp.

Aulafe assaileth the English campe.

the kings tent, who in this meane time, by reason of the alarum raised, was got vp, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so
Ran. Higd. that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Aldelme (as saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie preased foorth vpon his enimies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slue of them an
Wil. Malm. huge number. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouer-
The enimies discomfited. throw, and fiue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and welnéere all the armie of those strange nations which Aulafe had gathered togither. But the Scotish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may sée more at large.

Ran. Higd. When K. Adelstane had thus vanquished his enimies in the north parties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they couenanted to pay him yeerlie
Tribute. in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of siluer, and 25 head of neate, with
The Cornish men subdued. hawks and hownds a certeine number. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongst the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the
Excester repared. same, and repared the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so remoued the Cornish men further into the west parts of the countrie, that
940. he made Tamer water to be the confines betwéene the Englishmen and them. Finallie the
Simon Dun. noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he
The decease of king Adelstane. had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Malmesburie.

The description of king Adelstane. He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stooping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his valiancie ioined with courtesie beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of inuincible constancie: his great deuotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowing of monasteries and abbeis. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and an other at Michelnie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorned the same either with some new péece of building, iewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He
Wolstan archbishop of Yorke. had in excéeding fauour Wolstan archbishop of Yorke that liued in his daies, for whose sake he greatlie inriched that bishoprike. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe,
His estimation in foraine realmes. so that sundrie princes thought themselues happie if they might haue his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in mariage as before ye haue heard. He receiued manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, horsses and sundrie rich iewels, with certeine relikes: as Constantines sword, in the hilt whereof was set one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same wherewith the side of our sauiour was pearced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuile saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares after this time, as he writeth. Of these iewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swithon at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmesburie. Moreouer, the king of Norwaie sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine woorkmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt pauises. ¶ In the daies
Harding. of this Adelstane reigned that right worthie Guy earle of Warwike, who (as some writers haue recorded) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him.

Edmund

Edmund succeedeth Adelstane in the kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene Aulafe their king and king Edmund vpon conditions, Aulafe dieth, another of that name succeedeth him; king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulafe are baptised, they violate their fealtie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eies of king Dunmails sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scotish chroniclers error in peruerting the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foreshewed to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reproueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

THE XXJ. CHAPTER.

EDMUND.

AFTER that Adelstane was departed this life, without leauing issue behind to succéed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgiue, tooke vpon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otho the 1, in the 13 of Lewes surnamed Transmarinus king of France, and about the 38 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordeined Aulafe to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulafe, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Norwaie, & hauing a great power of men with him, marched foorth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and incountred with his enimies at Leicester. Howbeit, yer the matter came to the vttermost triall of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke Odo and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should inioy all that part of the land which lieth from Watlingstréet southward, & Aulafe should inioy the other part as it lieth from the same street northward. Then Aulafe tooke to wife the ladie Alditha, daughter to earle Ormus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obteined the vpper hand. But this Aulafe in the yeare following, after he had destroied the church of saint Balter, and burned Tinningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to king Sithrike, tooke vpon him to gouerne the Northumbers.

Wil. Malm.

940.

Simon Dun.

A peace concluded.

941.

Matth. West. Aulafe deceaseth. Another Aulafe taketh vpon him to rule.

942.

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and towns of Lincolne, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Notingham, constreining them to receiue the christian faith, and reduced all the countries euen vnto Humber vnder his subiection. This doone, Aulafe and Reinold the sonne of Gurmo, who (as you haue heard) subdued Yorke, as a meane the sooner to obteine peace, offered to become christians, & to submit themselues vnto him: wherevpon he receiued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was sonne to king Sithrike, but rather that the other was he with whom king Edmund made partition of the realme: but they agree, that this second Aulafe was a Dane also, & being conuerted to the faith as well through constraint of the kings puissance, as through the preaching of the gospell, was baptised, king Edmund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the foresaid Reinold, to Aulafe at the verie fontstone, and to Reinold at his confirmation at the bishops hands. Neuerthelesse, their wicked natures could not rest in quiet, so that they brake both promise to God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the yeare next following driuen both out of the countrie, and punished by perpetuall exile. And so king Edmund adioined Northumberland, without admitting anie other immediat gouernor, vnto his owne estate.

Gurmo or Godfrey. *Wil. Malm.*

944.

Simon Dun.

Leolin king of Southwales aided king Edmund in this enterprise. 946.

Moreouer, he wasted and spoiled whole Cumberland, because he could not reduce the people of that countrie vnto due obeisance, and conformable subiection. The two sonnes of Dunmaile king of that prouince he apprehended, and caused their eies to be put out. Herewith vpon consideration either of such aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that time, or some other friendlie respect, he assigned the said countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king of Scots, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his successors. The Scotish chronicles, peruerting the time and order of the acts and doings of the English kings which reigned about this season, affirme, that by couenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme king of Scotland, and Adelstan king of England, it was agreed, that Cumberland should remaine to the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at full expressed. And againe, that Indulfe, who succeeded Malcolme in the kingdome of Scotland, aided king Edmund against Aulafe, whom the same chronicles name Aualassus, but the time which they attribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not alow the same to stand. For by account of their writers, king Malcolme began not his reigne till after the deceasse of king Adelstan, who departed this life in the yeare 940. And Malcolme succeeded Constantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about the third yeare of king Edmunds reigne, and after Malcolme (that reigned 15 yeares) succeeded Indulfe in the yeare 959. The like discordance precedeth and followeth in their writers, as to the diligent reader, in conferring their chronicles with ours, manifestlie appeareth. We therefore (to satisfie the desirous to vnderstand and see the diuersitie of writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles left the same as we found it.

Polydor. The lawes of king Edmund.

But now to the other doings of king Edmund: it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and wholsome lawes, verie profitable and necessarie for the commonwealth, which lawes with diuers other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by rust of time, the consumer of things woorthie of long remembrance (as saith Polydor:) but sithens his time they haue beene recouered for the more part, & by maister William Lambert turned into Latine, & were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare 1568, as before I haue said. Finallie, this prince king Edmund, after he had reigned sixe yeares and a halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune. For (as some say) it chanced, that espieng where one of his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongest his enimies that were about him with drawen swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruant, he was slaine at a place called Pulcher church, or (as other haue) Michelsbourgh.

Fiue yeares and 7 months hath *Si. Dun.*

Pridecire, saith *Si. Dun. Will. Malm. Matth. West.* 946.

Other say, that keeping a great feast at the aforesaid place on the day of saint Augustine the English apostle (which is the 26 of Maie, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tuesday) as he was set at the table, he espied where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome sometime he had banished the land, and now being returned without licence, he presumed to come into the kings presence, wherewith the king was so moued with high disdaine, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and flew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith the théefe, hauing fast hold on the king, brought him downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him into the bellie, in such wise, that the kings bowels fell out of his chest, and there presentlie died. The theefe was hewen in péeces by the kings seruants, but yet he slue and hurt diuers before they could dispatch him. This chance was lamentable, namelie to the English people, which by the ouertimelie death of their king, in whome appeared manie euident tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope which they had conceiued of great wealth to increase by his prudent and most princelie gouernement. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie where Dunstane was then abbat.

Capgraue. A vaine tale.

There be that write, that the death of king Edmund was signified aforehand to Dunstane, who about the same time attending vpon the same king, as he remooued from one place to an other, chanced to accompanie himselfe with a noble man, one duke Elstane, and as they rode togither, behold suddenlie Dunstane saw in the waie before him, where the kings

musicians

musicians rode, the diuell running and leaping amongst the same musicians after a reioising maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he said to the duke; Is it possible that you may see that which I see? The duke answered that he saw nothing otherwise than he ought to see. Then said Dunstane, Blesse your eies with the signe of the crosse, and trie whether you can see that I see. And when he had doone as Dunstane appointed him, he saw also the feend in likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Aethiopian dansing and leaping, whereby they gathered that some euill hap was towards some of the companie: but when they had crossed and blessed them, the foule spirit vanished out of their sight.

Crossing bringeth sight of the diuels, and crossing driueth them away.

Now after they had talked of this vision, and made an end of their talke touching the same, the duke required of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in sleepe, and that was this: He thought that he saw in a vision the king with all his nobles sit in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were there making merrie togither, the king chanced to fall into a dead sleepe, and all the noble men, and those of his councell that were about him were changed into robucks and goats. Dunstane quicklie declared that this dreame signified the kings death, and the changing of the nobles into dum and insensible beasts betokened that the princes & gouernors of the realme should decline from the waie of truth, and wander as foolish beasts without a guide to rule them. Also the night after this talke when the king was set at supper, Dunstane saw the same spirit, or some other, walke vp and downe amongst them that waited at the table, and within three daies after, the king was slaine, as before ye haue heard.

Dunstane an interpretor of dreames.

Dunstan seeth the diuell often, but now he was become a waiter at the table when Dunstane sat with the king.

Edred succedeth his brother Edmund in the realme of England, the Northumbers rebell against him, they and the Scots sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their oth and ioine with Aulafe the Dane, who returneth into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people expell him and erect Hericius in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the rereward of his armie is assailed by an host of his enimies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselues, and put awaie Hericius their king, Wolstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appeasing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glastenburie, his practise of cousenage touching king Edreds treasure.

THE XXIJ. CHAPTER.

EDRED the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgiue his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yeere of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was in the twelfe yeere of the emperor Otho the first, and in the 21 yeere of the reigne of Lewes K. of France, & about the third or fourth yeere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and annointed the 16 day of August by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yeere of his reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, whereupon he raised an armie, inuaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This doone, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselues vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers receiued an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulafe which had beene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioifullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeeres, and then by the

EDRED. 946.

Hen. Hunt. The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.

Aulafe returned into Northumberland.

accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set vp one Hirke or Hericius the sonne of one Harrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yeere of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroied the countrie with fire & swoord, sleaing the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbeie of Rippon, which was kept against him.

Hirke or Hericius. *Wil. Malm.* The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished. *Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.* Easterford.

As he was returning homeward, an host of enimies brake out of Yorke, and setting vpon the rereward of the kings armie at a place called Easterford, made great slaughter of the same. Wherefore the king in his rage ment to haue begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselues so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Hirke or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obteined pardon. But bicause that Wolstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his countriemen in reuolting from king Edred, and aduancing of Hericius, king Edred tooke him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. Matth. Westm. reciteth an other cause of Wolstans imprisonment, as thus. In the yeere of Grace, saith he, 951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in close prison, bicause of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Theadford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them vniustlie slaine and murthered.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned. *Matth. West.* 951.

After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissentions within his land, he applied him selfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in praier and other deuout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgiua, restored the abbeie of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies sore decaied and fallen into ruine. Finallie, after he had reigned nine yeeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of men, and reioising of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. ¶ Heere is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most especiall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glastenburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie iewels as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monasterie of Glastenburie.

Wil. Malm.

Edredus departeth this life.

Dunstane in fauour.

Afterward, when king Edred perceiued himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sickenesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane tooke such things as he had vnder his hands, & hasted forward to deliuer the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sickenesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saieng; Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horsse whereon Dunstane rode fell downe and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angell that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

But was not this a deuise thereby to deteine the treasure? for I doo not read that he deliuered it out of his hands.

An angell, or as some think a woorse creature.

Edwin succeedeth Edred in the kingdome of England, his beastlie and incestuous carnalitie with a kinswoman of his on the verie day of his coronation, he is reproued of Dunstane and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his vnlawfull lust and lewd life, the diuell reioised at his exile, what reuenging mischiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebelleth against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome ouer them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succeedeth him, he is a fauourer of moonks, his prouision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in gouernment, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his fauouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessiue quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester; iustice in Edgars time seuerelie executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of woolfs skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.

THE XXIIJ. CHAPTER.

EDWIN. 955.

AFTER the deceasse of Edred, his nephue Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne ouer the same in the yeere of our Lord 955, & in the 20 yéere of the emperor Otho the first, in the 28 and last yéere of the reigne of Lewes king of France, and about the twelfe yeere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was consecrated at Kingston vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie. On the verie day of his coronation, as the lords were set in councell about weightie matters touching the gouernment of the realme, he rose from the place, gat him into a chamber with one of his néere kinswomen, and there had to doo with hir, without anie respect or regard had to his roiall estate and princelie dignitie. Dunstane latelie before-named abbat of Glastenburie, did not onlie without feare of displeasure reprooue the K. for such shamefull abusing of his bodie, but also caused the archbishop of Canturburie to constreine him to forsake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

Will. Malmes. Polydor.

There be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whome king Edward kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble parentage, sought to satisfie the kings lust, in hope that either he would take hir or hir daughter vnto wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunstane was sore against such wanton pastime as the king vsed in their companie, she so wrought, that Dunstane was through hir earnest trauell banished the land. This is also reported, that when he should depart the realme, the diuell was heard in the west end of the church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring maner, as though he should shew himselfe glad and ioifull at Dunstanes going into exile. But Dunstane perceiuing his behauiour, spake to him, and said: Well thou aduersarie, doo not so greatly reioise at the matter, for thou dooest not now so much reioise at my departure, but by Gods grace thou shalt be as sorrowfull for my returne.

John Capgraue.

Dunstane banished the realme.

Dunstane séeth not the diuell.

Thus was Dunstane banished by king Edwine, so that he was compelled to passe ouer into Flanders, where he remained for a time within a monasterie at Gant, finding much friendship at the hands of the gouernor of that countrie. Also the more to wreake his wrath, the king spoiled manie religious houses of their goods, and droue out the monks, placing secular priests in their roomes, as namelie at Malmesburie, where yet the house was not empaired, but rather inriched in lands and ornaments by the kings liberalitie, and the industrious meanes of the same priests, which tooke vp the bones of saint Aldelme, and put the same into a shrine. At length the inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled against him, and elected his brother Edgar to haue the gouernement ouer them, wherwith king Edwine tooke such griefe, for that he saw no meane at hand how to remedie the matter, that shortlie after, when he had reigned somewhat more than foure yéeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Winchester in the new abbeie.

Dunstane departed into exile.

Wil. Malm. Edwine displaceth monks and putteth secular priests in their roomes.

Rebellion raised against king Edwine.

Simon Dun. Edwin departeth this life.

EDGAR.

EDGAR. 959.

EDGAR the second sonne of Edmund late king of England, after the decease of his elder brother the foresaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this realme of England in the yeere of our Lord God 959, in the 22 yeere of the emperour Otho the first, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almost ended after the comming of the Saxons, 124 after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the last yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. He was crowned & consecrated at Bath, or (as some say) at Kingstone vpon Thames by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie, being as then not past 16 yeeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He was no lesse indued with commendable gifts of mind, than with strength and force of bodie. He was a great fauorer of moonks, and speciallie had Dunstane in high estimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and studied dailie how to preserue the same, to the commoditie and aduancement of his subiects.

Polydor.

Edgar a fauorer of moonks.

The diligent prouision of K. Edgar for defense of the realme.

When he had established things in good quiet, and set an order in matters as seemed to him best for the peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared a great nauie of ships, and diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to waft about the coast, that no forren enimie should approch the land, but that they might be incountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yeere after Easter, he vsed to giue order, that his ships should assemble togither in their due places: and then would he with the east nauie saile to the west parts of his realme, and sending those ships backe, he would with the west nauie saile into the north parts; and with the north nauie come backe againe into the east. This custome he vsed, that he might scowre the seas of all pirats & theeues. In the winter season and spring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his realme, searching out how the iudges and great lords demeaned themselues in the administration of iustice, sharpelie punishing those that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwise in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vsed such politike discretion, that neither was he put in danger by treason of his subiects, nor molested by forren enimies.

Wil. Malm.

Mascutius.

Kings of Welshmen.

He caused diuerse kings to bind themselues by oth to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Induf king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Mascutius an archpirat, or (as we may call him) a maister rouer, and also all the kings of the Welshmen, as Duffnall, Girffith, Duvall, Iacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their solemne othes receiued, sware to be at his commandement. And for the more manifest testimonie therof, he hauing them with him at Chester, caused them to enter into a barge vpon the water of Dée, and placing himselfe in the forepart of the barge, at the helme, he caused those eight high princes to row the barge vp and downe the water, shewing thereby his princelie prerogatiue and roial magnificence, in that he might vse the seruice of so manie kings that were his subiects. And therevpon he said (as hath bin reported) that then might his successours account themselues kings of England, when they inioied such prerogatiue of high and supreme honor.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dée.

Ran. Higd.

King Edgar fauoureth Danes.

English learned to quaffe of the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

The fame of this noble prince was spred ouer all, as well on this side the sea as beyond, insomuch that great resort of strangers chanced in his daies, which came euer into this land to serue him, and to see the state of his court, as Saxons and other, yea and also Danes, which became verie familiar with him. He fauored in deed the Danes (as hath bene said) more than stood with the commoditie of his subiects, for scarse was anie street in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the same among the Englishmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Englishmen by continuall conuersation with them learned the same vice. King Edgar to reforme in part such excessiue quaffing as then began to grow in vse, caused by the procurement of Dunstane, nailes to be set in cups of a certeine measure, marked for the purpose, that none should drinke more than was assigned by such measured cups. Englishmen also learned of the Saxons, Flemings, and other strangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Saxons a disordered fiercenesse of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tendernesse of bodie: where before they reioised in their owne simplicitie, and esteemed not the lewd and vnprofitable manners of strangers.

Englishmen learne other vices of strangers.

Dunstane

Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the sée of London committed vnto him. He was in such fauor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a moonke of Glastenburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might doo verie much with the king. Also Oswald, which had béene a moonke in the abbeie of Florie in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remooued to the sée of Yorke, was highlie in fauor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Iustice in his daies was strictlie obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offendors, so that no person of what estate or degree soeuer he was escaped worthie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands vpon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be giltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beasts, that liued vpon sucking the bloud of others? For as it is said, he appointed Iudweall or Ludweall king of Wales to present him with three hundred woolues yéerelie in name of a tribute, but after three yéeres space, there was not a woolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yéere after it began to be paid.

Ethelwold made bishop of Winchester.

Oswald. Floriacum.

Moonks must néeds write much in praise of Edgar who had men of their cote in such estimatiõ.

A tribute instituted of woolfskins.

The death of Alfred king Edgars wife (or concubine) causeth him to fall into a fowle offense, an example teaching men to take heed how they put others in trust to woo for them; earle Ethelwold cooseneth the king of his wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull eies; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and vnnaturall speach of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to doo the like, moonks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodilie qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the amplenesse of his dominions.

THE XXIIIJ. CHAPTER.

IN this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the fame went, that Horgerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in mariage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Deuonshire, to sée if the yoong ladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong iollie gentleman, tooke his iournie into Cornewall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was streight rauished so far in loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obteined the same in déed. Herevpon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comelie personage, as might be thought woorthie to match in mariage with his maiestie.

Osborne and *Capgraue* hold that she was not his wife but a nun. *Wil. Malm.* Horger.

Erle Ethelwold deceiueth the king of his wife.

Shortlie

Shortlie after perceiuing the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marie the same damosell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, bicause of the credit which he gaue to Ethelwolds words. And so by this meanes Ethelwold obteined Alfred in mariage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was maried and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to see hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no sooner set his eie vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obteine his purpose, he shortlie after contriued Ethelwolds death, and maried his wife.

King Edgar séeketh the destruction of earle Ethelwold.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would see hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle garments, and some euil fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie should not appeare: but she perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the vttermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband foorth with him on hunting into a forrest or wood then called Warlewood, & after Horewood, not shewing that he meant him anie hurt, till at length he had got him within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenlie stroke him through with his dart. Now as his bastard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, wherto he answered; "Verie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me." With which answer the king was so pacified, that he indeuored by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murther of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yoong, and Etheldred or Egelred.

King Edgar a murtherer.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshlie lust, he also plaied another part greatlie to the staine of his honor, mooued also by wanton loue, with a yoong damosell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hirselfe into a nunrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, he tooke hir foorth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a nun. A third example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodged one night at Andeuer, and hauing a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should bee brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be defloured: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir maidseruants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

His licentious life & incontinencie.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made hast to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted; That I may go to my daies worke if it please your grace (quoth she.) Herewith she being staied by the king, as it were against hir will, she fell downe on hir knees, and required of him that she might be made free, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (saith she) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hath tasted the pleasure of the kings bodie should anie more suffer seruitude vnder the rule and appointment of a sharpe and rough mistresse.

The king then being mooued in his spirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that tooke great indignation at the doings of the dutchesse, and pitied the case of the poore wench. But yet in fine (turning earnest to a iest) he pardoned all the parties, and aduanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue those that had rule of hir afore, so that she ruled them (willed they nilled they:) for he vsed hir as his paramour, till he maried the foresaid Alfred.

For these youthfull parts, & namelie for the rauishing of Wilfride (which though she were no nun, yet the offense seemed heinous, for that he should not once touch anie woman shadowed

dowed vnder that habit) he greatlie displeased Dunstane, so that by him he was put to his seuen yéeres penance, and kept from the crowne till the 12 yeere of his reigne or more. For some write that he was not crowned nor annointed king, till the 30 yéere of his age, which should be about the 13 or 14 yeere of his reigne by that account, sith he entred into the rule of the kingdome about the 16 yéere of his age. In déed one author witnesseth, that he was consecrated at Bath on a Whitsunday, the 13 yéere of his reigne, and that by Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, and Oswold archbishop of Yorke. But some which suppose that he was consecrated king immediatlie vpon the death of Edridus, affirme that he was crowned and annointed king by the archbishop Odo, Dunstane as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediatlie reuoked by Edgar, and first made bishop of Worcester (as hath beene said) and after the decease of Odo was aduanced to be archbishop of Canturburie. But by some writers it appeareth, that Dunstane was reuoked out of exile immediatlie vpon partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yéere 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue heard:) and that in the yéere following the archbishop Odo died, after whome succéeded Alfin bishop of Winchester, who also died the same yéere that king Edward deceassed, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome, and then Brighthelme bishop of Dorchester was elected archbishop. But bicause he was not able to discharge so great an office, by K. Edgars commandement he was forced to giue place to Dunstane.

Note the déep hypocrisie of Dunstane. *Ran. Higd. Fabian out of Guido de Columna. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Ranul. Higs. Polydor. Matt. West. Simon Dun.*

Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welshmen mooued some rebellion against him. Wherevpon he assembled an armie, and entering the countrie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the same, chastising the inhabitants verie sharpelie for their rebellious attempts. Amongst other spoiles taken in those parties at that time by the men of war, the bell of saint Ellutus was taken away, and hanged about a horsses necke, and (as hath béene reported) in the after noone, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to rest, wherevpon in sleepe there appeared one vnto him, and smote him on the breast with a speare. By reason of which vision he caused all things that had béene taken away to be restored againe. But within nine daies after the king died. Whether anie such thing chanced, or that he had anie such vision it forceth not. But truth it is, that in the 37 yéere of his age, after he had reigned 16 yéeres and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of Iulie, and was buried at Glastenburie.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. The Welshmen rebel and are chastised. *Will Malmes.* King Edgar departeth this life.

This Edgar is highlie renowmed of writers for such princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chieflie for that he was so beneficiall to the church, namelie to moonks, the aduancement of whome he greatlie sought, both in building abbeies new from the ground, in reparing those that were decaied: also by inriching them with great reuenues, and in conuerting collegiat churches into monasteries, remooving secular priests, and bringing in moonks in their places. There passed no one yéere of his reigne, wherin he founded not one abbeie or other. The abbeie of Glastenburie which his father had begun he finished. The abbeie of Abington also he accomplished and set in good order. The abbeies of Peterborough & Thornie he established. The nunrie of Wilton he founded and richlie endowed, where his daughter Editha was professed, and at length became abbesse there. To be briefe, he builded (as the chronicles record) to the number of 40 abbeies and monasteries, in some of which he placed moonks, and in some nuns. By his example in those daies, other nobles, as also prelates, & some of the laitie, did begin the foundation of sundrie abbeies and monasteries: as Adelwold bishop of Winchester builded the abbeie of Elie, and (as some say) Peterborough & Thornie, though they were established by the king (as before is mentioned.) Also earle Ailewin, at the exhortation of the same bishop Adelwold, builded the abbeie of Ramsey, though some attribute the dooing thereof vnto Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and some to king Edward the elder.

Wherefore Edgar is praised of some writers. *Fabian. Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt.*

To conclude, the religious orders of moonks and nuns in these daies florished, and the state of secular priests was smallie regarded, insomuch that they were constreined to auoid out of diuerse colleges, and to leaue the same vnto moonks, as at Worcester and Winchester, where in the new monasterie, bicause the kings liued not in such sort as was then thought requisite, the

Matt. West. Moonks esteemed & secular priests little regarded.

Ran. Higd. lib. 6. cap. 9.

prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vse themselues no better, but rather worse than the other before them, they were likewise put out, and moonks placed in their roomes by authoritie of pope Iohn the 13. This reformation, or rather deformation was vsed by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Tho. Eliot.

Edgar small of stature but strong and hardie.

He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) namelie in his beginning, cruell against his owne people, and wanton in lusting after yoong women (as you haue heard before.) Of stature & proportion of bodie he was but small and low, but yet nature had inclosed within so little a personage such strength, that he durst incounter and combat with him that was thought most strong, onelie doubting this, least he which should haue to doo with him should stand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast (where oftentimes men vse their toongs more liberallie than néedeth) Kenneth the king of Scots cast out certeine words in this maner: "It may (saith hée) séeme a maruell that so manie countries and prouinces should be subiect to such a little sillie bodie as Edgar is." These words being borne awaie by a iester or minstrell, and afterwards vttered to Edgar with great reproch, he wiselie dissembled the matter for a time, although he kept the remembrance thereof inclosed within his breast: and vpon occasion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing caused one of his seruants to conuey two swords into a place within the forrest by him appointed in secret wise, of purpose he withdrew from the residue of his companie, and there accompanied onelie with the Scotish king, came to the place where the swords were laid; and there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scotish king, willing him now to assaie his strength, that they might shew by proofe whether of them ought to be subiect to the other; "Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it is a shame for a king to be full of brags at bankets, and not to be readie to fight when triall should be made abroad." The Scotish king herewith being astonied and maruellouslie abashed, fell downe at his féet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault, & desired pardon for the same, which vpon such his humble submission king Edward easilie granted.

Kenneth king of Scots.

The noble courage of king Edgar.

[* *Sic.*]

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mightie duke named Ordiner, by whome he had issue a sonne named Edward that succeeded him. His second wife was called Alfreda the daughter of Orgar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Edgars daies was in good point, for both the earth gaue hir increase verie plentiouslie, the elements shewed themselues verie fauorable, according to the course of times: peace was mainteined, and no inuasion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & souereigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the realme of Norwaie. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike recordes it dooth and may appeare.

Wil. Malm.

Ireland subiect to king Edgar.

Contention amongest the peeres and states about succession to the crowne, the moonkes remoued and the canons and secular priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his adherents, a blasing starre witht the euents insuing the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of moonks to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betweene the moonks and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelred, hir diuelish purpose to murther Edward hir stepsonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture, queene Alfred repenting hir of the said prepensed murther, dooth penance, and imploieth hir substance in good woorkes as satisfactorie for hir sinnes, hing Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnlie buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was eaten vp with lice for being against the said Edwards aduancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.

THE XXV. CHAPTER.

EDWARD.

AFTER the deceasse of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & péeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelredus or Ethelredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladlie haue aduanced the same Egelredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled togither, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Alfer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elfleda the nun, for which offense he did seuen yeares penance, and not for lieng with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstane iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whose mother and such as tooke part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were likelie inough to turne all vpside downe) vsed the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the earle of Essex and such like, he preuailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Otho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. ¶ About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was seene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there insued barrennesse of ground, and thereby famine amongest the people, and morraine of cattell.

Some write that the father king Edgar appointed Edward to succéed him. *Simon Dun. John Capg.*

Alfer duke of Mercia and other immediatlie vpon Edgars death before the crowne was established, remoued the moonks and restored the canons. *Simon Dun.*

975.

Wil. Malm.

Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroied the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had beene expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wrongs that were doone to them, in that they had beene put out of possession from their liuings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such maner of dooing could not please God, not yet be allowed of anie good man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might sée to haue béene an other mans vndooing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they remoued the moonks out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edelwin duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brightnode earle of Essex, withstood this dooing, &

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia.

Iohn Capg. Wil Malm. Ran. Higd. Matt. West. Simeon Dun.

gathering an armie, with great valiancie mainteined the moonks in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Herevpon were councels holden, as at Winchester, at Kirthling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

Simon Dun.

Polydor.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in councell, vttered certeine woords in this wise; God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the moonks had more right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) bicause the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as it had beene an oracle, that the priests had their sute dashed, and all the trouble was ceassed. So the moonks held those possessions, howsoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Phebus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

A pretie shift of the moonks to disappoint the priests. *Polydor.*

Wil. Malm.

The matter therefore was not so quieted, but that vpon new trouble an other councell was had at a manour house belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, sat in an vpper loft. The king by reason of his yoong yéeres was spared, so that he came not there. Héere as they were busied in arguing the matter, either part laieng for himselfe what could be said, Dunstane was sore reuiled, and had sundrie reproches laid against him: but suddenlie euen in the verie heat of their communication, the ioists of the loft failed, and downe came all the companie, so that manie were slaine and hurt, but Dunstane alone standing vpon one of the ioists that fell not, escaped safe and sound. And so this miracle with the other made an end of the controuersie betwéene the priests and moonks, all the English people following the mind of the archbishop Dunstane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Dunstane by woorking miracles had his will, when arguments failed.

In this meane while, king Edward ruling himselfe by good counsell of such as were thought discréet and sage persons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous steps, as alreadie he well began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to hir sonne Egelred, vsed himselfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a foruest néere the castell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the said Egelred then soiourned, when all his companie were spred abroad in following the game, so that he was left alone, he tooke the waie streight vnto his mother in lawes house, to visit hir and his brother. The quéene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, for that she had occasion offered to woorke that which she had of long time before imagined, that was, to slea the king hir sonne in law, that hir owne sonne might inioy the garland. Wherefore she required him to alight, which he in no wise would yéeld vnto, but said that he had stolne from his companie, and was onelie come to see hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the forrest againe to sée some more sport.

Polydor.
Will. Malms.

The wicked purpose of quéene Alfred.

The queene perceiuing that he would not alight, caused drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of hir seruants stroke him into the bodie with a knife, wherevpon féeling himselfe wounded, he set spurres to the horsse thinking to gallop awaie, and so to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horsse, so as one of his féet was fastened in the stirrup, by reason whereof his horsse drew him foorth through woods and launds, & the bloud which gushed out of the wound shewed token of his death to such as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horsse had left him. That place was called Corphes gate or Corfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie solemne funeralls at Warham. For they which enuied that he should inioy the crowne, enuied also the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his fame could not so secretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For sundrie miracles shewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the same famous (as diuerse haue reported) for there

The shameful murther of K. Edward.

Matth. West.
Fabian.
Sim. Dun.
Wil. Malm.

was sight restored to the blind, health to the sicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are easilier to be told than beléeued. Miracles.

Quéene Alfred also would haue ridden to the place where he laie, mooued with repentance (as hath béene said) but the horsse wherevpon she rode would not come neere the graue, for anie thing that could be doone to him. Neither by changing the said horsse could the matter be holpen: for euen the same thing happened to the other horsses. Heerevpon the woman perceiued hir great offense towards God for murthering the innocent, and did so repent hir afterward for the same, that besides the chastising of hir bodie in fasting, and other kind of penance, she imploied all hir substance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and reparing of churches and monasteries. She founded two houses of nuns (as is said) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambresburie, and finallie professed hirselfe a nun in one of them, that is to say, at Warwell, which house she builded (as some affirme) in remembrance of hir first husband that was slaine there by king Edgar for hir sake (as before is mentioned.) Building of abbeies in those daies was thought to be a full satisfaction for all maner of sinnes.

The bodie of this Edward the second, and surnamed the martyr, after that it had remained three yéeres at Warham where it was first buried, was remooued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alfer or Elfer, duke of Mercia, who also did sore repent himselfe, in that he had beene against the aduancement of the said king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he escape woorthie punishment: for within one yéere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the historie be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned three yéeres, or (as other write) three yéeres and eight moneths. ¶ Whatsoeuer hath béene reported by writers of the murther committed on the person of this king Edward, sure it is that if he were base begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it should appéere he was in déed) great occasion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto quéene Alfred to seeke reuenge for the wrongfull keeping backe of hir son Egelred from his rightfull succession to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, she might yet haue deuised some other lawfull meane to haue come by hir purpose, and not so to haue procured the murther of the yoong prince in such vnlawfull maner. For hir dooing therein can neither be woorthilie allowed, nor throughlie excused, although those that occasioned the mischiefe by aduancing hir stepsonne to an other mans right, deserued most blame in this matter. Elferus. *Polydor.* *Will. Malmes.*

Thus farre the sixt booke comprising the first arriuall of the Danes in this land, which was in hing Britricus his reigne, pag. 652, at which time the most miserable state of England toohe beginning.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Egelred succeedeth Edward the martyr in the kingdome of England, the decaie of the realme in his reigne, Dunstane refusing to consecrate him is thereunto inforced, Dunstans prophesies of the English people and Egelred their king, his slouth and idlenes accompanied with other vices, the Danes arriue on the coasts of Kent and make spoile of manie places; warre betwixt the king and the bishop of Rochester, archbishop Dunstans bitter denunciation against the king because he would not be pacified with the bishop of Rochester without moneie; Dunstans parentage, his strange trance, and what a woonderfull thing he did during the time it lasted, his education and bringing vp, with what good qualities he was indued, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he was reuoked from louing and lusting after women whereto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a rough beare, what preferments he obteined by his skill in the expounding of dreames.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

EGELRED. IN the former booke was discoursed the troubled state of this land by the manifold and mutinous inuasions of the Danes; who though they sought to ingrosse the rule of euerie part and parcell therof into their hands; yet being resisted by the valiantnesse of the gouernors supported with the aid of their people, they were disappointed of their expectation, and receiued manie a dishonorable or rather reprochfull repulse at their aduersaries hands. Much mischiefe doubtlesse they did, and more had doone, if they had not béene met withall in like measure of extremitie as they offred, to the offense and ouerthrow of great multitudes. Their first entrance into this land is controuersed among writers, some saieng that it was in the daies of king Britricus, other some affirming that it was in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point (sith it is a matter of no great moment) we count it labour lost to vse manie woords: onelie this by the waie is notewoorthie, that the Danes had an vnperfect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, so long as the gouernors were watchfull, diligent, politike at home, and warlike abroad. But when these kind of kings discontinued, and that the raines of the regiment fell into the hands of a pezzant not a puissant prince, a man euill qualified, dissolute, slacke and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his owne person, nor fauoring the good estate of the people; the Danes who before were coursed from coast to coast, and pursued from place to place, as more willing to leaue the land, than desirous to tarrie in the same; tooke occasion of stomach and courage to reenter this Ile, & waxing more bold and confident, more desperate and venturous, spared no force, omitted no opportunitie, let slip no aduantage that they might possiblie take, to put in practise and fullie to accomplish their long conceiued purpose.

Now

Now bicause the Danes in the former kings daies were reencountred (and that renowmedlie) so often as they did encounter, and séeking the totall regiment, were dispossessed of their partile principalitie, which by warlike violence they obteined; and for that the Saxons were interessed in the land, and these but violent incrochers, vnable to kéepe that which they came to by constpeint; we haue thought it conuenient to comprise the troubled estate of that time in the sixt booke; the rather for the necessarie consequence of matters then in motion: and héere déeme it not amisse, at so great and shamefull loosenesse (speciallie in a prince) ministring hart and courage to the enimie, to begin the seuenth booke. Wherin is expressed the chiefest time of their flourishing estate in this land; if in tumults, vprores, battels, and bloudshed, such a kind of estate may possiblie be found. For héere the Danes lord it, héere they take vpon them like souereignes, & héere (if at anie time they had absolute authoritie) they did what they might in the highest degrée: as shall be declared in the vnfortunate affaires of vngratious Egelred or Etheldred, the sonne of king Edgar, and of his last wife quéene Alfred, who was ordeined king in place of his brother Edward, after the same Edward was dispatched out of the waie, and began his reigne ouer this realme of England, in the yéere of our Lord 979, which was in the seuenth yéere of the emperor Otho the second, in the 24 of Lothaire K. of France, and about the second or third yéere of Kenneth the third of that name king of Scotland. 979. *Simon Dun.*

This Egelred or Etheldred was the 30 in number from Cerdicus the first king of the Westsaxons: through his negligent gouernment, the state of the commonwealth fell into such decaie (as writers doo report) that vnder him it may be said, how the kingdome was come to the vttermost point or period of old and féeble age, which is the next degrée to the graue. For wheras, whilest the realme was diuided at the first by the Saxons into sundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increasing from youthfull yeeres) to one absolute monarchie, which passed vnder the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelstane, Edgar, and others, so that in their daies it might be said, how it was growne to mans state, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, pestilence, and warres, the state thereof was so shaken, turned vpside downe, and weakened on ech part, that rightlie might the season be likened vnto the old broken yéeres of mans life, which through féeblenesse is not able to helpe it selfe. Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie was thought to haue foreséene this thing, and therfore refused to annoint Egelred king, which by the murther of his brother should atteine to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and so he consecrated him at Kingston vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of Aprill, assisted by Oswald archbishop of Yorke, and ten other bishops.

But (as hath béene reported) Dunstane then said that the English people should suffer condigne punishment generallie, with losse of ancient liberties, which before that time they had inioied. Dunstane also long before prophesied of the slouthfulnesse that should remaine in this Egelred. For at what time he ministred the sacrament of baptisme to him, shortlie after he came into this world, he defiled the font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath beene said:) whervpon Dunstane being troubled in mind; "By the Lord (saith he) and his blessed mother, this child shall prooue to be a slouthfull person." It hath beene written also, that when he was but ten yeeres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was slaine, he so offended his mother with wéeping, bicause she could not still him, that hauing no rod at hand, she tooke tapers or sizes that stood before hir, and beat him so sore with them, that she had almost killed him, whereby he could neuer after abide to haue anie such candels lighted before him. *Will. Malmes.*

This Egelred (as writers say) was nothing giuen to warlike enterprises, but was slouthfull, a louer of idlenesse, and delighting in riotous lusts, which being knowne to all men, caused him to be euill spoken of amongst his owne people, and nothing feared amongst strangers. Heerevpon the Danes that exercised rouing on the seas, began to conceiue a boldnesse of courage to disquiet and molest the sea-coasts of the realme, in so much that in the second yéere of this Egelreds reigne, they came with seuen ships on the English coasts of Kent, and spoiled *Polydor.* *Ran. Higd.* 980.

Simon Dun. *Ran. Higd.* spoiled the Ile of Tenet, the towne of Southampton, and in the yeere following they destroied S. Petroks abbeie in Cornwall, Porthland in Deuonshire, and diuerse other places by the sea side, speciallie in Deuonshire & Cornwall. Also a great part of Cheshire was destroied by pirats of Norway.

982. The same yéere by casualtie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the yeere of our Lord 983, Alfer duke of Mercia departed this life, who was coosen to king Edgar, & his sonne Alfrike tooke vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and within three yéeres after was banished the land. About the eight yéere of his reigne, Egelred maried one Elgina or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth yeere of his reigne, vpon occasion of strife betwéene him and the bishop of Rochester, he made warre against the same bishop, wasted his lordships, and besieged the citie of Rochester, till Dunstan procured the bishops peace with paiment of an hundred pounds in gold. And bicause the K. would not agrée with the bishop without moneie at the onelie request of Dunstane, the said Dunstane did send him woord, that sithens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andrew, patrone of the church of Rochester, and more of couetousnesse than of him being the archbishop, the mischiefs which the Lord had threatned would shortlie fall and come to passe, but the same should not chance whilest he was aliue, who died in the yéere following, on the 25 of Maie, being saturdale.

983.

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia departed this life.

Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia.

Fabian. *Wil. Malm.* *Matt. West.*

Vita Dunstani. Of this Dunstane manie things are recorded by writers, that he should be of such holinesse and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both whilest he liued heere on earth, and also after his deceasse. He was borne in Westsaxon, his father was named Heorstan, and his mother Cinifride, who in his youth set him to schoole, where he so profited, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell sicke of an ague, which vexed him so sore that it draue him into a frensie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certeine woman, where his disease grew so on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had béene dead, and after that he suddenlie arose, & by chance caught a staffe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through hils and dales, and laid about him as though he had béene afraid of mad dogs. The next night (as it is said) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certeine ladders that stood there for woorkemen to mend the roofe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerouslie, but in the end came safelie downe, and laid him to sléepe betwéene two men that watched the church that night, & when he awaked, he maruelled how he came there. Finallie, recouering his disease, his parents made him a priest, and placed him in the abbeie of Glastenburie, where he gaue himselfe to the reading of scriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinsmen as certeine other did raise a report of him, that he gaue not himselfe so much to the reading of scriptures, as to charming, coniuring and sorcerie, which he vtterlie denied: howbeit learned he was in déed, & could doo manie pretie things both in handie woorke and other deuises: he had good skill in musicke and delighted much therein. At length he grew in such fauour, that he was aduanced into the seruice of king Adelstane.

John Capgr. *Osborne.* *Ran. Higd.*

Vpon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans house with his harpe, and hoong the same on the wall, while he shaped a priests stole, the harpe suddenlie began to plaie a psalme, which draue the whole houshold in such feare, that they ran out and said, he was too cunning, and knew more than was expedient: wherevpon he was accused of necromancie, and so banished out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfeagus then bishop of Winchester and his coosen, persuaded him to become a moonke, he refused it, for he rather wished to haue maried a yoong damosell, whose pleasant companie he dailie inioied. But being soone after striken with such a swelling disease in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into such state, as though he had béene infected with a foule leprosie, he bethought him selfe, and vpon his recouerie sent to the bishop, who immediatlie shore him a moonke, in which life he liued in so great opinion of holinesse, as he in time became abbat of Glastenburie: where on a time as he was in his praiers before the altar of S. George, he fell asléepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vglie rough beare came

came towards him with open mouth, and set his forefeet vpon his shoulders readie to deuoure him, he suddenlie wakening for feare, caught his walking staffe which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great woonder of such as stood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the nose with a paire of pinsors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda néere kinswoman to king Adelstane bare him to hir dieng day, with a great manie of other such like matters, I leaue as friuolous, and wholie impertinent to our purpose: onelie this I read, that through declaring of his dreames and visions, he obteined in the time of king Edgar, first the bishoprike of Worcester, after of London, & last of all the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But leauing Dunstane and the fond deuises depending vpon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the dooings of Egelred, and speake of such things in the next chapter as chanced in his time. *Polychron.*

The Danes inuade England on each side, they are vanquished by the English, Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine; the Danes in a battell fought at Maldon hill Brightnod earle of Essex and the most of his armie, ten thousand pounds paid to them by composition that they should not trouble the English subiects, they cease their crueltie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the English people despaire to resist them; Egelred addresseth a nauie against the Danes vnder the erles Alfrike and Turold, Alfrike traitorouslie taketh part with the Danes, his ship and souldiers are taken, his sonne Algar is punished for his fathers offense, the Danes make great wast in many parts of this Iland, they besiege London and are repelled with dishonor, they driue king Egelred to buy peace of them for 16000 *pounds; Aulafe king of Norwey is honorablie interteined of Egelred, to whome he promiseth at his baptisme neuer to make warre against England, the great zeale of people in setting forward the building of Durham towne and the minster.*

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

SHORTLIE after the decease of Dunstane, the Danes inuaded this realme on each side, wasting and spoiling the countrie in most miserable wise. They arriued in so manie places at once, that the Englishmen could not well deuise whither to go to encounter first with them. Some of them spoiled a place or towne called Wichport, and from thence passing further into the countrie, were met with by the Englishmen, who giuing them battell, lost their capteine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and so that part of the Danish armie was brought to confusion. Simon Dunel. saith, that the Englishmen in déed wan the field here, but not without great losse. For besides Goda (who by report of the same author was Earle of Deuonshire) there died an other valiant man of warre named Strenwold. In the yeere 991, Brightnod earle of Essex, at Maldon gaue battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Iustine and Guthmond had spoiled Gipswich) and was there ouercome and slaine with the most part of his people, and so the Danes obteined in that place the victorie.

Wil. Malm. *Matt. Westm.* The Danes inuade this land. *Alias* Wecedeport. *H. Hunt.* *Simon Dun.* Danes vanquished. *Simon Dun.* Goda earle of Deuonshire slaine. *Matt. West.*

In the same yeere, and in the 13 yeere of king Egelreds reigne, when the land was on each side sore afflicted, wasted and haried by the Danes, which couered the same as they had béene grashoppers: by the aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie Siricius (which was the second of that sée after Dunstane) a composition was taken with the Danes, so that for the sum of ten thousand pounds to be paied to them by the king, they should couenant not to trouble his subiects anie further. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leuied of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was giuen vnto such Danes as king Egelred afterwards reteined in his seruice, to defend the land from other Danes and

991.

Ten thousand pounds paid to the Danes. Danegilt.

and enimies that sought to inuade his dominions. But by what name so euer this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that herevpon they ceassed from their most cruell inuasions for a time. But shortlie after they had refreshed themselues, and recouered new strength, they began to play their old parts againe, dooing the like mischéefe by their semblable inuasions, as they had vsed before. By reason hereof such feare came vpon the English people, that they despaired to be able to resist the enimies.

Hi. Malm. 992.

Hen. Hunt. A naule set forth.

The king yet caused a nauie to be set foorth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfrike (whome before he had banished) to be high admerall, ioining with him earle Turold. This nauie did set forward from London toward the enimies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfrike, escaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and incountered with the kings fléet, so that a great number of the Londoners were slaine, and all the kings ships taken: for Alfrike like a traitor turned to the Danes side.

Alfrike a traitour to his countrie. *Matth. West.*

¶ Matt. West. maketh other report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in déed being one of the chiefe capteins of the fléet, aduertised them by forewarning of the danger that was toward them, and that when they should come to ioining, the same Alfrike like a traitor fled to the Danes, and after vpon necessitie being put to flight escaped away with them: but the other capteins of the kings fléet, as Theodred, Elstan, and Escwen, pursued the Danes, tooke one of their ships, and slue all those that were found therein. The Londoners also (as the same Matt. West. saith) met with the nauie of the Danish rouers as they fled away, and slue a great number, and also tooke the ship of the traitor Alfrike with his souldiers & armor, but he himselfe escaped, though with much paine, hauing plaied the like traitorous part once before, and yet was reconciled to the kings fauor againe. Vpon this mischiefe wrought by the father, the king now tooke his sonne Algar, and caused his eies to be put out.

Henr. Hunt. The son punished for his fathers offense.

993.

About the same time was Bambrough destroied by the Danes, which arriued after in Humber, and wasted the countrie of Lindsey and Yorkeshire, on either side that riuer. And when the Englishmen were assembled to giue them battell, before they ioined, the capteines of the English armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegist, that were Danes by their fathers side, began to flie away, and escaped, so giuing the occasion of the ouerthrow that lighted on their people. But by some writers it should appéere, that after the Danes had destroied all the north parts, as they spred abroad without order and good arraie, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and slue some of them, and chased the residue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ships entered the Thames, and besieged London about our ladie daie in September. They gaue a verie sore assault to the citie, and assaied to set it on fire: but the citizens so valiantlie defended themselues, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their losse, so that they were constreined to depart thence with dishonor. Then they fell to and wasted the countries of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hamshire, and ceassed not till they had inforced the king to compound with them for 16 thousand pounds, which he was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Simon Dun. Polydor. Matth. West.

Aulafe king of Norway, & Swein king of Denmarke were capteins of this fleet, as saith *Simon Dun.*

994.

Hen. Hunt. Hi. Malm. The king compoundeth with the Danes for monie.

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yéere at Southampton, the king procured Aulafe king of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his safe returne. Elphegus bishop of Winchester, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in most honorable maner. The same time was Aulafe baptised, king Egelred receiuing him at the fontstone, and so he promised neuer after to make anie war within this land. And receiuing great gifts of the king, he returned into his countrie, and kept his promise faithfullie: but the euils tooke not so an end, for other of the Danes sprang vp, as they had béene the heads of the serpent Hydra, some of them euer being readie to trouble the quiet state of the English nation.

Matt. West. Simon Dun. Aulafe king of Norwey baptised. His promise.

John Leland. Simon Dun.

995.

About this season, that is to say, in the yéere of our Lord 995, bishop Aldaine which was fled from Chester in the stréet (otherwise called Cunecester) with the bodie of saint Cuthbert for feare of the inuasion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the same bodie now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation of a church; so that the sée of that bishoprike was from

The church of Durham builded.

thencefoorth

thencefoorth there established, and the woods were there cut downe, which before that time couered and ouergrew that place, wherevpon it began first to be inhabited. Earle Vthred, who gouerned that countrie, greatlie furthered the bishop in this worke, so that all the people inhabiting betweene the riuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to rid the woods, and to helpe forwards the building of the church and towne there.

Earle Vthred.

Durham towne and minster builded.

The Danes inuading the west parts of this land make great hauocke by fire and sword, they arriue at Rochester, and conquer the Kentishmen in field, king Egelred ouercommeth the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and wasteth the countrie, the Summersetshire men are foiled; the miserable state of the realme in those daies; the English bloud mixed with the Danes and Britaines, and what inconueniencies grew thervpon, the disordered gouernement of king Egelred, sicknesses vexing the people, treason in the nobles, the tribute paid to the Danes vnmercifullie inhansed, the realme brought to beggerie; king Egelred by politike persuasion and counsell marrieth Emma the duke of Normandies daughter, vpon what occasion the Normans pretended a title to the crowne of England, they conquer the whole land, what order king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his kingdome, and what rule they bare in this realme yer they were murdered, the thraldome of the English people vnder them, whereof the word Lordane sprang.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

IN the nintéenth yere of king Egelreds reigne, the Danes sailed about Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne sea, they robbed & tooke preies in the coasts of Deuonshire & Southwales, and landing at Wicheport, they burned vp the countrie, and came about vnto Penwithstréet on the south coast, and so arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lidford, and there wasted all afore them with force of fire. They burned, amongst other places, the monasterie of saint Ordulfe at Essingstocke. After this they came into Dorcetshire, and passed through the countrie with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to resist them. The same yéere also they soiourned in the Ile of Wight, and liued vpon spoiles & preies which they tooke in Hampshire and Sussex. At length they came into the Thames, and so by the riuer of Medwey arriued at Rochester. The Kentishmen assembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and so left the field to the Danes. After this, the same Danes sailed into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whome he ouercame with sore warre, and wasted almost all Cumberland, taking great spoiles in the same. About the same time, or shortlie after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Exmouth, and there assaulted the castell, but they were repelled by them that kept it. After this they spread abroad ouer all the countrie, exercising their accustomed trade of destroieng all before them with fire and sword. The men of Summersetshire fought with them at Pentho, but the Danes got the vpper hand.

997.

The Danes inuade the west parts of this land.

Tauestocke.

998.

999.

The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1000.

1001.

Exmouth.

Pentho.

Thus the state of the realme in those daies was verie miserable, for there wanted worthie chieftains to rule the people, and to chastise them when they did amisse. There was no trust in the noble men, for euerie one impugned others dooing, and yet would not deuise which way to deale with better likelihood. When they assembled in councell, and should haue occupied their heads in deuising remedies for the mischiefe of the common wealth, they turned their purpose vnto altercation, about such strifes, contentions and quarels as each one had against other, and suffered the generall case to lie still in the dust. And if at anie time there was anie good conclusion agreed vpon, for the withstanding of the enimie, & releefe of the common wealth, anon should the enimie be aduertised thereof by such as were of aliance or consanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr. and others say) the English bloud was

Disagréement with councellors what fruit it bringeth.

so mixed with that of the Danes and Britains, who were like enimies to the Englishmen, that there was almost few of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the one side a parent of some of them.

Whereby it came to passe, that neither the secret purposes of the king could be concealed till they might take due effect; neither their assemblies proue quiet without quarelling and taking of parts. Manie also being sent foorth with their powers one way (whilest the king went to make resistance another) did reuolt to his enimies, and turned their swords against him (as you haue heard of Elfrike and his complices, and shall read of manie others) so that it was no maruell that Egelred sped no better, and yet was he as valiant as anie of his predecessors, although the moonks fauour him not in their writings, because he demanded aid of them toward his warres, and was nothing fauorable to their lewd hypocrisie. But what is a king if his subiects be not loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be diuided? By peace & concord, of small beginnings great and famous kingdomes haue oft times procéeded; whereas by discord the greatest kingdoms haue ofter bene brought to ruine. And so it proued here, for whilest priuat quarels are pursued, the generall affaires are vtterlie neglected: and whilest ech nation séeketh to preferre hir owne aliance, the Iland it selfe is like to become a desert.

But to procéed with our monasticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, saieng that he was a man giuen to no good exercise, he delighted in fleshlie lustes and riotous bankettings and still sought waies how to gather of his subiects what might be got, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwise. For he would for feined or for verie small & light causes disherit his natiue subiects, and cause them to redéeme their owne possessions for great summes of monie. Besides these oppressions, diuers kinds of sicknesses vexed the people also, as the bloodie flix, and hot burning agues which then raged through the land, so that manie died thereof. By such manner of meanes therefore, what through the misgouernance of the king, the treason and disloialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongst the people, and by such other scourges and mishaps as afflicted the English nation in that season, the land was brought into great ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease them with monie. By reason hereof from time of the first agréement with the Danes for 10 thousand pounds tribute, it was inhanced to 16000 pounds, (as you haue heard) & after that to 20000 pounds, then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie to 40000 pounds, till at length the relme was emptied in maner of all that monie and coine that could be found in it. In this meane time died Elgina or Ethelgina the quéene. Shortlie after it was deuised that the king should be a suter vnto Richard duke of Normandie, for his sister Emma, a ladie of such excellent beautie, that she was named the floure of Normandie. This sute was begun and tooke such good successe, that the king obteined his purpose. And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was about the 24 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, he maried the said Emma with great solemnitie.

The misgouernément of the king.

Sicknesse vexing the people.

Treason in the nobilitie.

The inhancing of the tribute paid to the Danes.

The death of quéene Elgina.

Emma.

Hen. Hunt.

1002.

Emma daughter of R. duke of Normandie maried to K. Edgar.

This mariage was thought to be right necessarie, honorable, and profitable for the realme of England, because of the great puissance of the Norman princes in those daies: but as things afterward came to passe, it turned to the subuersion of the whole English state: for by such affinitie and dealing as happened hereby betwixt the Normans and Englishmen, occasion in the end was ministred to the same Normans to pretend a title to the crowne of England, in prosecuting of which title, they obteined and made the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appeare. Egelred being greatlie aduanced (as he thought) by reason of his mariage, deuised vpon presumption thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be murthered in one day. Herevpon he sent priuie commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes within his dominions, commanding the rulers and officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as remained within their liberties, at a certeine day prefixed, being saint Brices day, in the yeare 1012, and in the 34 yeare of king Egelreds reigne. Herevpon (as sundrie writers agree) in one day & houre this murther began, and was according to the commission and iniunction executed. But where it first began, the same is vncerteine: some say at Wellowin in Herefordshire,

1012.

The 13 of Nouember.

The murder of the Danes.

fordshire, some at a place in Staffordshire called Hownhill, & others in other places, but wher-soeuer it began, the dooers repented it after.

Hownhill, or Houndhill, a place within Merchington parish beside the forest of Needwood, somewhat more than two miles from Vtoxeester.

But now yer we procéed anie further, we will shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme before they were thus murthered, as in some bookes we find recorded. Whereas it is shewed that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground & doo all maner of labour and toile to be doone about husbandrie: the Danes liued vpon the fruit and gaines that came thereof, and kept the husbandmens wiues, their daughters, maids and seruants, vsing and abusing them at their pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarse haue such sustenance of meats and drinkes as fell for seruants to haue: so that the Danes had all their commandements, eating and drinking of the best, where the sillie man that was the owner, could hardlie come to his fill of the worst. Besides this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie such house where anie of them soiourned, Lord Dane. And if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to méet at anie bridge or streight passage, the Englishman must staie till the Lord Dane were passed. But in processe of time, after the Danes were voided the land, this word Lord Dane was in derision and despight of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name of reproch, as Lordane, which till these our daies is not forgotten. For when the people in manie parts of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lordane. Thus did the Danes vse the Englishmen in most vile manner, and kept them in such seruile thraldome as cannot be sufficientlie vttered.

The miserable state of this realme vnder the thraldome of the Danes.

Hector Boet.

Lordane whereof the word came.

A fresh power of Danes inuade England to reuenge the slaughter of their countrimen that inhabited this Ile, the west parts betraied into their hands by the conspiracie of a Norman that was in gouernement, earle Edrike feined himselfe sicke when king Egelred sent vnto him to leuie a power against the Danes, and betraieth his people to the enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arriueth on the coast of Northfolke, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the truce taken betweene him and Vikillus is violated, and what reuengement followeth; king Sweine forced by famine returneth into his owne countrie, he arriueth againe at Sandwich, why king Egelred was vnable to preuaile against him, the Danes ouerrun all places where they come and make cruell waste, king Egelred paieth him great summes of monie for peace; the mischiefes that light vpon a land by placing a traitorous stranger in gouernement, how manie acres a hide of land conteineth, Egelreds order taken for ships and armour, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host of Danes vnder three capteines arriue at Sandwich, the citizens of Canturburie for monie purchase safetie, the faithlesse deeling of Edrike against king Egelred for the enimies aduantage, what places the Danes ouerran and wasted.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

VPON knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murder of the Danes here in England, truth it is, that the people of the countrie were greatlie kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage against the Englishmen, that with all speed they made foorth a nauie full fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare following came swarming about the coasts of England, and landing in the west countrie, tooke the citie of Excester, and gat there a rich spoile. One Hugh a Norman borne, whome queene Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour or shirife there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie was ouerrun and wasted.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

The Danes returne to inuade England.

Excester taken. 1002.

Hugh a Norman conspireth with the Danes.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoiled the west parts of the realme, he sent vnto Edricus to assemble a power to withstand the enimies. Herevpon the people of Hampshire and Wiltshire rose and got togither: but when the armies should ioine, earle

The counterfait sickenesse of duke Edrike. Wilton spoiled.

earle Edricus surnamed de Streona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betraied his people, of whome he had the conduct: for they perceiuing the want in their leader, were discouraged, and so fled. The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, which towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Salisburie, and so taking their pleasure there, returned to their ships, because (as some write) they were aduertised that the king was comming towards them with an huge armie. In the yeare next insuing, that is to saie 1004, which was about the 24 yeare of K. Egelreds reigne, Sweine or Swanus, king of Denmarke, with a mightie nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and there landing with his people, made toward Norwich, and comming thither tooke that citie, and spoiled it. Then went he vnto Thetford, and when he had taken and rifled that towne, he burnt it, notwithstanding a truce taken by Vikillus or Wilfketell gouernor of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Norwich. In reuenge therefore of such breach of truce, the same Vikillus, or Wilfeketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slue a great number of them, but was not able to mainteine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to giue backe: and the enimies kept on their waies to their ships.

Simon Dun. 1004.

Swein king of Denmarke.

Norwich taken by the Danes.

Thetford burnt.

Vikillus or Wilfeketell gouernour of Norffolke.

Hen. Hunt.

1005.

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his fléet, partlie constrained so to doo (as some write) by reason of the great famin & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrie néere vnto the sea side. King Egelred raised all his power against him, and all the haruest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wo[illegible] maner spared not to exercise their vnmercifull crueltie, in wasting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pilfering and taking of preies in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelred remedie the matter, because the enimies still conueied themselues with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

Swaine returned into Denmarke.

Simon Dun. 1006.

Hen. Hunt.

Swaine returned into England.

The Danes winter in the Ile of Wight. They inuade Hampshire, Barkeshire, &c.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Ile of Wight, & in the time of Christmasse they landed in Hampshire, and passing through that countrie into Barkeshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Colesele, and then approching to Essington, came to Achikelmeslawe, and in euerie place wheresoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they could not carie with them, they consumed with fire, burning vp their innes and sleaing their hoasts. In returning backe, the people of the west countrie gaue them battell, but preuailed not, so that they did but inrich their enimies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in maner of triumph, with vittels and spoiles which they had fetched fiftie miles from the sea side. In the meane time king Egelred lay about Shrewsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next insuing, by the aduise of his councell he gaue to king Swaine for the redeeming of peace 30000 pounds.

Winchester.

1007.

36000 pound saith *Si. Dun.*

Edrike de Streona made duke or earle of Mercia.

In the same yeare K. Egelred created the traitor Edrike earle of Mercia, who although he had maried Edgiua the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the councell vnto the enimies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatlie prouided of sleight to dissemble and cloake his falshood, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular fauour, whereas he vpon a malicious purpose studied dailie how to bring the realme into vtter destruction, aduertising the enimies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowlege when they should giue place, and when they might safelie come forward. Moreouer, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioner to treat for peace, he persuaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this season, when by his diuine prouidence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had iustlie prouoked his wrath and high displeasure.

Wil. Malm.

In

In the 30 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he tooke order that of euerie thrée hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be builded, and of euerie eight hides a complet armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fléet was brought togither at Sandwich, and such souldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea in the same fléet. There had not béene seene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in anie kings daies before. But no great profitable péece of seruice was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble yoong man of Sussex called Wilnot, who getting togither twentie sailes, laie vpon the coasts taking prices where he could get them. Brithrike the brother of earle Edrike, being desirous to win honor, tooke forth foure score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enimie dead or aliue. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outragious wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast vpon the shore: and Wilnot comming vpon them, set them on fire, and so burned them euerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London; and then was the armie dispersed, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

Henr. Hunt. Simon Dun. An hundred acres is an hide of land.

1008.

Prouision for ships and armour.

Matt. West.

After this, in the haruest time a new armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of thrée capteines, Turkill, Henning, and Aulafe landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the citie but that the citizens gaue them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countrie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countrie of Sussex and Hampshire. King Egelred assembled the whole power of all his subiects, and comming to giue them battell, had made an end of their cruell harieng the countrie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Edrike with forged tales (deuised onelie to put him in feare) had not dissuaded him from giuing battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their nauie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the citie of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

Danes land at Sandwich.

1009.

3000 pound saith *St. Dun.*

Sussex and Hampshire spoiled.

The Danes returne into Kent.

After the feast of Christmasse they passed through the countrie and woods of Chilterne vnto Oxford, which towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to wasting of the countrie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to giue them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the riuer, passed the same riuer at Stanes, and so ioining with their fellowes marched foorth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to repare & amend their ships that were in anie wise decaied. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arriued at Gipswich in Suffolke, on the Ascension day of our Lord: and inuading the countrie, gaue battell at a place called Wigmere or Rigmere, vnto Vikill or Wilfeketell leader of the English host in those parties, on the fift of Maie. The men of Northfolke and Suffolke fled at the first onset giuen: but the Cambridgeshire men sticked to it valiantlie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindfulnesse amongest them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobilitie and other were beaten downe and slaine, till at length one Turketell Mireneheued, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an euerlasting reproch.

1010.

Oxford burnt.

Stanes.

Gipswich in Suffolke. *Simon Dun.*

Caput formicæ.

The Danes obteining the vpper hand, for the space of thrée moneths togither went vp and downe the countries, & wasted those parties of the realme, that is to say, Northfolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingtonshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoile of great and wealthie abbies and churches which had their situation within the compasse of the same fens. They also destroied Thetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountaine-countrie of Belsham, cruellie murdering the people without respect of age, degrée or sex. After this also they entred into Essex, and so came backe to their ships, which were then arriued in the Thames. But they rested not anie long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as soone after, when they had somwhat refreshed them; they set forward againe into the countrie, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire.

Thetford. Cambridge. *Hen. Hunt.*

The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1011.

Northampton burnt by Danes.

fordshire. And about saint Andrewes tide they turned towards Northampton, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countrie, with fire & sword they wasted and destroied a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finallie about the feast of Christmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Middlesex, Hartfordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, with a part of Huntingtonshire, and also a great portion of Northamptonshire. This was doone in the countries that lie on the northside of the riuer of Thames. On the southside of the same riuer, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Sussex, Barkeshire, Hampshire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

How manie shires the Danes wasted.

King Egelred offerteh the Danes great summes of monèie to desist from destroieng his countrie, their vnspeakable crueltie, bloudthirstinesse, and insatiable spoiling of Canturburie betraied by a churchman; their merciles murthering of Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie, Turkillus the Dane chiefe lord of Norfolke and Suffolke, a peace concluded betweene the Danes and the English vpon hard conditions; Gunthildis a beautifull Danish ladie and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

The king sendeth to the Danes. *Simon Dun.*

THE king and the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is aboue mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambassadors vnto the Danes, offering them great summes of monèie to leaue off such cruell wasting and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to reteine the monèie, but yet could not absteine from their cruell dooings, neither was their greedie thirst of bloud and spoile satisfied with the wasting and destroieng of so manie countries and places as they had passed through. Wherevpon, in the yeere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Matthew in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantlie defended by the space of twentie daies. In the end of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whome the archbishop Elphegus had before that time preserued from death. The Danes exercised passing great crueltie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authors it dooth and maie appéere.) For they slue of men, women, and children, aboue the number of eight thousand. They tooke the archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine; also abbat Lefwin and Alseword the kings bailife there. They spared no degrée, in somuch that they slue and tooke 900 priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, slaieng all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserued the tenth: so that of all the moonks there were but foure saued, and of the laie people 4800, whereby it followeth that there died 43200 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of Canturburie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there haue not wanted (saith maister Lambert) which affirme that it had then more people than London it selfe.

1011.

Canturburie woone by Danes.

Fabian ex Antonino.

The archbishop Elphegus taken. *Hen. Hunt. Antoninus. Vincentius. Wil. Lamb. ex Asserio Menenensi, & alijs.*

But now to our purpose. In the yéere next insuing, vpon the saturday in Easter wéeke, after that the bishop Elphegus had béene kept prisoner with them the space of six or seuen moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him foorth into the fields, and dashed out his braines with stones, bicause he would not redéeme his libertie with thrée thousand pounds, which they demanded to haue beene leuied of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murther was commited at Gréenewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a certeine time vnburied, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all wrought

1112. *Henr. Hunt.*

The archbishop Elphegus murthered.

Miracles.

wrought now by dead men, and not by the liuing) the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, and there was it buried in the church of S. Paule, where it rested for the space of ten yeeres, till king Cnute or Knought had the gouernment of this land, by whose appointment it was remooued to Canturburie. Elphegus buried in London. Translated to Canturburie. *Wil. Malm.*

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whome the archbishop Elphegus was thus murthered, held Northfolke and Suffolke vnder his subiection, & so continued in those parties as chiefe lord and gouernor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spred abroad in the countrie, soiorning in cities, townes and villages, where they might find most conuenient harbour. Moreouer, fortie of their ships, or rather (as some write) 45 were reteined to serue the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the souldiers and mariners should haue prouision of meate and drinke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one autor hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemne othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke. Turkillus held Norffolk and Suffolke. 48 thousand pound as saith *Sim. Dun.* and *M. West.* *Henr. Hunt.*

The same author bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes vpon S. Brices day, to haue chanced in the yéere after the conclusion of this agréement, that is to say, in the yéere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with hir husband & hir sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Edrike. But bicause all other authors agrée that the same murther of Danes was executed about ten yéeres before this supposed time: we haue made rehearsall thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it maie be, that she became hostage either in the yéere 1007, at what time king Egelred paied thirtie thousand pounds vnto king Swaine to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or else might she be deliuered in hostage, in the yéere 1011, when the last agréement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time soeuer she became hostage, this we find of hir, that she came hither into England with hir husband Palingus, a mightie earle, and receiued baptisme héere. Wherevpon she earnestlie trauelled in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother and king Egelred: which being brought to passe chieflie by hir sute, she was contented to become an hostage for performance thereof (as before is recited.) And after by the commandement of earle Edrike she was put to death, pronouncing that the shedding of hir bloud would cause all England one day sore to rue. She was a verie beautifull ladie, and tooke hir death without all feare, not once changing countenance, though she saw hir husband and hir onelie sonne (a yoong gentleman of much towardnesse) first murthered before hir face. *Math. West.* Gunthildis the sister of K. Swaine murthered. *Wil. Malm.*

Turkillus the Danish capteine telleth king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles, & commons of this realme, he inuadeth England, the Northumbers and others submit themselues to him, Danes receiued into seruice vnder Egelred, London assalted by Swaine, the citizens behaue themselues stoutlie, and giue the Danish host a shamefull repulse, Ethelmere earle of Deuonshire and his people submit themselues to Swaine, he returneth into Denmarke, commeth back againe into England with a fresh power, is incountred withall of the Englishmen, whose king Egelred is discomfited, his oration to his souldiers touching the present reliefe of their distressed land, their resolution and full purpose in this their perplexitie, king Egelred is minded to giue place to Swaine, he sendeth his wife and children ouer into Normandie, the Londoners yeeld vp their state to Swaine, Egelred saileth ouer into Normandie, leauing his land to the enimie.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

NOW had Turkillus in the meane time aduertised king Swaine in what state things stood here within the realme: how king Egelred was negligent, onlie attending to the lusts & pleasures Turkillus discloseth the secrets of the

realme to K. Swaine. *Simon Dun.*

pleasures of the flesh: how the noble men were vnfaithfull, and the commons weake and feeble through want of good and trustie leaders. Howbeit, some write, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes which remained heere in England, was in league with king Egelred, in somuch that he was with him in London, to helpe and defend the citie against Swaine when he came to assalt it (as after shall appeere.) Which if it be true, a doubt may rise whether Swaine receiued anie aduertisement from Turkillus to mooue him the rather to inuade the realme: but such aduertisements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Swaine preparèth an armie to inuade England. He landeth at Sandwich. 1013.

Swaine therefore as a valiant prince, desirous both to reuenge his sisters death, and win honor, prepared an huge armie, and a great number of ships, with the which he made towards England, and first comming to Sandwich, taried there a small while, and taking eftsoones the sea, compassed about the coasts of Eastangles, and arriuing in the mouth of Humber, sailed vp the water, and entering into the riuer of Trent, he landed at Gainesbourgh, purposing to inuade the Northumbers. But as men brought into great feare, for that they had beene subiect to the Danes in times past, and thinking therefore not to reuolt to the enimie, but rather to their old acquaintance, if they should submit themselues to the Danes, streightwaies offered to become subiect vnto Swaine, togither with their duke named Wighthred. Also the people of Lindsey and all those of the northside of Watlingstreet yéelded themselues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he appointed his sonne Cnutus to haue the keeping of those pledges, and to remaine vpon the safegard of his ships, whiles he himselfe passed forward into the countrie. Then marched he forward to subdue them of south Mercia: and so came to Oxford & to Winchester, making the countries subiect to him throughout wheresoeuer he came.

Gainsbourgh.

The Northumbers yéeld to Swaine.

The people of Lindsey yéeld themselues to him. *Simon Dun.*

South Mercia.

With this prosperous successe Swaine being greatlie incouraged, prepared to go vnto London, where king Egelred as then remained, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was reteined in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of some authors it maie appeare) and were now readie to defend the citie against their countriemen in support of king Egelred, togither with the citizens. Swaine, bicause he would not step so farre out of the way as to go to the next bridge, lost a great number of his men as he passed through the Thames. At his comming to London, he began to assault the citie verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enimie in such feare that he should despaire of all reliefe and comfort, or at the least trie what he was able to doo. The Londoners on the other part, although they were brought in some feare by this sudden attempt of the enimies, yet considering with themselues, that the hazard of all the whole state of the realme was annexed to theirs, sith their citie was the chiefe and metropolitane of all the kingdome, they valiantlie stood in defense of themselues, and of their king that was present there with them, beating backe the enimies, chasing them from the walles, and otherwise dooing their best to keepe them off. At length, although the Danes did most valiantlie assault the citie, yet the Englishmen to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not shrinke, but boldlie sallied foorth at the gates in heapes togither, and incountered with their aduersaries, and began to fight with them verie fiercelie.

Sim. Dunel.

Swaine assaulteth London.

Polydor.

Swaine whilest he went about to keepe his men in order, as one most desirous to reteine the victorie now almost gotten, was compassed so about with the Londoners on each side, that after he had lost a great number of his men, he was constreined for his safegard to breake out through the midst of his enimies weapons, and was glad that he might so escape: and so with the residue of his armie ceassed not to iournie day and night till he came to Bath, where Ethelmere an earle of great power in those west parts of the realme submitted himselfe with all his people vnto him, who shortlie after neuerthelesse (as some write) was compelled through want of vittels to release the tribute latelie couenanted to be paied vnto him for a certeine summe of monie, which when hée had receiued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning shortlie to returne againe with a greater power.

Wil. Malm. Erle of Deuonshire as saith *Matt. West. Polydor.*

Swaine returneth into Denmarke.

King

King Egelred supposed that by the paiment of that monie he should haue béene rid out of all troubles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of the realme thought otherwise, and therefore willed him to prepare an armie with all spéed that might be made. Swaine taried not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with swift spéed he returned againe into England, and immediatlie vpon his arriuall was an armie of Englishmen assembled and led against him into the field. Herevpon they ioined in battell, which was sore foughten for a time, till at length by reason of diuerse Englishmen that turned to the enimies side, the discomfiture fell with such slaughter vpon the English host, that king Egelred well perceiued the state of his regall gouernement to bée brought into vtter danger. Wherevpon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake vnto them after this manner.

Swaine returneth into England to make warre.

King Egelred discomfited in battell.

The oration of king Egelred to the remanent of his souldiers.

"I SHULD for euer be put to silence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giuing good aduise & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if there lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countrie. Trulie to die in defense of the countrie where we are borne, I confesse it a woorthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enimies in defense of my kingdome. But here I see our countrie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a nauie against the enimies, the which that false traitour Elfrike betraid into their hands. Againe, oftentimes haue we giuen battell with euill successe, and onelie through the fault of our owne people, that haue beene false and disloiall: whereby we haue bin constreined to agree with the enimies vpon dishonorable conditions, euen as necessitie required, which to ouercome, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath beene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enimies haue not sticked to breake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we haue not cause onlie to feare the losse of our gouernement, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroied for euer. Therefore sithens the enimies are at hand, and as it were ouer our heads, you to whom my commandement hath euer bene had in good regard, prouide, take counsell, and see to succor the state of your countrie now readie to decay and to fall into irrecouerable ruine."

Herevpon they fell in consultation, euerie one alledging and bringing foorth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the woolfe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them. If they should giue battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselues, the armie should be betraied into the enimies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not valiantlie to shew themselues readie to defend their countrie, there was no shift but yeeld themselues. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they tooke the matter, for thereby might manie be preserued from death, and in time to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had maried. But bicause he would not doo this vnaduisedlie, first he sent ouer his wife quéene Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of hir, Alfred and Edward, that by their interteinment he might vnderstand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard receiued his sister and his nephues verie ioifullie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome.

King Egelred determineth to giue place vnto Swaine.

He sendeth his wife and sonnes ouer into Normandie.

Richard duke of Normandie.

dome. But in this meane while had Swaine conquered the more part of all England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselues on each hand, king Egelred in this meane time (for the Londoners had submitted themselues to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Greenwich, and there remained for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernement of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finallie after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law ioifullie receiued & greatlie comforted in that his time of necessitie.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Turkill. 1014.

King Egelred passeth into Normandie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed king of this land, he oppresseth the English people cruellie, and spoileth religious houses, the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles write parciallie of him and his end, Cnute succeedeth his father Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred woord of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne commeth ouer into England to know the state of the countrie and people of certeintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnute made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killeth the inhabitants therof for their disloialtie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Denmarke, why Turkillus the Danish capteine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to tarrie in this land, his faithlesse seruice to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thraldome.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

SWAINE hauing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be prouided of wages and vittels to be taken vp & leuied through the realme. In like maner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Greene-wich, wages and vittels sufficient should be deliuered, for the finding, releeuing, succouring, and susteining thereof. Swaine vsed the victorie verie cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought low he might gouerne in more suertie. The yeere in which he obteined the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constreined to flie into Normandie, was in the 35. yeere of the same Egelred his reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the gouernment, did not onelie vse much crueltie in oppressing the laitie, but also stretched foorth his hand to the church, and to the ministers in the same, fleecing them and spoiling both churches and ministers, without anie remorse of conscience, insomuch that hauing a quarell against the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onelie harrie the countrie, but also rifled and spoiled the abbeie of Burie, where the bodie of saint Edmund rested.

Swaine handleth the Englishmen hardlie.

Wherevpon shortlie after, as he was at Gainesbrough or Thetford (as some say) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good successe in conquering of this land, he was suddenlie striken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouslie, for no man wist how or by whome: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie he ended his life with grieuous paine and torment in yelling and roring, by reason of his extreame anguish beyond all measure. There hath sproong a pleasant tale among the posteritie of that age, how he should be wounded with the same knife which king Edmund in his life time vsed to weare. Thus haue some of our writers reported, but the Danish chronicles report a farre more happie end which should chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the said chronicles report, that after he had subdued England, he tooke order

Fabian. S. Edmund fighteth for the wealth, but not for the slaughter of his people. Simon Dun. 1115.

Albertus Crantz. Saxo Grammaticus.

order with king Egelred, whome they name amisse Adelstane, that he should not ordeine any other successor, but onlie the said Swaine. Then after this, he returned into Denmarke, where vsing himselfe like a right godlie prince, at length he there ended his life, being a verie old man.

Notwithstanding all this, when or howsoeuer he died, immediatlie after his decease the Danes elected his sonne Cnute or Knought to succeed in his dominions. But the Englishmen of nothing more desirous than to shake off the yoke of Danish thraldome besides their necks & shoulders, streightwaies vpon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all speed aduertised king Egelred thereof, and that they were readie to receiue and assist him if he would make hast to come ouer to deliuer his countrie out of the hands of strangers. These newes were right ioifull vnto Egelred, who burning in desire to be reuenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdome, made no longer tariance to set that enterprise forward. But yet doubting the inconstancie of the people, he sent his elder son (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to vnderstand whether they were constant or wauering in that which they had promised.

Wil. Malm. H. Hunt. Cnute or Cnute.

Egelred sent for home.

Edmund K. Egelreds eldest sonne.

The yoong gentleman hasting ouer into England, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like speed as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in safetie if he would make hast. King Egelred then conceiued an assured hope to recouer his kingdom, aided with his brother in laws power, and trusting vpon the assistance of the Englishmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His returne was ioifull and most acceptable to the English people, as to those that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was most sharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifulnesse and courteous dealings to haue reteined them vnder his obeisance.

King Egelred returneth into England.

Cnutes endeuor to establish himselfe in the kingdome.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the administration in the common wealth, he sought first to appease his wrath, and also to make amends to saint Edmund for his fathers offense committed (as was thought) against him: insomuch that after he had obteined the kingdome, he caused a great ditch to be cast round about the land of saint Edmund, and granted manie freedoms to the inhabitants, acquiting them of certeine taskes and paiments, vnto the which other of their neighbours were contributarie. He also builded a church on the place where saint Edmund was buried, and ordeined an house of moonks there, or rather remooued the canons or secular priests that were there afore, and put moonks in their roomes. He offered vp also his crowne vnto the same S. Edmund, and redéemed it againe with a great summe of monie, which maner of dooing grew into an vse vnto other kings that followed him. He adorned the church there with manie rich iewels, and indowed the monasterie with great possessions.

S. Edmunds ditch.

Polydor. Fabian.

But these things were not done now at the first, but after that he was established in the kingdome. For in the meane time, after that king Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then soiourning at Gainesbrough, remained there till the feast of Easter, and made agréement with them of Lindsey, so that finding him horsses, they should altogither go foorth to spoile their neighbors. King Egelred aduertised thereof, sped him thither with a mightie host, and with great crueltie burned vp the countrie, and slue the more part of the inhabitants, bicause they had taken part with his enimies. Cnute as then was not of power able to resist Egelred, and therefore taking his ships which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & sailed about the coast, till he came to Sandwich, and there sore gréeued in his mind to remember what mischéefe was fallen and chanced to his friends and subiects of Lindsey, onelie for his cause; he commanded that such pledges as had béene deliuered to his father by certeine noble men of this realme, for assurance of their fidelities, should haue their noses slit, and their eares stuffed, or (as some write) their hands and noses cut off.

Cnute driuen to forsake the land.

He was driuen thither by force of contrarie winds as should appeare by *Matth. West.*

The cruell decrée of Cnute against the English pledges. *Will. Malmes.*

When this cruell act according to his commandement was doone, taking the sea, he sailed into Denmarke: but yet tooke not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Turkill perceiuing the wealthinesse of the land, compounded with the

This Turkill was reteined in seruice with Egelred, as I thinke.

Englishmen, and chose rather to remaine in a region replenished with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrie that wanted such commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as some thought) he did not forsake his souereigne lord Cnute for anie euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time serued) to recouer the possession of England againe, as it afterwards well appeared. For notwithstanding that he was now reteined by K. Egelred with fortie ships, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, so that Cnute returned but with 60 ships into his countrie: yet shortlie after, erle Turkill with 9 of those ships sailed into Denmarke, submitted himselfe vnto Cnute, counselled him to returne into England, and promised him the assistance of the residue of those Danish ships which yet remained in England, being to the number of thirtie, with all the souldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did so much by his earnest persuasions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got togither a nauie of two hundred ships, so roiallie decked, furnished, and appointed, both for braue shew and necessarie furniture of all maner of weapons, armor & munition, as it is strange to consider that which is written by them that liued in those daies, and tooke in hand to register the doings of that time. Howbeit to let this pompe of Cnutes fleete passe, which (no doubt) was right roiall, consider a little and looke backe to Turkill, though a sworne seruant to king Egelred, how he did direct all his drift to the aduancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purposed treacherie with pretended amitie, as shall appeare hereafter by his deadlie hostilitie.

Encomium Emmæ.

A great waste by an inundation or inbreaking of the sea, a tribute of 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a councell at Oxford, where he causeth two noble men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Edmund the kings eldest sonne marieth one of their wiues, and seizeth vpon his predecessors lands; Cnute the Danish king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter, both susteine losse; Cnute maketh waste of certeine shires, Edmund preuenteth Edriks purposed treason, Edrike de Streona flieth to the Danes, the Westernemen yeeld to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assembleth an armie against them in vaine; Edmund & Vtred with ioined forces lay waste such countries and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to preuent their purpose, through what countries he passed, Vtred submitteth himselfe to Cnute, and deliuereth pledges, he is put to death and his lands alienated, Cnute pursueth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the citie, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wiues, what issue he had by them, his vnfortunatenesse, and to what affections and vices he was inclined, his too late and bootlesse seeking to releeue his decaied kingdome.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

1015.

Matt. West. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Matt. West.

BUT now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the forsaid accustomed mischiefes an vnwoonted misaduenture happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that ouerflowing the countries next adioining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroied. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be leuied to paie the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Greenewich. This yeare also king Egelred held a councell at Oxford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigeferd and Morcad two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Edrike de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarell was onelie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

A councell at Oxford. Sigeferd and Morcad murdered.

Their

Their seruants tooke in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maisters, but were beaten backe, wherevpon they fled into the steeple of saint Friswids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Malmsburie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, wherevpon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, tooke occasion vpon pretense of other businesse to go thither, and there to sée hir, with whome he fell so far in loue, that he tooke and maried hir. That doone, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles liuing, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to graunt his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without hauing anie commission so to doo, finding the farmers and tenants there readie to receiue him for their lord.

Edmund the kings eldest sonne marrieth the widow of Sigeferd.

Whilest these things were a dooing, Cnute hauing made his prouision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recouer the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrell. Herevpon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obteined licence to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, got a great bootie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Edrike gouernor of Norwaie made a rode likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoile, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the nauie. After this iournie atchiued thus by Edrike, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gaue order to prepare all things readie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterprise, as others write, he marched foorth into Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, tooke his iournie westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, & Wiltshire.

Cnute returneth into England.

Encomium Emmæ.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sicke at Cossam; and his sonne Edmund had got togither a mightie hoast, howbeit yer he came to ioine battell with his enimies, he was aduertised, that earle Edrike went about to betraie him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of suertie. But Edrike to make his tratorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish souldiers. Herevpon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yéeld, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yeare 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Edrike passed the Thames at Kirkelade, & entring into Mercia, cruellie began with fire and sword to waste and destroie the countrie, and namelie Warwikeshire.

King Egelred sicke. *Matth. West.*

Edrike de Streona fleeth to the Danes. *Simon Dun.*

The west countrie.

The people of Mercia would not yéeld. *Matth. West. Hen. Hunt.*

1016.

Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes.

In the meane time was king Egelred recouered of his sicknesse, and sent summons foorth to raise all his power, appointing euerie man to resort vnto him, that he might incounter the enimies and giue them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take héed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gaue battell, for his owne subiects were purposed to betraie him. Herevpon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Vtred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and persuading him to ioine his forces with his, forth they went to waste those countries that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great crueltie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their reuolting, that others might take example thereby.

King Egelred recouered of his sicknesse. He assembleth an armie in vaine.

Wil. Malm. Edmund king Egelreds sonne.

But Cnute perceiuing whereabout they went, politikelie deuised to frustrate their purpose, and with dooing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Notinghamshire, & so into Yorkeshire, not sparing to doo what mischiefe might be deuised in all places where he came. Vtred aduertised hereof,

Cnute, what countries he passed through.

hereof, was constreined to depart home to saue his owne countrie from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enimies, was constreined to deliuer pledges, and submit himselfe vnto Cnute. But yet was he not hereby warranted from danger, for shortlie after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his lands giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did banish out of the realme, because that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all points as Cnute himselfe had. After that Cnute had subdued the Northumbers, he pursued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken London for his refuge, and staied there with his father. Then did Cnute take his ships, and came about to the coasts of Kent, preparing to besiege the citie of London.

Earle Vtred deliuered pledges to Cnute.

Ailr. Egricus.

Cnute prepareth to besiege London.

In the meane time, king Egelred sore worne with long sicknesse, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill, being saint Georges day, or (as others say) on saint Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take this to be an error growen, by mistaking the feast-day of saint Gregorie for saint George. He reigned the tearme of 37 yeares, or little lesse. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Pauls, in the north Ile besids the quéere, as by a memoriall there on the wall it maie appeare. He had two wiues (as before is mentioned.) By Elgina his first wife he had issue three sonnes, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelstane; besides one daughter named Egiua. By his second wife Emma, daughter to Richard the first of that name, duke of Normandie, and sister to Richard the second, he had two sonnes, Alfrid and Edward.

King Egelred departed this life.

Simon Dun. Matth. West.

He is buried in the church of S. Paul at London.

This Egelred (as you haue heard) had euill successe in his warres against the Danes, and besides the calamitie that fell thereby to his people, manie other miseries oppressed this land in his daies, not so much through his lacke of courage and slouthfull negligence, as by reason of his presumptuous pride, whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reason, for he did not onlie disherit diuerse of his owne English subiects without apparant cause of offense by plaine forged cauillations; and also caused all the Danes to be murdered through his realme in one day, by some light suspicion of their euill meanings: but also gaue himselfe to lecherous lusts, in abusing his bodie with naughtie strumpets, forsaking the bed of his owne lawfull wife, to the great infamie & shame of that high degrée of maiestie, which by his kinglie office he bare and susteined. To conclude, he was from his tender youth more apt to idle rest, than to the exercise of warres; more giuen to pleasures of the bodie, than to anie vertues of the mind: although that toward his latter end, being growen into age, and taught by long experience of worldlie affaires, and proofe of passed miseries, he sought (though in vaine) to haue recouered the decaied state of his common wealth and countrie.

The pride of king Egelred alienated the harts of his people.

¶ In this Egelreds time, and (as it is recorded by a British chronographer) in the yéere of our Lord 984, one Cadwalhon, the second sonne of Ieuaf tooke in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and first made warre with Ionauall his coosen, the sonne of Meyric, and right heire to the land, and slue him, but Edwall the yoongest brother escaped awaie priuilie. The yéere following, Meredith the sonne of Owen king or prince of Southwales, with all his power entered into Northwales, and in fight slue Cadwalhon the sonne of Ieuaf, and Meyric his brother, and conquered the land to himselfe. Wherein a man maie sée how God punished the wrong, which Iago and Ieuaf the sonnes of Edwall Voell did to their eldest brother Meyric, who was first disherited, and afterward his eies put out, and one of his sonnes slaine. For first Ieuaf was imprisoned by Iago; then Iago with his sonne Constantine, by Howell the son of Ieuaf: and afterward the said Howell, with his brethren Cadwalhon and Meyric, were slaine and spoiled of all their lands.

Sée the historie of Cambria pag. 62, 63.

Edmund Ironside succedeth his father in the kingdome, the spiritualtie fauouring Cnute would haue him to be king, the Londoners are his backe friends, they receiue Edmund their king honorablie and ioifullie, Cnute is proclaimed king at Southampton, manie of the states cleaue vnto him, he besiegeth London by water and land, the citizens giue him the foile, he incountreth with king Edmund and is discomfited, two battels fought betweene the Danes and English with equall fortune and like successe, the traitorous stratagem of Edrike the Dane, king Edmund aduisedlie defeateth Edriks trecherie, 20000 of both armies slaine, Cnute marching towards London is pursued of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, incountred, and vanquished; queene Emma prouideth for the safetie of hir sonnes; the Danes seeke a pacification with Edmund, thereby more easilie to betraie him; Cnute with his armie lieth neere Rochester, king Edmund pursueth them, both armies haue a long and a sore conflict, the Danes discomfited, and manie of them slaine; Cnute with his power assemble at Essex and there make waste, king Edmund pursueth them, Edrike traitorouslie reuolteth from the English to succour the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the field, the Englishmen put to their hard shifts and slaine by heapes; what noble personages were killed in this battell, of two dead bodies latelie found in the place where this hot and heauie skirmish was fought.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

AFTER that king Egelred was dead, his eldest sonne Edmund surnamed Ironside was proclaimed king by the Londoners and others, hauing the assistance of some lords of the realme, although the more part, and speciallie those of the spiritualtie fauoured Cnute, bicause they had aforetime sworne fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his siege both by water and land verie stronglie about the citie of London, before Egelred departed this life, and immediatlie vpon his decease was receiued into the citie; but the armie that was within the citie, not consenting vnto the surrender made by the citizens, departed the night before the day on the which Cnute by appointment should enter, and in companie of Edmund Ironside (whome they had chosen to be their king and gouernour) they prepared to increase their numbers with new supplies, meaning eftsoones to trie the fortune of battell against the Danish power. Cnute perceiuing the most part of all the realme to be thus against him, and hauing no great confidence in the loialtie of the Londoners, tooke order to leauie monie for the paiment of his men of warre and mariners that belonged to his nauie, left the citie, and imbarking himselfe, sailed to the Ile of Shepie, and there remained all the winter. In which meane while, Edmund Ironside came to London, where he was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and continuing there till the spring of the yeere, made himselfe strong against the enimies.

The kingdom goeth where the spiritualtie fauoureth.

The author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* saith that it was reported that Edmund offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going from the citie, but Cnute refused it.

This Edmund for his noble courage, strength of bodie, and notable patience to indure and suffer all such hardnesse and paines as is requisite in a man of warre, was surnamed Ironside, & began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 1016, in the sixteenth yeere of the emperor Henrie the second surnamed Claudius, in the twentieth yeere of the reigne of Robert king of France, & about the sixt yeere of Malcolme the second king of the Scots. After that king Edmund had receiued the crowne in the citie of London by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke, he assembled togither such a power as he could make, and with the same marched foorth towards the west parts, and made the countrie subiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diuerse lords also of the temporaltie there togither assembled, vnto whome he sware to be their good and faithfull souereigne, and that he would see iustice trulie and vprightlie ministred. *Ran. Higd.*

1016.

After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench *Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.*

London besieged.

to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in, or come foorth. Manie great assalts he caused to be giuen vnto the citie, but the Londoners and others within so valiantlie defended the wals and gates, that the enimies got small aduantage, and at length were constreined to depart with losse. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpose there, withdrew westward, and besides Gillingham in Dorsetshire, incountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after sore & sharpe battell was put to the woorse, and constreined to forsake the field by the high prowesse & manhood of the said Edmund. King Cnute the same night, after the armies were seuered, departed towards Winchester, so to get himselfe out of danger. Shortlie after, king Edmund hearing that an other armie of the Danes had besieged Salisburie, marched thither to succour them within, and immediatlie Cnute followed him, so that at a place in Worcestershire called Scorastan, on the foure and twentith of June, they incountred togither, and fought a verie cruell battell, which at length the night parted with equall fortune. And likewise on the next day they buckled togither againe, and fought with like successe as they had doone the day before, for towards euening they gaue ouer well wearied, and not knowing to whome the victorie ought to be ascribed.

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorsetshire put to flight.

Polydor.

Salisburie besieged.

Simon Dun. Matth. West. Wil. Malm.

A battell with equall fortune.

Another battell with like successe.

Writers haue reported, that this second day, when duke Edrike perceiued the Englishmen to be at point to haue got the vpper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Osmear, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, & shaking his swoord bloudie with the slaughter, cried to the Englishmen; "Flee ye wretches, flee and get awaie, for your king is dead, behold heere his head which I hold in my hands." Heerewith had the Englishmen fled immediatlie, if king Edmund aduised of this stratagem, had not quicklie got him to an high ground where his men might see him aliue and lustie. Heerewith also the traitor Edrike escaped hardlie the danger of death, the Englishmen shot so egerlie at him. At length, as is said, the night parting them in sunder, they withdrew the one armie from the other, as it had beene by consent. The third day they remained in armor, but yet absteining from battell, sate still, in taking meate and drinke to relieue their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcases that had beene slaine in the former fight, the number of which on either partie reckoned, rose to the point of twentie thousand and aboue.

Edrike de Streona his treason.

Simon Dun.

Twentie thousand dead bodies.

In the night following, Cnute remooued his campe in secret wise, and marched towards London, which citie in a maner remained besieged by the nauie of the Danes. King Edmund in the morning when the light had discouered the departure of his enimies, followed them by the tracts, and comming to London with small adoo remooued the siege, and entered the citie like a conqueror. Shortlie after he fought with the Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this meane while queene Emma the widow of king Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, sent hir two sonnes Alfred and Edward ouer into Normandie vnto hir brother duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirselfe with them (as some write.)

The armies dislodged.

The Danes ouercome at Brentford.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Fabian. Caxton. Polydor.

Moreouer, earle Edrike, perceiuing the great manhood of king Edmund, began to feare, least in the end he should subdue and vanquish the Danes, wherefore he sought meanes to conclude a peace, and take such order with him as might stand with both their contentations, which yer long he brought about. This was doone (as you shall heare) by the consent of Cnute (as some write) to the intent that Edrike being put in trust with king Edmund, might the more easilie deuise waies how to betraie him. But Cnute disappointed of his purpose at London, and fetching a great bootie and preie out of the countries next adioining, repared to his ships, to see what order was amongst them, which a little before were withdrawen into the riuer that passeth by Rochester called Medwaie. Heere Cnute remained certeine daies, both to assemble a greater power, and also to hearken and learne what his enimies ment to doo, the which he easilie vnderstood.

Henr. Hunt.

The riuer of Medwaie.

King Edmunds diligence.

King Edmund, who hated nothing woorse than to linger his businesse, assembled his people, and marching forward toward his enimies, approched neere vnto them, & pitcht downe his tents not farre from his enimies campe, exhorting his people to remember their passed victories, and to doo their good willes, at length by one battell so to ouerthrow them, that

they might make an end of the warre, and dispatch them cleerelie out of the realme. With these and the like woords he did so incourage his souldiers, that they disdaining thus to haue the enimies dailie prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with eger minds and fierce courages offered battell to the Danes, which Cnute had prepared to receiue whensoeuer the Englishmen approched: and heerewith bringing his men into araie, he came foorth to méet his enimies. Then was the battell begun with great earnestnesse on both sides, & continued foure houres, till at length the Danes began somewhat to shrinke, which when Cnute perceiued, he commanded his horssemen to come forward into the forepart of his dawnted host. The battell is begun.

But whilest one part of the Danes gaue backe with feare, and the other came slowlie forward, the arraie of the whole armie was broken, & then without respect of shame they fled amaine, so that there died that day of Cnutes side foure thousand and fiue hundred men; and of king Edmunds side, not past six hundred, and those were footmen. This battell was fought as should appéere by diuerse writers, at Okefort or Oteford. It was thought, that if king Edmund had pursued the victorie and followed in chase of his enimies in such wise as he safelie might haue doone, he had made that day an end of the warres: but he was counselled by Edrike (as some write) in no condition to follow them, but to staie and giue time to his people to refresh their wearie bodies. Then Cnute with his armie passed ouer the Thames into Essex, and there assembled all his power togither, and began to spoile and waste the countrie on each hand. King Edmund aduertised thereof, hasted foorth to succour his people, and at Ashdone in Essex three miles from Saffron Walden, gaue battell to Cnute, where after sore and cruell fight continued with great slaughter on both sides a long time, duke Edrike fled to the comfort of the Danes, and to the discomfort of the Englishmen. The Danes put to flight. The number of Danes slaine. *Polydor. Fabian. Ran. Higd. Matt. West. Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes.* Edriks counsell.

Héerevpon king Edmund was constreined in the end to depart out of the field, hauing first doone all that could be wished in a woorthie chieftaine, both by woords to incourage his men, & by deeds to shew them good example; so that at one time the Danes were at point to haue giuen backe, but that Cnute aduised thereof, rushed into the left wing where most danger was, and so relieued his people there, that finallie the Englishmen, both wearied with long fight, and also discouraged with the running awaie of some of their companie, were constreined to giue ouer, and by flight to séeke their safegard, so that king Edmund might not by anie meanes bring them againe into order. Héerevpon all the waies and passages being forelaid and stopped by the enimies, the Englishmen wanting both carriage* to make longer resistance, and perceiuing no hope to rest in fléeing, were beaten downe and slaine in heapes, so that few escaped from that dreadfull and bloudie battell. [* *Sic.*]

There died on king Edmunds side, duke Edmund, duke Alfrike, and duke Goodwine, with earle Vlfekettell or Vrchell of Eastangle, and duke Aileward, that was sonne to Ardelwine late duke of Eastangle; and to be briefe, all the floure of the English nobilitie. There were also slaine at this battell manie renowmed persons of the spiritualtie, as the bishop of Lincolne, and the abbat of Ramsey, with others: king Edmund escaping awaie, got him into Glocestershire, and there began to raise a new armie. In the place where this field was fought, are yet seuen or eight hils, wherein the carcases of them that were slaine at the same field were buried: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of stone, of which the one laie with his head towards the others féet, and manie chaines of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horsses) were found in the same hill. But now to the matter. Noble men slaine at the battell of Ashdone. *Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.* King Edmund withdraweth into Glocestershire.

London & other great cities & townes submit themselues to Cnute, he hasteth after Edmund with his power, both their armies being readie to incounter by occasion are staied, the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hosts; the title and right of the realme of England is put to the triall of combat betweene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is ouermatched, his woords to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme diuided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorouslie slaine, the dissonant report of writers touching the maners of his death, and both the kings dealing about the partition of the realme, Cnute causeth Edrike to be slaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treason is noted; how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipsed state of England after his death, and in whose time it recouered some part of its brightnesse.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

IN the meane while that Edmund was busie to leauie a new armie in Glocester, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got so great a victorie (as before is mentioned) receiued into his obeisance, not onelie the citie of London, but also manie other cities and townes of great name, and shortlie after hasted forward to pursue his enimie king Edmund, who was readie with a mightie host to trie the vttermost chance of battell if they should eftsoones ioine. *Polydor.* Heerevpon, both the armies being readie to giue the onset, the one in sight of the other at a place called Dearehurst, neere to the riuer of Seuerne, by the drift of duke Edrike, who then at length began to shew some token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, *Matth. West, Simon Dun.* and in the end concluded an agreement, as some haue written, without anie more adoo. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to haue ioined, *Matth. West, saith this was Edrike.* one of the capteins (but whether he were a Dane or an Englishman, it is not certeinlie told) stood vp in such a place, as he might be heard of both the princes, & boldlie vttered his mind in forme following.

The oration of a capteine in the audience of the English and Danish armie.

"We haue, most woorthie capteins, fought long inough one against another, there hath beene but too much bloud shed betweene both the nations, and the valiancie of the souldiers on both sides is sufficientlie seene by triall, & either of your manhoods likewise, and yet can you beare neither good nor euill fortune. If one of you win the battell, he pursueth him that is ouercome; and if he chance to be vanquished, he resteth not till he haue recouered new strength to fight eftsoones with him that is victor. What should you meane by this your inuincible courage? At what marke shooteth your greedie desire to beare rule, and your excessiue thirst to atteine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, diuide it betweene you two, which sometime was sufficient for seuen kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the same are driuen to try the hazard whether ye shall command or obeie, deuise the waie whereby ye may without so great slaughter, and without such pitifull bloudshed of both your guiltlesse peoples, trie whether of you is most woorthie to be preferred."

The two kings appoint to try the matter by a combat. Oldney. Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his last motion, and so order was taken, that they should fight togither in a singular combat within a litle Iland inclosed with the riuer of Seuerne called Oldney, with condition, that whether of them chanced to be victor, should be king, and the other to resigne his title for euer into his hands. The two princes entering into the place appointed, in faire armour, began the battell in sight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either side the riuer, with doubtfull minds, and nothing ioifull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two champions manfullie *Matt. Westm.* assailed either other, without sparing. First, they went to it on horssebacke, and after on foot,

foot. Cnute was a man of a meane stature, but yet strong and hardie, so that receiuing a great blow by the hand of his aduersarie, which caused him somewhat to stagger; yet recouered himselfe, and boldly stept forward to be reuenged. But perceiuing he could not find aduantage, and that he was rather too weake, and shrewdlie ouermatched, he spake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wise: "What necessitie (saith he) ought thus to mooue vs, most valiant prince, that for the obteining of a kingdome, we should thus put our liues in danger? Better were it that laieng armour and malice aside, we should condescend to some reasonable agreement. Let vs become sworne brethren, and part the kingdome betwixt vs: and let vs deale so friendlie, that thou maist vse my things as thine owne, and I thine as though they were mine." King Edmund with those woords of his aduersarie was so pacified, that immediatlie he cast awaie his swoord, and comming to Cnute, ioined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the same fortune to fall on their countries, which should happen to their princes by the successe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuised betwixt them, so that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore against France, was assigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. There be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the auoiding of more bloudshed, that the two princes should trie the matter thus togither in a singular combat. But Cnute refused the combat, bicause (as he alledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldnesse of stomach, yet was he farre too weake to deale with a man of such strength as Edmund was knowne to be. But sith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it most conuenient that the kingdome should be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, so that king Edmund was of force constreined to be contented therewith.

Cnute of what stature he was.

Cnute ouermatched.

Cnutes woords to Edmund.

H. Hunt.

They make vp the matter betwixt themselues.

Wil. Malm.

¶ Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I should not be thought presumptuous, in taking vpon me to reprooue, or rather but to mistrust that which hath beene receiued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled "Encomium Emmæ," dooth report in this behalfe. Which is that through persuasion of Edrike de Streona, king Edmund immediatelie after the battell fought at Ashdone, sent ambassadors vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace, with halfe the realme of England, that is to say, the north parts, with condition that king Edmund might quietlie inioy the south parts, and therevpon haue pledges deliuered interchangeablie on either side.

Encomium Emmæ.

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this message, staied to make answer till he heard what his councell would aduise him to doo in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, considering that he had lost no small number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrie, he could not well haue anie new supplie, where the Englishmen although they had likewise lost verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrie, it should be an easie matter for them to restore their decaid number, it was thought expedient by the whole consent of all the Danish capteins, that the offer of king Edmund should be accepted.

Herevpon Cnute calling the ambassadors before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon such conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatsoeuer he should be, should paie Cnutes souldiers their wages, with monie to be leuied of that part of the kingdome which the English king should possesse. "For (this saith he) I haue vndertaken to see them paid, and otherwise I will not grant to anie peace." The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this sort, pledges were deliuered and receiued on both parties, and the armies discharged. But God (saith mine author) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe cannot long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes seemed to take pitie of the English kingdome, lest if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should haue liued in danger. And incontinentlie herevpon

This is alleged touching the partitio of the kingdome.

was

was Cnute chosen and receiued for absolute king of all the whole realme of England. Thus hath he written that liued in those daies, whose credit thereby is much aduanced.

Howbeit the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varieth from this, who doo affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the serpent of enuie and false conspiracie burnt so in the hearts of some traitorous persons, that within a while after king Edmund was slaine at Oxford, as he sat on a priuie to doo the necessaries of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the procurer of this villanous act, and that (as some write) his sonne did it. But the author that wrote "Encomium Emmæ," writing of the death of Edmund, hath these words (immediatlie after he had first declared in what sort the two princes were agréed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But God (saith he) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it selfe can not long stand, shortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by such meanes séemed to take pitie vpon the English kingdome, least if both the kings should haue continued in life togither, they should both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. With this agreeth also Simon Dunel. who saith, that king Edmund died of naturall sicknesse, by course of kind at London, about the feast of saint Andrew next insuing the late mentioned agreement.

K. Edmund traitorouslie slaine at Oxford. *Fabian. Simon Dun.*

This is alleged againe for the proofe of Edmunds natural death.

Fabian.

And this should séeme true: for whereas these authors which report, that earle Edrike was the procurer of his death, doo also write, that when he knew the act to be done, he hasted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to passe for his aduancement to the gouernment of the whole realme. Wherevpon Cnute, abhorring such a detestable fact, said vnto him: "Bicause thou hast for my sake, made away the worthiest bodie of the world, I shall raise thy head aboue all the lords of England," and so caused him to be put to death. Thus haue some bookes. Howbeit this report agreeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute aduanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honor, and made him gouernor of Mercia, and vsed his counsell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in banishing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his sonnes also, Edmund and Edward.

Ranul. Hig. Hen. Hunt.

Some thinke that he was duke of Mercia before, and now had Essex adioined thereto.

But for that there is such discordance and variable report amongst writers touching the death of king Edmund, and some fables inuented thereof (as the manner is) we will let the residue of their reports passe; sith certeine it is, that to his end he came, after he had reigned about the space of one yéere, and so much more as is betwéene the moneth of Iune and the latter end of Nouember. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie, neere his vncle Edgar. With this Edmund, surnamed Ironside, fell the glorious maiestie of the English kingdome, the which afterward as it had beene an aged bodie being sore decaied and weakened by the Danes, that now got possession of the whole, yet somewhat recouered after the space of 26 yéers vnder king Edward, surnamed the Confessor: and shortlie therevpon as it had béene falne into a resiluation, came to extreame ruine by the inuasion and conquest of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and fauorable assistance it shall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and marking reader both muse and moorne, to see how variable the state of this kingdome hath béene, & thereby to fall into a consideration of the frailtie and vncerteintie of this mortall life, which is no more frée from securitie, than a ship on the sea in tempestuous weather. For as the casualties wherewith our life is inclosed and beset with round about, are manifold; so also are they miserable, so also are they sudden, so also are they vnauoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the state of kingdoms dooth also belong vnto him, either to continue or discontinue. But to the processe of the matter.

Diuerse and discordant reports of Edmunds death. *Ran. Higd. Will. Malm.*

Cnute vndertaketh the totall regiment of this land, he assembleth a councell at London, the nobles doo him homage, he diuideth the realme into foure parts to be gouerned by his assignes; Edwin and Edward the sonnes of Edmund are banished, their good fortune by honorable mariages, King Cnute marieth queene Emma the widow of Egelred, the wise and politike conditions wherevpon this mariage was concluded, the English bloud restored to the crowne and the Danes excluded, queene Emma praised for hir high wisedome in choosing an enimie to hir husband; Cnute dismisseth the Danish armie into Denmarke; Edrike de Streona bewraieth his former trecherie, and procureth his owne death through rashnesse and follie, the discordant report of writers touching the maner & cause of his death, what noble men were executed with him, and banished out of England, Cnute a monarch.

THE XJ. CHAPTER.

CANUTE, or Cnute, whome the English chronicles doo name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, tooke vpon him the whole rule ouer all the realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 1017, in the seuentéenth yeere of the emperour Henrie the second, surnamed Claudus, in the twentith yéere of the reigne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. Cnute shortlie after the death of king Edmund, assembled a councell at London, in the which he caused all the nobles of the realme to doo him homage, in receiuing an oth of loiall obeisance. He diuided the realme into foure parts, assigning Northumberland vnto the rule of Irke or Iricius, Mercia vnto Edrike, and Eastangle vnto Turkill, and reseruing the west part to his owne gouernance. He banished (as before is said) Edwin, the brother of king Edmund; but such as were suspected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he caused to be put to execution: whereby it should appeere, that Edrike was not then in anie wise detected or once thought to be giltie. CANUTE, KNOUGHT OR CNUTE. 1017.

The said Edwin afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the kings fauor (as some write) but shortlie after traitorouslie slaine by his owne seruants. He was called the king of churles. Others write, that he came secretlie into the realme after he had béene banished, and keeping himselfe closelie out of sight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Tauestocke. Moreouer, Edwin and Edward the sonnes of king Edmund were banished the land, and sent first vnto Sweno king of Norweie to haue bin made away: but Sweno vpon remorse of conscience sent them into Hungarie, where they found great fauor at the hands of king Salomon, insomuch that Edwin maried the daughter of the same Salomon, but had no issue by hir. Edward was aduanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the emperour Henrie, and by hir had issue two sonnes, Edmund and Edgar surnamed Edeling, and as many daughters, Margaret and Christine, of the which in place conuenient more shall be said. *Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd.* King of churles' *Wil. Malm.* *Ran. Higd.*

When king Cnute had established things, as he thought stood most for his suertie, he called to his remembrance, that he had no issue but two bastard sonnes Harold and Sweno, begotten of his concubine Alwine. Wherefore he sent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to haue quéene Emma, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, and so obteined hir, not a little to the woonder of manie, which thought a great ouersight both in the woman and in hir brother, that would satisfie the request of Cnute herein, considering he had béene such a mortall enimie to hir former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie consent, that his said sister should be maried vnto Cnute, but also he himselfe tooke to wife the ladie Hestritha, sister to the said Cnute. *Polydor.* King Cnute maried to quéene Emma the widow of Egelred, in iulie, anno. 1017. *Polydor.*

¶ Here ye haue to vnderstand, that this mariage was not made without great consideration & large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obteine queene Emma to his wife, it was fullie condescended & agréed, that after Cnuts decease, the crowne of England should remaine to the issue borne of this mariage betwixt hir & Cnute, which couenant although it was not performed immediatlie after the deceasse of king Cnute, yet in the end it tooke place, so as the right séemed to be deferred, and not to be taken away The couenants made at the mariage betwixt Cnute and Emma.

nor

nor abolished: for immediatlie vpon Harolds death that had vsurped, Hardicnute succéeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agréement made at the time of the mariage solemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once established in the kingdome, he ordeined his brother Edward to succéed him, whereby the Danes were vtterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the English bloud restored thereto, chieflie by that gratious conclusion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and quéene Emma. For the which no small praise was thought to be due vnto the said quéene, sith by hir politike gouernement, in making hir match so beneficiall to hir selfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recouered out of the hands of the Danes, and restored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatise which some haue intituled "Encomium Emmæ," and was written in those daies, it dooth and may appeare. Which booke although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giueth vndoubtedlie great light to the historie of that time.

The English bloud restored.
The praise of quéene Emma for hir wisdome.
Encomium Emmæ.

Matth. West. But now to our purpose. Cnute the same yeare in which he was thus maried, through persuasion of his wife quéene Emma, sent awaie the Danish nauie and armie home into Denmarke, giuing to them fourescore and two thousand pounds of siluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wages. In the yeare 1018, Edrike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his priuie chamber, and there in reasoning the matter about some quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie presumptuouslie to vpbraid the king of such pleasures as he had before time doone vnto him; "I did (said he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forsake my souereigne lord king Edmund, and at length for your sake slue him." At which words Cnute began to change countenance, as one maruellouslie abashed, and straightwaies gaue sentence against Edrike in this wise; "Thou art woorthie (saith he) of death, and die thou shalt, which art guiltie of treason both towards God and me, sith that thou hast slaine thine own souereigne lord, and my déere alied brother. Thy bloud therefore be vpon thine owne head, sith thy toong hath vttered thy treason." And immediatlie he caused his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber window into the riuer of Thames. ¶ But others say, that hands were laid vpon him in the verie same chamber or closet where he murdered the king, & straightwaies to preuent all causes of tumults & hurlieburlies, he was put to death with terrible torments of fierbrands & links; which execution hauing passed vpon him, a second succeeded; for both his féet were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the streets of the citie, & in fine cast into a common ditch called Houndsditch; for that the citizens threw their dead dogs and stinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthie of a worse rather than of a better buriall. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the verie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not haue said, *Proditionem amo, proditorem odi*; Treason I loue, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Edrike, surnamed de Stratten or Streona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falshood and treason, vsed by him to the ouerthrow of the English estate, as partlie before is touched.

Wil. Malm. 1018.

Edrike put to death.

Simon Dun. Encomium Emmæ. But there be that concerning the cause of this Edriks death, séeme partlie to disagrée from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betraied through the treason of Edrike, sought occasion how to rid him and others (whome he mistrusted) out of the way. And therefore on a day when Edrike craued some preferment at Cnuts hands, & said that he had deserued to be well thought of, sith by his flight from the battell at Ashendon, the victorie therby inclined to Cnutes part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this answere; "And canst thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddest deceiue thy souereigne lord and maister? But I will reward thée according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other," and so forthwith commanded Erike one of his chiefe capteines to dispatch him, who incontinentlie cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verelie Simon Dunelmensis saith, that K. Cnute vnderstanding in what sort both king Egelred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had béene betraied by the said Edrike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceiued by him, and

therefore was glad to haue some pretended quarell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Edrike earle Norman the sonne of earle Leofwin, and brother to earle Leofrike: also Adelward the sonne of earle Agelmare and Brightrike the sonne of Alfegus gouernor of Deuonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Norman, his brother Leofrike was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour. This Leofrike is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Iric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Eastangle.

Then rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, wherevpon he studied to preserue the people in peace, and ordeined lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be gouerned in equall state and degree. Diuers great lords whome he found vnfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue heard) beside such as he banished out of the realme He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chaunced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will returne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were atchiued in the meane time by Cnute, not onelie in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the processe of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, whereout (if the same be studiouslie read and diligentlie considered) no small profit is to be reaped, both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Hen. Hunt. Lords put to death.

A taxe raised.

Cnute saileth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwins good seruice with the English against the said Vandals, and what benefit accrewed vnto the Englishmen by the said good seruice, he returneth into England after the discomfiture of the enimie, he saileth ouer againe into Denmarke and incountreth with the Sweideners, the occasion of this warre or incounter taken by Olauus, his hard hap, vnluckie fortune, and wofull death wrought by the hands of his owne vnnaturall subiects; Cnuts confidence in the Englishmen, his deuout voiage to Rome, his returne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interrement.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER.

1019.

IN the third yeare of his reigne Cnute sailed with an armie of Englishmen and Danes into Denmarke, to subdue the Vandals there, which then sore annoied and warred against his subiects of Denmarke. Earle Goodwine, which had the souereigne conduct of the Englishmen, the night before the day appointed for the battell got him forth of the campe with his people, and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lodgings, easilie distressed them, sleaing a great number of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen were gone foorth of their lodgings, he supposed that they were either fled awaie, or else turned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies campe, he vnderstood how the mater went; for he found nothing there but bloud, dead bodies, and the spoile. For which good seruice, Cnute had the Englishmen in more estimation euer after, and highlie rewarded their leader the same earle Goodwine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behoofefull, he returned againe into England: and within a few daies after, he was aduertised that the Swedeners made warre against his subiects of Denmarke, vnder the leding of two great princes, Vlfe and Vlafe. Wherefore to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed againe with an armie into Denmarke, incountred with his enimies, and receiued a sore ouerthrow, loosing a great

King Cnute passeth into Denmarke.

Earle Goodwin his seruice in Denmarke.

Cnute had the Englishmen in estimation for their good seruice.

1028.

Cnute passeth againe into Denmarke.

Will. Malm. a great number both of Danes and Englishmen. But gathering togither a new force of men, he set againe vpon his enimies, and ouercame them, constreining the two foresaid princes to
Matt. Westm. agrée vpon reasonable conditions of peace. Matth. West. recounteth, that at this time earle Goodwine and the Englishmen wrought the enterprise aboue mentioned, of assaulting the enimies campe in the night season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before no small number of his people: and that then the foresaid princes or kings, as he nameth them Vlfus and Au-
Albertus Crantz. lafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were constrained to agrée vpon a peace. The Danish chronicles alledge, that the occasion of this warre rose hereof. This Olauus aided Cnute (as the same writers report) against king Edmund and the Englishmen. But when the peace should be made betweene Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration had of Olauus: whereas through him the Danes chieflie obteined the victorie. Herevpon Olauus was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and now vpon occasion sought to be reuenged. But what soeuer the cause was of this warre betwixt these two princes, the end was thus: that Olauus was expelled out of his kingdome, and constreined to flée to Gerithaslaus a duke in the parties of Eastland, and afterward returning into Norwaie, was slaine by such of his subiects as tooke part with Cnute, in manner as in the historie of Norwaie, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which haue recorded the histories of those north regions.

Magnus Olauus.

But here is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the English nation was greatlie aduanced in these warres, as well against the Swedeners as the Norwegians, so that Cnute began to loue and trust the Englishmen much better than it was to be thought he would euer haue doone. Shortlie after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to say (as some haue) in the 15 yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to visit the places where the apostles Peter and Paule had their buriall, where he was honorablie receiued of pope Iohn the 20 that then held the see. When he had doone his deuotion there, he returned into England. In the yeare following, he made a iournie against the Scots, which as then had rebelled; but by the princelie power of Cnute they were subdued and brought againe to obedience: so that not onelie king Malcolme, but also two other kings Melbeath and Ieohmare became his subiects. Finallie after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of 20 yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftsburie, as the English writers affirme, on the 12 of Nouember, and was buried at Winchester. But the Danish chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rome, (as in the same chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

Fabian. Polydor. Hen. Hunt. Other say, that he went forth of Denmarke to Rome. *Simon Dun.* Anno 1031. 1032. *Wil. Malm. Matth. West.* 1033. Scots subdued. *Hen. Hunt.* Anno 1035. *Wil. Malm.* The death of king Cnute. *Hen. Hunt. Alb. Crantz.*

The trespuissance of Cnute, the amplenesse of his dominions, the good and charitable fruits of his voiage to Rome redounding to the common benefit of all trauellers from England thither, with what great personages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his intollerable pride in commanding the waters of the flouds not to rise, he humbleth himselfe and confesseth Christ Iesus to be king of kings, he refuseth to weare the crowne during his life, he reprooueth a gentleman flatterer, his issue legitimate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and inriched; what notable men he fauoured and reuerenced, his lawes; and that in causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall he had cheefe and sole gouernement in this land, whereby the popes vsurped title of vniuersall supremasie is impeached.

THE XIII. CHAPTER.

The large dominion of K. Cnute. *Hen. Hunt. Alb. Crantz.*

THIS Cnute was the mightiest prince that euer reigned ouer the English people: for he had the souereigne rule ouer all Denmark, England, Norwaie, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongest other of his roiall acts, he caused such tolles and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and streets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminished

minished to the halfes, and againe got also a moderation to be had in the paiment of the archbishops fées of his realme, which was leuied of them in the court of Rome when they should receiue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himselfe being at Rome, directed to the bishops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it also appeareth, that besides the roiall interteinment, which he had at Rome of pope Iohn, he had conference there with the emperour Conrad, with Rafe the king of Burgongne, and manie other great princes and noble men, which were present there at that time: all which at his request, in fauour of those Englishmen that should trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we haue said) to diminish such duties as were gathered of passingers.

Grants made to the benefit of Englishmen, at the instance of king Cnute. *Fabian. Polydor. Matt. West.*

He receiued there manie great gifts of the emperour, and was highlie honored of him, and likewise of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time present at Rome: so that when he came home (as some write) he did grow greatlie into pride, insomuch that being néere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the sea strand, néere to Southhampton, and perceiuing the water to rise by reason of the tide, he cast off his gowne, and wrapping it round togither, threw it on the sands verie neere the increasing water, and sat him downe vpon it, speaking these or the like words to the sea: "Thou art (saith he) within the compasse of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, and thou knowest that no wight dare disobeie my commandements; I therefore doo now command thée not to rise vpon my ground, nor to presume to wet anie part of thy souereigne lord and gouernour." But the sea kéeping hir course, rose still higher and higher, and ouerflowed not onelie the kings féet, but also flashed vp vnto his legs and knees. Wherewith the king started suddenlie vp, and withdrew from it, saieng withall to his nobles that were about him: "Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not so much as staie by my commandement this small portion of water. But know ye for certeine, that there is no king but the father onelie of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whome hé reigneth, & at whose becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honor him, let vs confesse and professe him to be the ruler of heauen, earth, and sea, and besides him none other."

He caused his chaire to be set there, as *Matth. West.* saith. *Hen. Hunt.*

The saieng of king Cnute.

Zealouslie inough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

From thence he went to Winchester, and there with his owne hands set his crowne vpon the head of the image of the crucifix, which stood there in the church of the apostles Peter and Paule, and from thenceforth he would neuer weare that crowne nor anie other. Some write that he spake not the former words to the sea vpon anie presumptuousnesse of mind, but onelie vpon occasion of the vaine title, which in his commendation one of his gentlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightlie tooke it) for he called him the most mightiest king of all kings, which ruled most at large both men, sea, and land. Therefore to reprooue the fond flatterie of such vaine persons, he deuised and practised the déed before mentioned, thereby both to reprooue such flatterers, and also that men might be admonished to consider the omnipotencie of almightie God. He had issue by his wife quéene Emma, a sonne named by the English chronicles Hardiknought, but by the Danish writers Canute or Knute; also a daughter named Gonilda, that was after maried to Henrie the sonne of Conrad, which also was afterwards emperour, and named Henrie the third. By his concubine Alwine that was daughter to Alselme, whome some name earle of Hampton, he had two bastard sonnes, Harold and Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter daies to vertue, as he that considered how perfect felicitie rested onelie in godlines and true deuotion to serue the heauenlie king and gouernour of all things.

Ran. Higd. Polydor. Matth. West.

Polydor.

Flatterie reproued.

Polydor. Alb. Crantz.

Polydor. Fabian.

He repaired in his time manie churches, abbeies and houses of religion, which by occasion of warres had béene sore defaced by him and his father, but speciallie he did great cost vpon the abbeie of saint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as partlie before is mentioned. He also built two abbeies from the foundation, as saint Benets in Norffolke, seuen miles distant from Norwich, and an other in Norwaie. He did also build a church at Ashdone in Essex, where he obteined the victorie of king Edmund, and was present at the hallowing or consecration therof with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the realme, both English and Danes. He also holpe with his owne hands to remooue the bodie of the holie archbishop Elphegus,

Which is supposed to be Barclow: for Ashdone it selfe is halfe a mile from thence.

1020. *Simon Dun.* Elphegus, when the same was translated from London to Canturburie. The roiall and most rich iewels which he & his wife quéene Emma gaue vnto the church of Winchester, might make the beholders to woonder at such their exceeding and bountifull munificence.

Thus did Cnute striue to reforme all such things as he and his ancestors had doone amisse, and to wipe awaie the spot of euill dooing, as suerlie to the outward sight of the world he did in deed; he had the archbishop of Canturburie Achelnotus in singular reputation, and vsed his counsell in matters of importance. He also highlie fauoured Leofrike earle of Chester, so that the same Leofrike bare great rule in ordering of things touching the state of the common wealth vnder him as one of his chiefe councellors. Diuerse lawes and statutes he made for the gouernment of the common wealth, partlie agréeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings that were his predecessors, and partlie tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him most expedient: among the which there be diuerse that concerne causes as well ecclesiasticall as temporall. Whereby (as maister Fox hath noted) it maie be gathered, that the gouernment of spirituall matters did depend then not vpon the bishop of Rome, but rather appertained vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall prince, no lesse than matters and causes temporall. But of these lawes & statutes enacted by king Cnute, ye may read more as ye find them set foorth in the before remembred booke of maister William Lambert, which for briefenesse we héere omit.

Leofrike earle of Chester.

King Cnutes lawes.

Variance amongest the peeres of the realme about the roiall succession, the kingdome is diuided betwixt Harold the bastard sonne and Hardicnute the lawfullie begotten son of king Cnute late deceassed, Harold hath the totall regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the queenes sonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did stoutlie refuse to consecrate him, why Harold was surnamed Harefoot, he is supposed to be a shoomakers sonne, and how it came to passe that he was counted king Cnutes bastard; Alfred challengeth the crowne from Harold, Goodwine (vnder colour of friendlie interteinment) procureth his retinues vtter vndooing, a tithing of the Normans by the poll, whether Alfred was interessed in the crowne, the trecherous letter of Harold written in the name of queene Emma to hir two sons in Normandie, wherevpon Alfred commeth ouer into England, the vnfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his people, teaching that in trust is treason, a reseruation of euerie tenth Norman, the remanent slaine, the lamentable end of Alfred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold banisheth queene Emma out of England he degenerateth from his father, the short time of his reigne, his death and buriall.

THE XIIII. CHAPTER.

HAROLD. *Matth. West. Wil. Malm.*

AFTER that Cnute was departed this life, there arose much variance amongst the peeres and great lords of the realme about the succession. The Danes and Londoners (which through continuall familiaritie with the Danes, were become like vnto them) elected Harold the base sonne of king Cnute, to succéed in his fathers roome, hauing earle Leofrike, and diuerse other of the noble men of the north parts on their side. But other of the Englishmen, and namelie earle Goodwine earle of Kent, with the chiefest lords of the west parts, coueted rather to haue one of king Egelreds sonnes, which were in Normandie, or else Hardicnute the sonne of king Cnute by his wife quéene Emma, which remained in Denmarke, aduanced to the place. This controuersie held in such wise, that the realme was diuided (as some write) by lot betwixt the two brethren Harold and Hardicnute. The north part, as Mercia and Northumberland fell to Harold, and the south part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harold, bicause his brother Hardicnute refused to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

Controuersie for the crowne.

Simon Dun.

The realme diuided betwixt Harold and Hardicnute.

But

But yet the authoritie of earle Goodwine, who had the queene and the treasure of the realme in his keeping, staied the matter a certeine time, (professing himselfe as it were gardian to the yoong men, the sonnes of the quéene, till at length he was constreined to giue ouer his hold, and conforme himselfe to the stronger part and greater number.) And so at Oxford, where the assemblie was holden about the election, Harold was proclaimed king, and consecrated according to the maner (as some write.) But it should appeere by other, that Elnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue and wisedome, refused to crowne him: for when king Harold being elected of the nobles and péeres, required the said archbishop that he might be of him consecrated, and receiue at his hands the regall scepter with the crowne, which the archbishop had in his custodie, and to whome it onelie did apperteine to inuest him therewith, the archbishop flatlie refused, and with an oth protested, that he would not consecrate anie other for king, so long as the quéenes children liued: "for (saith he) Cnute committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I kéepe my faith and loiall obedience. The scepter and crowne I héere lay downe vpon the altar, and neither doo I denie nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the apostolike authoritie all the bishops, that none of them presume to take the same awaie, and deliuer them to you, or consecrate you for king. As for your selfe, if you dare, you maie vsurpe that which I haue committed vnto God and his table."

The authoritie of earle Goodwine. *H. Hunt.*

The refusall of the archbishop Elnothus to consecrate king Harold.

But whether afterwards the king by one meane or other, caused the archbishop to crowne him king, or that he was consecrated of some other, he was admitted king of all the English people, beginning his reigne in the yéere of our Lord a thousand thirtie and six, in the foure- 1036.
tenth yéere of the emperor Conrad the second, in the sixt yéere of Henrie the first, king of France, and about the seuen and twentith yéere of Malcolme the second, king of Scots. This Harold for his great swiftnesse, was surnamed Harefoot, of whome little is written touching his doings, sauing that he is noted to haue béene an oppressor of his people, and spotted with manie notable vices. It was spoken of diuerse in those daies, that this Harold was not the sonne of Cnute, but of a shoomaker, and that his supposed mother Elgina, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, feined that she was with child: and about the time that she should be brought to bed (as she made hir account) caused the said shoomakers son to be secretlie brought into hir chamber, and then vntrulie caused it to be reported that she was deliuered, and the child so reputed to be the kings sonne.

Harold why he is surnamed Harefoot.

Harold euill spoken of. *Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.*

Immediatlie vpon aduertisement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the sonne of king Egelred, with fiftie saile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the crowne, and to obteine it by lawfull claime with quietnesse, if he might; if not, then to vse force by aid of his friends, and to assaie that waie foorth to win it, if he might not otherwise obteine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and shortlie after, earle Goodwine feining to receiue him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilford in the night season appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were asléepe, and so tooke them togither with Alfred, & slue the Normans by the poll, in such wise that nine were slaine, & the tenth reserued. But yet when those that were reserued, seemed to him a greater number than he wished to escape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eies put out, and was conueied to the Ile of Elie, where shortlie after he died.

Matth. West.

¶ How Alfred should claime the crowne to himselfe I sée not: for verelie I can not be persuaded that he was the elder brother, though diuers authors haue so written, sith Gemeticensis, & the author of the booke called "Encomium Emmæ," plainlie affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a stouter stomach than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himselfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then absent, and gone into Hungarie, as some write: but other say, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarked in a few ships, onelie to speake with their mother, who as then lay at Winchester, whether to take aduise with hir how to recouer their right heere in this land, or to aduance their brother Hardicnute, or for some other purpose, our authors doo not declare.

Ran. Higd.

Sée maister *Fox* acts and monuments, pag. 112. *Simon Dun.*

But

But the lords of the realme that bare their good wils vnto Harold, and (though contrarie to right) ment to mainteine him in the estate, seemed to be much offended with the comming of these two brethren in such order: for earle Goodwine persuaded them, that it was great danger to suffer so manie strangers to enter the realme, as they had brought with them. Wherevpon earle Goodwine with the assent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went foorth, and at Gilford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to speake with him, accordinglie as he was of Harold required to doo. But now being taken, and his companie miserablie murthered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of six hundred Normans, Alfred himselfe was sent into the Ile of Elie, there to remaine in the abbeie in custodie of the moonks, hauing his eies put out as soone as he entered first into the same Ile. William Malmesburie saith, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handeled betwixt the time of Harolds death, & the comming in of Hardicnute. Others write, that this chanced in his brother Hardicnuts daies, which seemeth not to be true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers side too dearelie to haue suffered anie such iniurie to be wrought against either of them in his time.

¶ Thus ye see how writers dissent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I haue thought good to shew also what the author of the said booke intituled "Encomium Emmæ" writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once established king, he sought meanes how to rid queene Emma out of the way, and that secretlie, for that openlie as yet he durst not attempt anie thing against hir. She in silence kept hir selfe quiet, looking for the end of these things. But Harold remembring himselfe, of a malicious purpose, by wicked aduise tooke counsell how he might get into his hands, and make away the sons of queene Emma, & so to be out of danger of all annoiance that by them might be procured against him. Wherefore he caused a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he sent by certeine messengers suborned for the same purpose into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here insueth.

A counterfet letter.

The tenour of a letter forged and sent in queene Emmas name to hir two sonnes.

"Emma tantùm nomine regina filijs Edwardo & Alfredo materna impertit salutamina. Dū domini nostri regis obitum separatim plangimus (filij charissimi) dúmq; dietim magis magisque regno hæreditatis vestræ priuamini, miror quid captetis consilij, dum sciatis intermissionis vestræ dilatione inuasoris vestri imperij fieri quotidiè soliditatē. Is enim incessanter vicos & vrbes circuit, & sibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: sed vnum è vobis super se mallent regnare quàm istius (qui nunc ijs imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus vestrum ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt salubre à me consilium accipiat, & sciat quo pacto hóc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præsentem quóque internuncium quid super his facturi estis remandate. Valete cordis mei viscera.

The same in English.

"Emma in name onelie queene to hir sons Edward and Alfred sendeth motherlie greeting. Whilest we separatelie bewaile the death of our souereigne lord the king (most deare sonnes) and whilest you are euerie day more and more depriued from the kingdome of your inheritance, I maruell what you doo determine, sith you know by the delay of your ceassing to make some enterprise, the grounded force of the vsurper of your kingdom is dailie made the stronger. For incessantlie he goeth from towne to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the lords his friends by rewards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kept vnder the rule of this man that now gouerneth them. Wherefore my request is, that one of you doo come with speed, and that priuilie ouer to me, that he may vnderstand my wholesome aduise, and know in what sort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to go forward, and see that ye send mee word by this present messenger what you meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euen the bowels of my heart."

These

These letters were deliuered vnto such as were made priuie to the purposed treason, who being fullie instructed how to deale, went ouer into Normandie, and presenting the letters vnto the yoong gentlemen, vsed the matter so, that they thought verelie that this message had beene sent from their mother, and wrote againe by them that brought the letters, that one of them would not faile, but come ouer vnto hir according to that she had requested, and withall appointed the day and time. The messengers returning to king Harold, informed him how they had sped. The yoonger brother Alfred, with his brothers consent, tooke with him a certeine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and first came into Flanders, where after he had remained a while with earle Baldwine, he increased his retinue with a few Bullogners, and passed ouer into England, but approching to the shore, he was streightwaies descried by his enimies, who hasted foorth to set vpon him; but perceiuing their drift, he bad the ships cast about, and make againe to the sea; then landing at an other place, he ment to go the next way to his mother.

But earle Goodwine hearing of his arriuall, met him, receiued him into his assurance, and binding his credit with a corporall oth, became his man, and therwith leading him out of the high way that leadeth to London, he brought him to Gilford, where he lodged all the strangers, by a score, a doozen, and halfe a score togither in innes, so as but a few remained about the yoong gentleman Alfred to attend vpon him. There was plentie of meat and drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreshing of all the companie. And Goodwine taking his leaue for that night, departed to his lodging, promising the next morning to come againe to giue his dutifull attendance on Alfred.

Goodwin was suspected to do this vnder a colour to betray him as by writers it seemeth.

But behold, after they had filled themselues with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the night came such as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euerie inne, first seized vpon the armor and weapons that belonged to the strangers: which done, they tooke them, and chained them fast with fetters and manacles, so keeping them sure till the next morning. Which being come, they were brought foorth with their hands bound behind their backs, and deliuered to most cruell tormentors, who were commanded to spare none but euerie tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and so they slue nine and left the tenth aliue. Of those that were left aliue, some they kept to serue as bondmen, other for couetousnesse of gaine they sold, and some they put in prison, of whome yet diuerse afterwards escaped. This with more hath the foresaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfred being conueied into the Ile of Elie, had not onelie his eies put out in most cruell wise, but was also presentlie there murthered. But he speaketh not further of the maner how he was made away, sauing that he saith he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, bicause he will not renew the mothers greefe in hearing it, sith there can be no greater sorrow to the mother than to heare of hir sonnes death.

Not onelie Goodwine but other such as king Harold appointed, took Alfred with his Normans.

¶ I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruell tormentors should cause his bellie to be opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the same to a stake which they had set fast in the ground; then with needels of iron pricking his bodie, they caused him to run about the stake, till he had woond out all his intrailes, & so ended he his innocent life, to the great shame & obloquie of his cruel aduersaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather died (as I thinke) of the anguish by putting out his eies, no doubt but his death was reuenged by Gods hand in those that procured it. But whether erle Goodwine was cheefe causer thereof, in betraieng him vnder a cloked colour of pretended freendship, I cannot say: but that he tooke him and slue his companie, as some haue written, I cannot thinke it to be true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote "Encomium Emmæ," as also for that it should seeme he might neuer be so directlie charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuse. But now to other affaires of Harold.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfred, he spoiled his mother in law queene Emma of the most part of hir riches, and therewith banished hir quite out of the realme: so that she sailed ouer to Flanders, where she was honourablie receiued of earle Baldwine, and hauing of him honourable prouision assigned hir, she continued there for the space of three yeeres, till that

Simeon Dun.

Queene Emma banished.

that after the death of Harold, she was sent for by hir sonne Hardiknought, that succéeded Harold in the kingdome. Moreouer, Harold made small account of his subiects, degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in exacting of tributes and paiments.) He caused indeed eight markes of siluer to be leuied of euerie port or hauen in England, to the reteining of 16 ships furnished with men of warre, which continued euer in readinesse to defend the coasts from pirats. To conclude with this Harold, his spéedie death prouided well for his fame, bicause (as it was thought) if his life had béene of long continuance, his infamie had béene the greater. But after he had reigned foure yéeres, or (as other gathered) three yéeres and three moneths, he departed out of this world atOxford, & was buried at Winchester (as some say.) Other say he died at Meneford in the moneth of Aprill, and was buried at Westminster, which should appeare to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great spite shewed toward his dead bodie, as after shall be specified.

Polydor. Harold degenerateth from his father.
Hen. Hunt. A nauie in a readinesse.
Euill men, the longer they liue, the more they grow into miserie.
Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm.

Hardicnute is sent for into England to be made king; alteration in the state of Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king Cnute, Hardicnute is crowned, he sendeth for his mother queene Emma, Normandie ruled by the French king, Hardicnute reuengeth his mothers exile vpon the dead bodie of his stepbrother Harold, queene Emma and erle Goodwine haue the gouernment of things in their hands, Hardicnute leuieth a sore tribute vpon his subiects; contempt of officers & deniall of a prince his tribute sharpelie punished; prince Edward commeth into England; the bishop of Worcester accused and put from his see for being accessarie to the murthering of Alfred, his restitution procured by contribution; Earle Goodwine being accused for the same trespasse excuseth himselfe, and iustifieth his cause by swearing, but speciallie by presenting the king with an inestimable gift; the cause why Goodwine purposed Alfreds death; the English peoples care about the succession to the crowne, moonke Brightwalds dreame and vision touching that matter; Hardicnute poisoned at a bridall, his conditions, speciallie his hospitalitie, of him the Englishmen learned to eate and drinke immoderatlie, the necessitie of sobrietie, the end of the Danish regiment in this land, and when they began first to inuade the English coasts.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

HARDICNUTE, or HARDIKNOUGHT.

AFTER that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes and Englishmen agréed to send for Hardiknought, the sonne of Canute by his wife quéene Emma, and to make him king. Héere is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute, the state of things was much altered in those countries of beyond the seas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Norwegians elected one Magnus, the sonne of Olauus to be their king, and the Danes chose this Hardiknought, whome their writers name Canute the third, to be their gouernor. This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertised of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had chosen him to their king, with all conuenient speed prepared a nauie, and imbarking a certeine number of men of warre, tooke the sea, and had the wind so fauorable for his purpose, that he arriued vpon the coast of Kent the sixt day after he set out of Denmarke, and so comming to London, was ioifullie receiued, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Athelnotus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the first yéere of the emperour Henrie the third, in the 9 yeere of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and in the first yéere of Magfinloch, alias Machabeda king of Scotland. Incontinentlie after his establishment in the rule of this realme, he sent into Flanders for his mother queene Emma, who during the time of hir banishment, had remained there. For Normandie in that season was gouerned by the French king, by reason of the minoritie of duke William, surnamed the bastard.

Alteration in the state of things.
Simon Dun. & *Matt. West.* say, that he was at Bruges in Flanders with his mother when he was thus sent for, being come thither to visit hir.
*1041.

Quéene Emma sent for.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to quéene Emma by hir sonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cause Alfrike archbishop of Yorke and earle Goodwine, with other noble men to go to Westminster, and there to take vp the bodie of the same Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof should be striken off, and the trunke of it cast into the riuer of Thames. Which afterwards being found by fishers, was taken vp and buried in the churchyard of S. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Goodwine that was erle of Kent. He leuied a sore tribute of his subiects here in England to pay the souldiers and mariners of his nauie, as first 21 thousand pounds, & 99 pounds, and afterward vnto 32 ships there was a paiment made of a 11 thousand and 48 pounds. To euerie mariner of his nauie he caused a paiment of 8 marks to be made, and to euerie master 12 marks. About the paiment of this monie great grudge grew amongst the people, insomuch that two of his seruants, which were appointed collectors in the citie of Worcester, the one named Feader, and the other Turstane, were there slaine. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrie with the citie was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoile by such power of lords and men of warre as the king had sent against them.

The bodie of king Harold taken vp, and throwen into Thames.

S. Clement Danes.

A tribute raised. *Hen. Hunt.*

Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnutes brother came foorth of Normandie to visit him and his mother quéene Emma, of whome he was most ioifullie and honorablie welcomed and interteined, and shortlie after made returne backe againe. It should appeare by some writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remained still in the realme, so that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England: although other make other report, as after shall bée shewed. Also (as before ye haue heard) some writers seeme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the same time. But suerlie they are therein deceiued: for it was knowne well inough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers side, so that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durst attempt anie such iniurie against them. True it is, that as well earle Goodwine, as the bishop of Worcester (that was also put in blame and suspected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye haue heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, insomuch that the said bishop was expelled out of his see by Hardicnute: and after twelue moneths space was restored, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue by waie of amends.

Matt. West. Ran. Hyd. Marianus.

Polydor.

The bishop of Worcester accused for making away of Alfred.

Earle Goodwin excuseth himselfe.

The gift which earle Goodwin gaue to the king.

Earle Goodwine was also put to his purgation, by taking an oth that he was not guiltie. Which oth was the better allowed, by reason of such a present as he gaue to the king for the redéeming of his fauour and good will, that is to say, a ship with a sterne of gold, conteining therein 80 souldiers, wearing on each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergion guilt on their bodies, with guilt burgenets on their heads, a swoord with guilt hilts girded to their wastes, a battell-axe after the maner of the Danes on their left shoulder, a target with bosses and mails guilt in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furnished at all points with armor and weapon accordinglie. It hath béene said, that earle Goodwine minded to marie his daughter to one of these brethren, and perceiuing that the elder brother Alfred would disdaine to haue hir, thought good to dispatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, hée might be next heire to the crowne, and so at length inioy it, as afterwards came to passe.

Polydor.

Also about that time, when the linage of the kings of England was in maner extinct, the English people were much carefull (as hath béene said) about the succession of those that should inioie the crowne. Wherevpon as one Brightwold a moonke of Glastenburie, that was afterward bishop of Wincester, or (as some haue written) of Worcester, studied oftentimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he slept in his bed, that he saw saint Peter consecrate & annoint Edward the sonne of Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought, he did demand of saint Peter, who should succéed the said Edward? Wherevnto answer was made by the apostle; Haue thou no care for such matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which sweare in good

earnest may appeare by manie great arguments to be full true vnto such as shall well consider the state of this realme from time to time, how there hath béene euer gouernours raised vp to maintéine the maiestie of the kingdome, and to reduce the same to the former dignitie, when by anie infortunate mishap it hath beene brought in danger.

The death of K. Hardicnute. *Sim. Dunel. Matth. West.* 1042.

But to returne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yéers lacking 10 daies, as he sat at the table in a great feast holden at Lambeth, he fell downe suddenlie with the pot in his hand, and so died not without some suspicion of poison. This chanced on the 8 of Iune at Lambeth aforesaid, where, on the same day a mariage was solemnized betwéene the ladie Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Osgot Clappa, and a Danish lord also called Canute Prudan. His bodie was buried at Winchester besides his father. He was of nature verie curteous, gentle and liberall, speciallie in keeping good chéere in his house, so that he would haue his table couered foure times a day, & furnished with great plentie of meates and drinks, wishing that his seruants and all strangers that came to his palace, might rather leaue than want. It hath béene commonlie told, that Englishmen learned of him their excessiue gourmandizing & vnmeasurable filling of their panches with meates and drinkes, whereby they forgat the vertuous vse of sobrietie, so much necessarie to all estates and degrées, so profitable for all common-wealthes, and so commendable both in the sight of God, and all good men.

K. Hardicnute his conditions and liberalitie in housekéeping. *Hen. Hunt.*

Of whom the Englishmen learned excessiue féeding.

The end of the Danish rulers.

In this Hardicnute ceased the rule of the Danes within this land, with the persecution which they had executed against the English nation, for the space of 250 yeres & more, that is to say, euer since the tenth yeere of Brithrike the king of Westsaxons, at what time they first began to inuade the English coasts. Howbeit (after others) they should séeme to haue ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Welshmen in despite of the Saxons, at which time they first began to inhabit here, which was 835 of Christ, 387 after the comming of the Saxons, and 35 néere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

¶ But to let this péece of curiositie passe, this land felt that they had a time of arriuall, a time of inuading, a time of ouerrunning, and a time of ouerruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Wherof manifest proofes are at this day remaining in sundrie places, sundrie ruines I meane and wastes committed by them; vpon the which whensoeuer a man of a relenting spirit casteth his eie, he can not but enter into a dolefull consideration of former miseries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by the crueltie of the bloudthirstie enimie, cannot but wish (if he haue but "Minimam misericordiæ guttam quæ maior est spatioso oceano," as one saith) and earnestlie desire in his heart that the like may neuer light vpon this land, but may be auerted and turned away from all christian kingdomes, through his mercie, whose wrath by sinne being set on fire, is like a consuming flame; and the swoord of whose vengeance being sharpened with the whetstone of mens wickednesse, shall hew them in péeces as wood for the fornace.

Thus farre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring fulnesse of afflictions to the English people, wherewith likewise the seuenth booke is shut vp.

THE

THE EIGHT BOOKE

OF THE

HISTORIE OF ENGLAND.

Edward the third of that name is chosen king of England by a generall consent, ambassadours are sent to attend him homewardes to his kingdome, and to informe him of his election, William duke of Normandie accompanieth him, Edward is crowned king, the subtill ambition or ambitious subtiltie of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraieng Alfred; the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guiltie of Alfreds death, king Edward marieth the said earles daughter, he forbeareth to haue carnall knowledge with hir, and why? he vseth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accusations brought against hir, she is dispossessed of hir goods, and imprisoned for suffering bishop Alwine to haue the vse of hir bodie, she purgeth and cleareth hir selfe after a strange sort, hir couetousnesse: mothers are taught (by hir example) to loue their children with equalitie: hir liberall deuotion to Winchester church cleared hir from infamie of couetousnesse, king Edward loued hir after hir purgation, why Robert archbishop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

IMMEDIATLIE vpon the deth of Hardiknought, and before his corps was committed to buriall, his halfe brother Edward, sonne of king Egelred begotten of quéene Emma, was chosen to be K. of England, by the generall consent of all the nobles and commons of the realme. Therevpon were ambassadours sent with all spéed into Normandie, to signifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thence into England in deliuering pledges for more assurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Englishmen, but that vpon his comming thither, he should receiue the crowne without all contradiction. Edward then aided by his coosine William duke of Normandie, tooke the sea, & with a small companie of Normans came into England, where he was receiued with great ioy as king of the realme, & immediatlie after was crowned at Winchester by Edsinus then archbishop of Canturburie, on Easter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell also about the fourth yeare of the emperour Henrie the third, surnamed Niger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the first of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland.

EDWARD. *Hen. Hunt. Polydor.*

Henr. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The third of Aprill. 1043.

This Edward the third of that name before the conquest, was of nature more méeke and simple than apt for the gouernement of the realme, & therefore did earle Goodwine not onelie séeke the destruction of his elder brother Alfred, but holpe all that he might to aduance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome he knew to be soft, gentle, and easie to be persuaded. But whatsoeuer writers doo report hereof, sure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfred: so that if earle Goodwine did shew

his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendship vnto Alfred to betraie him, he did it by king Harolds commandement, and yet it may be that he meant to haue vsurped the crowne to him selfe, if each point had answered his expectation in the sequele of things, as he hoped they would; and therfore had not passed if both the brethren had beene in heauen. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peraduenture) to his purpose, he did his best to aduance Edward, trusting to beare no small rule vnder him, being knowen to be a man more appliable to be gouerned by other than to trust to his owne wit: and so chieflie by the assistance of earle Goodwine (whose authoritie, as appeareth, was not small within the realme of England in those daies) Edward came to atteine the crowne: wherevnto the earle of Chester Leofrike also shewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano. Alb. Cranz.

Some write (which seemeth also to be confirmed by the Danish chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his life time had receiued this Edward into his court, and reteined him still in the same in most honorable wise. But for that it may appeare in the abstract of the Danish chronicles, what their writers had of this matter recorded, we doo here passe ouer, referring those that be desirous to know the diuersitie of our writers and theirs, vnto the same chronicles, where they may find it more at large expressed. This in no wise is to be left vnremembred, that immediatlie after the death of Hardiknought, it was not onelie decreed & agreed vpon by the great lords & nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth should reigne ouer them, but also all men of warre and souldiers of the Danes, which laie within anie citie or castell in garrison within the realme of England, were then expelled and put out or rather slaine (as the Danish writers doo rehearse.) Amongst other that were banished, the ladie Gonild neece to king Swaine by his sister, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir sonnes, which she had then liuing; Heming and Turkill were also caused to auoid. Some write that Alfred the brother of king Edward, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he did helpe to expell the Danes, which being doon, he was slaine by earle Goodwine and other of his complices. But how this may stand, considering the circumstances of the time, with such things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted. Neuerthelesse, whether earle Goodwine was guiltie to the death of Alfred, either at this time, or before, certeine it is, that he so cleared himselfe of that crime vnto king Edward the brother of Alfred, that there was none so highlie in fauour with him as earle Goodwine was, insomuch that king Edward maried the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Goodwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was sister to king Hardiknought, and not of his second wife, as some haue written. Howbeit, king Edward neuer had to doo with hir in fleshlie wise. But whether he absteined because he had happilie vowed chastitie, either of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he esteemed not earle Goodwine so greatlie in his heart, as he outwardlie made shew to doo, but rather for feare of his puissance dissembled with him, least he should otherwise put him selfe in danger both of losse of life and kingdome.

Polydor. Danes expelled.

Simon Dun. Gonill neece to K. Swaine.

Polydor.

K Edward marieth the daughter of earle Goodwine.

Polydor. K. Edward absteineth from the companie of his wife.

Howsoeuer it was, he vsed his counsell in ordering of things concerning the state of the common wealth, and namelie in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, against whome diuers accusations were brought and alledged: as first, for that she consented to marie with K. Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme: againe, for that she did nothing aid or succour hir sons while they liued in exile, but that woorse was, contriued to make them away; for which cause she was despoiled of all hir goods. And because she was defamed to be naught of hir bodie with Alwine or Adwine bishop of Winchester, both she and the same bishop were committed to prison within the citie of Winchester (as some write.) Howbeit others affirme, that she was strictlie kept in the abbie of Warwell, till by way of purging hir selfe, after a maruellous manner, in passing barefooted ouer certeine hot shares or plough-irons, according to the law *Ordalium*, she cleared hir selfe (as the world tooke it) and was restored to hir first estate and dignitie.

K. Edward dealeth strictlie with his mother queene Emma.

Queene Emma despoiled of hir goods.

She is accused of dissolute liuing.

Ran. Higd. She purgeth hir selfe by the law Ordalium.

Hir excessiue couetousnesse, without regard had to the poore, caused hir also to be euill reported of. Againe, for that she euer shewed hir selfe to be more naturall to the issue which

Wil. Malm.

she

she had by hir second husband Cnute, than to hir children which she had by hir first husband king Egelred (as it were declaring how she was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) she lost a great péece of good will at the hands of hir sonnes Alfred and Edward: so that now the said Edward inioieng the realme, was easilie induced to thinke euill of hir, and therevpon vsed hir the more vncurteouslie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Winchester, which she furnished with maruellous rich iewels and ornaments, wan hir great commendation in the world, and excused hir partlie in the sight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all waies and meanes she could deuise. Now when she had purged hir selfe, as before is mentioned, hir sonne king Edward had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And whereas Robert archbishop of Canturburie had béene sore against hir, he was so much abashed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it should séeme by that which after shal be said in the next chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but bicause he counselled the king to banish earle Goodwine, and also to vse the Englishmen more strictlie than reason was he should. *Ran. Higd.*

Why Robert archbishop of Canturburie (queene Emmas heauie friend) fled out of England, the Normans first entrance into this countrie, dearth by tempests, earle Goodwines sonne banished out of this land, he returneth in hope of the kings fauour, killeth his coosen earle Bearne for his good will and forwardnes to set him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certeine Danish rouers arriue at Sandwich, spoile the coast, inrich themselues with the spoiles, make sale of their gettings, and returne to their countrie; the Welshmen with their princes rebelling are subdued, king Edward keepeth the seas on Sandwich side in aid of Baldwine earle of Flanders, a bloudie fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen, earle Goodwine fauoureth the Kentishmen against the Bullongners, why he refuseth to punish the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he setteth the king in a furie, his suborned excuse to shift off his comming to the assemblie of lords conuented about the foresaid broile, earle Goodwine bandeth himselfe against the king, he would haue the strangers deliuered into his hands, his request is denied; a battell readie to haue bene fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlement, earle Goodwines retinue forsake him; he, his sonnes, and their wiues take their flight beyond the seas.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

YE must vnderstand, that K. Edward brought diuerse Normans ouer with him, which in time of his banishment had shewed him great friendship, wherefore he now sought to recompense them. Amongst other, the forenamed Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his comming ouer was a moonke in the abbeie of Gemeticum in Normandie, and being by the king first aduanced to gouerne the sée of London, was after made archbishop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, so that he could not auoid the enuie of diuerse noble men, and speciallie of earle Goodwine, as shall appéere. About the third yéere of king Edwards reigne, Osgot Clappa was banished the realme. And in the yéere following, that is to say, in the yeere 1047, there fell a maruellous great snow, couering the ground from the beginning of Ianuarie vntill the 17 day of March. Besides this, there hapned the same yéere such tempest and lightnings, that the corne vpon the earth was burnt vp and blasted: by reason whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and also death of men and cattell.

Robert archbishop of Canturburie.

Frenchmen or Normans first entered into England.

1047.

A great death. *Ran. Higd.*

About this time Swaine the sonne of earle Goodwine was banished the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Edgiua, the abbesse of the monasterie of Leoffe, and forsaking his

Swain Goodwines sonne banished.

Edgiua abbesse of Leoffe.

his wife, ment to haue married the foresaid abbesse. Within a certeine time after his banishment, he returned into England, in hope to purchase the kings peace hy his fathers meanes and other his friends. But vpon some malicious pretense, he slue his coosen earle Bearne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and so then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Allered the archbishop of Yorke obteined his pardon, and found meanes to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

This Bearne was the sonne of Vlfus a Dane, vncle to this Swaine by his mother, the sister of K. Swaine. *H. Hunt. Hen. Hunt.*

The Danes spoile Sandwich.

In the meane time, about the sixt yéere of king Edwards reigne, certeine pirats of the Danes arriued in Sandwich hauen, and entring the land, wasted and spoiled all about the coast. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two capteins, the one named Lother, and the other Irling. After they had béene at Sandwich, and brought from thence great riches of gold and siluer, they coasted about vnto the side of Essex, and there spoiling the countrie, went backe to the sea, and sailing into Flanders, made sale of their spoiles and booties there, and so returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chanced no warres, neither forren nor ciuill, but that the same was either with small slaughter luckilie ended, or else without anie notable aduenture changed into peace.

Rise & Griffin princes of Wales.

The Welshmen in déed with their princes Rise and Griffin wrought some trouble, but still they were subdued, and in the end both the said Rise and Griffin were brought vnto confusion: although in the meane time they did much hurt, and namelie Griffin, who with aid of some Irishmen, with whome he was alied, about this time entred into the Seuerne sea, and tooke preies about the riuer of Wie: and after returned without anie battell to him offered.

1049.

Simon Dun.

About the same time, to wit, in the yéere 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres against Baldwine earle of Flanders, and for that he wished to haue the sea stopped, that the said earle should not escape by flight that waie foorth, he sent to king Edward, willing him to kéepe the sea with some number of ships. King Edward furnishing a nauie, lay with the same at Sandwich, and so kept the seas on that side, till the emperor had his will of the earle.

Hermanus. Contractus. Ia. Meir.

At the same time, Swaine, sonne of earle Goodwine came into the realme, and traitorouslie slue his coosen Bearne (as before is said) the which trauelled to agrée him with the king.

Simon Dun.

Also Gosipat Clappa, who had left his wife at Bruges in Flanders, comming amongst other of the Danish pirats, which had robbed in the coasts of Kent & Essex, as before ye haue heard, receiued his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with six ships, leauing the residue, being 23 behind him.

Fabian.

1051.

Matth. West. The earle of Flanders commeth into England. *Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm.* Goda sister to K. Edward. *Wil. Malm.* Douer saith *Matth. West.*

About the tenth yéere of king Edwards reigne, Eustace earle of Bullongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwin, both afterward kings of Hierusalem, came ouer into England in the moneth of September, to visit his brother in law king Edward, whose sister named Goda, he had maried, she then being the widow of Gualter de Maunt. He found the king at Glocester, and being there ioifullie receiued, after he had once dispatched such matters for the which he chieflie came, he tooke leaue, and returned homeward. But at Canturburie one of his herbingers, dealing roughlie with one of the citizens about a lodging, which he sought to haue rather by force than by intreatance, occasioned his owne death. Whereof when the erle was aduertised, he hasted thither to reuenge the slaughter of his seruant, and slue both that citizen which had killed his man, and eighteene others.

A fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen. The earle complaineth to the king.

The citizens héerewith in a great furie, got them to armor, and set vpon the earle and his retinue, of whom they slue twentie persons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the residue, so that the earle scarse might escape with one or two of his men from the fraie, & with all spéed returned backe to the king, presenting gréeuous information against them of Canturburie, for their cruell vsing of him, not onlie in sleaing of his seruants, but also in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the earle, was higlie offended against the citizens, and with all spéed sending for earle Goodwine, declared vnto him in greeuous wise, the rebellious act of them of Canturburie, which were vnder his iurisdiction.

The

The earle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceiue that the matter was made a great deale woorse at the first in the beginning, than of likelihood it would prooue in the end, thought it reason therefore that first the answere of the Kentishmen should be heard, before anie sentence were giuen against them. Hereupon, although the king commanded him foorthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to punish them of Canturburie in most rigorous maner, yet he would not be too hastie, but refused to execute the kings commandement, both for that he bare a peece of grudge in his mind, that the king should fauour strangers so highlie as he did; and againe, bicause hereby he should seeme to doo pleasure to his countriemen, in taking vpon him to defend their cause against the rough accusations of such as had accused them. Wherefore he declared to the king that it should be conuenient to haue the supposed offendors first called afore him, and if they were able to excuse themselues, then to be suffered to depart without further vexation: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in satisfieng the king, whose peace they had broken, as also the earle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Goodwine offended with the king for fauouring strangers.

Earle Goodwine departed thus from the king, leauing him in a great furie: howbeit he passed litle thereof, supposing it would not long continue. But the king called a great assemblie of his lords togither at Glocester, that the matter might be more deepelie considered. Siward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Chester, with Rafe earle of Hereford, the kings nephue by his sister Goda, and all other the noble men of the realme, onlie earle Goodwine and his sonnes ment not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and so remained at Beuerstane, with such bands as they had leauied, vnder a colour to resist the Welshmen, whome they bruted abroad to be readie to inuade the marches about Hereford. But the Welshmen preuenting that slander, signified to the king that no such matter was ment on their parties, but that earle Goodwine and his sonnes with their complices went about to mooue a commotion against him. Hereupon a rumor was raised in the court, that the kings power should shortlie march foorth to assaile earle Goodwine in that place where he was lodged. Wherevpon the same earle prepared himselfe, and sent to his friends, willing to sticke to this quarrell, and if the king should go about to force them, then to withstand him, rather than to yeeld and suffer themselues to be troden vnder foot by strangers. Goodwine in this meane time had got togither a great power of his countries of Kent, Southerie, and other of the west parts. Swaine likewise had assembled much people out of his countries of Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, Summersetshire, Herefordshire, and Glocestershire. And Harold was also come to them with a great multitude, which he had leuied in Essex, Norffolke, Suffold, Cambridgeshire, & Huntingtonshire.

A councel called at Glocester Siward earle of Northumberland, Leofrike earle of Chester Rafe earle of Hereford. *Will. Malmes.*

Earle Goodwine meaneth to defend him selfe against the king Swaine. *Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun.* Harold. *Simon Dun.*

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Rafe, raised all the power which they might make, and the same approching to Glocester, the king thought himselfe in more suertie than before, in so much that whereas earle Goodwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glocestershire) had sent vnto the king, requiring that the earle of Bullongne, with the other Frenchmen and also the Normans which held the castell of Douer, might be deliuered vnto him. The king, though at the first he stood in great doubt what to doo, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was comming, made answere to the messingers which Goodwine had sent, that he would not deliuer a man of those whome Goodwine required, and herewith the said messengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Glocester, and such readie good wils appeered in them all to fight with the aduersaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would foorthwith haue gone out and giuen battell to the enimies.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onelie of a field, but of vtter ruine that might thereof haue insued: for what on the one part and the other, there were assembled the chiefest lords and most able personages of the land. But by the wisedome and good aduise of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they should come to a parlement or communication at London, vpon

* pledges

pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Goodwine with his sonnes, and a great power of the Westsaxons, came into Southwarke, but perceiuing that manie of his companie stale awaie and slipt from him, he durst not abide anie longer to enter talke with the king, as it was couenanted, but in the night next insuing fled awaie with all speed possible.

Will. Malm. Swaine eldest sonne to Goodwine banished.

Some write, how an order was prescribed that Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine should depart the land as a banished man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Goodwine and one other of his sons, that is to say, Harold should come to an other assemblie to be holden at London, accompanied with 12 seruants onelie, & to resigne all his force of knights, gentlemen and souldiers vnto the kings guiding and gouernment. But when this last article pleased nothing earle Goodwine, and that he perceiued how his force began to decline, so as he should not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and so likewise did his sonnes. He himselfe with his sonnes Swanus, Tostie, and Girth, sailed into Flanders: and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ships at Bristow, and passed into Ireland. Githa the wife of Goodwine, and Judith the wife of Tostie, the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders went ouer also with their husbands.

Earle Goodwine fled the realme.

Goodwine and his sonnes are proclaimed outlawes, their lands are giuen from them; king Edward putteth awaie the queene his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter, she cleareth hir selfe at the houre of hir death from suspicion of incontinencie and lewdnesse of life, why king Edward forbare to haue fleshlie pleasure with hir; earle Goodwine and his sonnes take preies on the coasts of Kent and Sussex; Griffin king of Wales destroieth a great part of Herefordshire, and giueth his incounterers the ouerthrow; Harold and Leofwine two brethren inuade Dorset and Summersetshires, they are resisted, but yet preuaile, they coast about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Goodwine, king Edward maketh out threescore armed ships against them, a thicke mist separateth both sides being readie to grapple and fight, a pacification betweene the king and earle Goodwine, he is restored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, counterpledges of agreement interchangablie deliuered; Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conscience, his wicked life and wretched death.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

THE king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Goodwine had refused to come to the court in such order as he had prescribed him, and that he was departed the realme with his sonnes: he proclaimed them outlawes, and gaue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the sonne of earle Leofrike, who guided the same verie woorthilie, and resigned them againe without grudging vnto the same Harold when he was returned out of exile. Also vnto earle Oddo were giuen the counties of Deuonshire and Summersetshire.

Goodwine and his sonnes proclaimed outlawes.

Moreouer, about the same time the king put his wife queene Editha from him, and appointed hir to streict keeping in the abbeie of Warwell. This Editha was a noble gentlewoman, well learned, and expert in all sciences, yet hir good name was stained somewhat, as though she had not liued so continentlie as was to be wished, both in hir husbands life time, and after his deceasse. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chanced in the daies of William Conqueror) she cleared hir selfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir soule, that she had euer liued in perfect chastitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in anie actuall maner. By this streict dealing with the queene that was daughter to earle Goodwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath seemed to manie, that king Edward forbare

The king put awaie his wife Editha.

bare to deale with hir in carnall wise, more for hatred of hir kin, than for anie other respect. But to proceed.

In the second yéere of Goodwines banishment, both he and his sonnes hauing prouided themselues of ships and men of warre conuenient for the purpose, came vpon the coasts of England, and after the maner of rouers, tooke preies where as they espied aduantage, namelie on the coasts of Kent and Sussex. In the meane time also Griffin the K. of Wales destroid a great part of Herefordshire, against whom the power of that countrie, & also manie Normans that lay in garrison within the castell of Hereford, comming to giue battell, were ouerthrowne on the same day, in the which about two and twentie yéeres before, or (as some copies haue) thirtéene yéeres, the Welshmen had slaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortlie after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuerne sea, landing on the coasts of Summersetshire and Dorsetshire, where falling to spoile, they were incountred by a power assembled out of the counties of Deuonshire and Summersetshire: but Harold put his aduersaries to flight, and slue thirtie gentlemen of honor, or thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others. Then Harold and his brethren, returning with their preie and bootie to their ships, and coasting about the point of Cornwall, came and ioined with their father & their other brethren, then soiorning in the Ile of Wight.

1052.

Hen. Hunt.

Griffin king of Wales destroieth Herefordshire.

Harold inuadeth the shires of Dorset and Summerset.

King Edward to withstand their malice, had rigged and furnished foorth sixtie ships of warre, with the which he himselfe went to the water, not sticking to lie aboord at that season, although he had appointed for capteines and admerals two earles that were his coosins, Odo and Rafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Rafe was his nephue, as sonne to his sister Goda by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. But although they were knowne to be sufficient men for the ordering of such businesse, yet he thought the necessitie to be such, as his person could not be presentlie spared. Therefore he was diligent in foreséeing of things by good aduise, although age would not giue him leaue to execute the same by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the nauies on both parts were readie to haue ioined, they were seuered by reason of a thicke mist that then rose, wherby their furious rage was restreined for that time: and immediatlie therevpon, Goodwine and his complices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortlie after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Goodwine restored home, and obteined againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was such an eloquent & wise man, that he clered and purged himselfe of all such crimes and accusations, as in anie sort had béene laid against him. Thus haue some written concerning this agréement betwixt king Edward and erle Goodwine, where other make somewhat larger report thereof, as thus.

Simon Dun.

At the same time that the two sonnes of erle Goodwine Harold and Leofwine came foorth of Ireland, and inuaded the west countrie, king Edward rigged foorth fortie ships, the which throughlie furnished with men, munition, and vittels, he sent vnto Sandwich, commanding the capteines there to wait for the comming of erle Goodwine, whom he vnderstood to be in a readinesse to returne into England: but notwithstanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, erle Goodwine secretlie with a few ships which he had got togither, ariued in Kent; and sending foorth his letters and messengers abroad to the citizens of Canturburie, to them of Sussex, Southerie, & others, required aid of them, who with one consent promised to liue and die with him.

The capteines of the nauie at Sandwich aduertised hereof, made towards the place where they thought to haue found earle Goodwine: but he being warned of their comming, escaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, wherevpon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Goodwine aduertised thereof, sailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe those seas, till his sonnes Harold and Leofwine came and ioined their nauie with his, and ceassing from spoile, onlie sought to recouer vittels to serue their turne. And increasing their power by such aid as they might any where procure, at

It séemeth that earle Goodwine was well friended.

length they came to Sandwich, wherof king Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, he sent abroad to raise all the power he might make. But they that were appointed to come vnto him, lingred time, in which meane while earle Goodwine comming into the Thames, & so vp the riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the crosse in September, being monday, and their staieng for the tide, solicited the Londoners, so that he obteined of them what he could desire.

Afterwards, without disturbance, he passed vp the riuer with the tide through the south arch of the bridge, & at the same instant, a mightie armie which he had by land, mustered in the fields on that south side the same riuer, and herewith his nauie made towards the north side of the riuer, as if they ment to inclose the kings nauie, for the king had also a nauie & an armie by land: but yet sith there were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to doo anie great feat except Englishmen, they were loth to fight one against another, wherevpon the wiser sort on both sides sought meanes to make an atonement: and so at length by their diligent trauell, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being dismissed on both parts, earle Goodwine was restored to his former dignitie. Herevpon were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to say, Wilnotus one of his sonnes, and Hacun the sonne of Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine. These two pledges were sent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more assurance of Goodwines loialtie.

Ran. Higd. Matth. West. Simon Dun. Wil Malm.

Some write that Swanus the eldest sonne of Goodwine was not reconciled to the kings fauour at this time; but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a truth, that after he had attempted sundrie rebellions against king Edward, he lastlie also rebelled against his father Goodwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, dishonouring with such manifold robberies as he made on the seas, the noble progenie whereof he was descended. Finallie vpon remorse of conscience (as hath béene thought) for murthering of his coosine (or as some say his brother) erle Bearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hierusalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as some write) in Licia: but others affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high waies, and so was murthered of them.

Ran. Higd. Will. Malms.

At what time William duke of Normandie came ouer into England, king Edward promiseth to make him his heire to the kingdom and crowne, the death of queene Emma, earle Goodwine being growne in fauor againe seeketh new reuenges of old grudges, causing archbishop Robert and certeine noble Normans his aduersaries to be banished; Stigand intrudeth himselfe into archbishop Roberts see, his simonie and lacke of learning; what maner of men were thought meet to be made bishops in those daies, king Edward beginneth to prouide for the good and prosperous state of his kingdome, his consideration of lawes made in his predecessours times and abused; the lawes of S. Edward vsuallie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and wherevpon instituted; the death of earle Goodwine being sudden (as some say) or naturall (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behauiour and his sonnes vpon presumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wiues and children; the sudden and dreadfull death of his mother; hir selling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Danish people.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

William duke of Normandie commeth ouer into England.

THE foresaide William duke of Normandie (that after conquered this land) during the time of Goodwines outlawrie, came ouer into this land with a faire retinue of men, and was ioifullie receiued of the king, and had great chéere. Now after he had taried a season, he returned into his countrie, not without great gifts of iewels and other things, which the king most

most liberallie bestowed vpon him. And (as some write) the king promised him at that time, to make him his heire to the realme of England, if he chanced to die without issue. ¶ Shortlie after, or rather somewhat before, queene Emma the kings mother died, and was buried at Winchester. *Polydor.* K. Edwards promise to duke William.

After that earle Goodwine was restored to the kings fauour, bicause he knew that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie had beene the cheefe procurer of the kings euill will towards him, he found means to weare him out of credit, and diuers other specially of the Normans, bearing the world in hand, that they had sought to trouble the state of the realme, & to set variance betwixt the king and the lords of the English nation: whereas the Normans againe alledged, that earle Goodwine and his sonnes abused the kings soft and gentle nature, & would not sticke to ieast and mocke at his curteous and mild proceedings. But howsoeuer the matter went, archbishop Robert was glad to depart out of the realme, and going to Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the iniuries that were offred him: but in returning through Normandie, he died in the abbeie of Gemmeticum, where he had bene moonke before his comming into England. The archbishop of Canturburie banished.

Diuerse others were compelled to forsake the realme at the same time, both spirituall men and temporall, as William bishop of London, and Vlfe bishop of Lincolne. Osberne named Pentecost, and his companion Hugh, were constreined to surrender their castels, and by licence of earle Leofrike withdrew thorough his countrie into Scotland, where, of king Mackbeth they were honorablie receiued. These were Normans: for (as partlie ye haue heard) king Edward brought with him no small number of that nation, when he came from thence to receiue the crowne, and by them he was altogither ruled, to the great offending of his owne naturall subiects the Englishmen, namelie earle Goodwine and his sonnes, who in those daies for their great possessions and large reuenues, were had in no small reputation with the English people. Normans banished the realme.

After that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made archbishop of Canturburie, or rather thrust himselfe into that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had doone at Winchester: for whereas he was first bishop of Shireborne, he left that church, and tooke vpon him the bishoprike of Winchester by force, and now atteining to be archbishop of Canturburie, he kept both Winchester and Canturburie in his hand at one instant. This Stigand was greatlie infamed for his couetous practises in sale of possessions apperteining to the church. He was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongest the bishops of that age, for it was openlie spoken in those daies, that he was meet onelie to be a bishop, which could vse the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleasures, rich raiment, and set himselfe foorth with a iollie retinue of gentlemen and seruants on horsse-backe, for therein stood the countenance of a bishop, as the world then went; and not in studie how to haue the people fed with the word of life, to the sauing of their soules. Stigand archbishop of Canturburie. *Ranul. Hig. Fabian.* Stigand infamed of simonie. What maner of men meet to be bishops in those daies.

King Edward now in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the state of the realme quite from troubles of warre both by sea and land, began to foresee as well for the welth of his subiects, as for himselfe, being naturallie inclined to wish well to all men. He therefore considered, how by the manifold lawes which had beene made by Britaines, Englishmen and Danes within this land, occasion was ministred to manie, which measured all things by respect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iustice, and to vse wrongfull dealing in stead of right, clouding the same vnder some branch of the lawe naughtilie misconstrued. Wherevpon to auoid that mischiefe, he picked out a summe of that huge and vnmesurable masse and heape of lawes, such as were thought most indifferent and necessarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & those most wholesome, to be from thenceforth vsed; according to whose prescript, men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. These lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and also saint Edward his lawes; so much esteemed of the Englishmen, that after the conquest, when the Normans oftentimes went about to abrogate the same, there chanced no small mutinies and rebellions *Polydor.* The lawes of S. Edward instituted.

for reteining of those lawes. But heere is to be noted, that although they were called saint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward restored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

1053. or 1054. About this time, earle Goodwine died suddenlie (as some haue recorded) as he sat at table with the king: and vpon talke ministred of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuse himselfe, he tooke a peece of bread, and did eate it, saieng; God let me neuer swallow this bread downe into my chest, but that I may presentlie be choked therewith, if euer I was weetting or consenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediatlie therewith he fell downe starke dead. Other say, that he ended his life at Winchester, where being suddenlie surprised with sicknesse, as he sat at the table with the king vpon an Easter monday; yet he liued till the Thursday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his sonne Harold; and Harolds earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the sonne of Leofrike.

Hector Boet. Polydor. Will. Malmes. Matth. West. Ran. Higd. er Mariano. Simon Dun. This is the likeliest tale.

This Goodwine, as he was a man of great power, wise, hardie, and politike; so was he ambitious, desirous to beare rule, and loth that anie other person should passe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practises to bring himselfe and his sonnes to the chiefe seat of gouernement in the kingdome, or that of hatred such slanders were raised of him, it may of some perhaps be doubted; because that in the daies of king Edward (which was a soft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and so might procure to himselfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amisse: as oftentimes it commeth to passe in such cases, where those that haue great dooings in the gouernement of the common wealth, are commonlie euill spoken of, and that now and then without their guilt. But truth it is, that Goodwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predecessors, did manie things (as should appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and so likewise did his sonnes; vpon presumption of the great puissance that they and their father were of within the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

He had to wife Editha, the sister of king Cnute, of whome he begat three sonnes (as some write) that is to say, Harold, Biorne, & Tostie: also his daughter Editha, whome he found meanes to bestow in mariage vpon K. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one son by Cnutes sister, the which in riding of a rough horsse was throwen into the riuer of Thames, and so drowned. His mother also was stricken with a thunderbolt, & so perished worthilie (as is reported) for hir naughtie dooings. She vsed to buy great numbers of yoong persons, and namelie maids that were of anie excellent beautie and personage, whome she sent ouer into Denmarke, and there sold them to hir most aduantage. After hir deceasse (as the same authors record) Goodwine maried another woman, by whome he had issue six sonnes, Swanus or Swaine, Harrold, Tostie or Tosto, Wilnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is & shall be made, as places conuenient shall serue thereto.

Polydor.

Will. Malm.

Edward earle of Northumberland discomfiteth Macbeth the vsurper of the Scotish kingdome and placeth Malcolme in the same, a controuersie whether Siward were at this discomfiture or no; his stout words when he heard that one of his sonnes was slaine in the field, bishop Aldred is sent to fetch home Edward the sonne of K. Edmund Ironside into England; earle Algar being banished ioineth with the Welshmen against the English and Normans, and getteth the victorie; Harold the son of earle Goodwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their shifts by pursute, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hosts, Siward earle of Northumberland dieth; his giantlike stature, his courageous heart at the time of his deceasse, why Tostie one of Goodwins sonnes succeeded him in the earledome.

THE FIFT CHAPTER.

Matth. West. 1054. *Hector Boet.* ABOUT the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as some write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yeare, as should appeare by the Scotish writers, Siward the noble

noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horssemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vsurped the crowne of Scotland, and that doone, placed Malcolme surnamed Camoir, the sonne of Duncane, sometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward slue the said Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our English writers say, that this Malcolme was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be sonne to the king of Cumberland. But heere is to be noted, that if Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then slaine by Malcolme, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our writers doo testifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the same writers affirme) that he vanquished Mackbeth in fight, and slue manie thousands of Scots, and all those Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawen into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England. *Simon Dun. M. West.*

It is recorded also, that in the foresaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquished the Scots, one of Siwards sonnes chanced to be slaine, whereof although the father had good cause to be sorowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting stoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioised thereat, to heare that he died so manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. saith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himselfe in person, he sent his sonne with an armie to conquere the land, whose hap was there to be slaine: and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued in the forepart; "I reioise (saith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wish either to my sonne nor to my selfe any other kind of death."

Shortlie after, Aldred the bishop of Worcester was sent vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to sée, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare after he came into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Winchester, or (as an other saith) in the church of S. Pauls in London. *Matth. West.* 1057. *Henr. Hunt.* 1055.

¶ About the same time K. Edward by euill counsell (I wot not vpon what occasion, but as it is thought without cause) banished Algar the sonne of earle Leofrike: wherevpon he got him into Ireland, and there prouiding 18 ships of rouers, returned, & landing in Wales, ioined himselfe with Griffin the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of which place Rafe was then earle, that was sonne vnto Goda the sister of K. Edward by hir first husband Gualter de Maunt. This earle assembling an armie, came forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Englishmen contrarie to their manner to fight on horssebacke, but being readie (on the two & twentith of October) to giue the onset in a place not past two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and so the rest were discomfited, whome the aduersaries pursued, and slue to the number of 500, beside such as were hurt and escaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obteined this victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, set the minster on fire, slue seuen of the canons that stood to defend the doores or gates of the principall church, and finallie spoiled and burned the towne miserablie. *Matth. West. Simon Dun.* The Welshmen obteine the victorie against Englishmen and Normans.

The king aduertised hereof, gathered an armie, ouer the which Harold the sonne of earle Goodwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, & staied not, till hauing passed through Stratcluid, he came to the mountaines of Snowdon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durst not abide him, but got them into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertised, left the more part of his armie in Northwales to resist the enimies there, & with the residue of his people came backe vnto Hereford, recouered the towne, and caused a great and mightie trench to be cast round about it, with an high rampire, and fensed it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did so much, that comming to a communication with Griffin and Algar at a place called Biligelhage, a peace was concluded, and so the nauie of earle Algar sailed about, and came to Chester, Stratcluid. Snowdon. The citie of Hereford fortified by Harold.

Chester, there to remaine, till the men of warre and marriners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offense, & restored him to his earledome.

The deceasse of Siward earle of Northumberland. *Ran. Higd.*

After this, in the verie same yeare, being the 16 of king Edwards reigne, as some writers affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flix, of whom it is said, that when he perceiued the houre of death to be néere, he caused him selfe to be put in armour, & set vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that sort, rather than lieng on a couch like a féeble and fainthearted creature: and sitting so vpright in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. [O stout harted man, not vnlike to that famous Romane remembred by Tullie in his "Tusculane questions," who suffered the sawing of his leg from his bodie without shrinking, looking vpon the surgeon all the while, & hauing no part of his bodie bound for shrinking.] The said Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike stature, & thereto of a verie stout and hardie courage, & because his sonne Walteif was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the earledome was giuen vnto earle Tostie one of Goodwins sonnes.

Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside is sent for to be made heire apparant to the crowne, his death, the deceasse of Leofrike earle of Chester, the vertues and good deeds of him and his wife Gudwina, Couentrie free from custome and toll, churches and religious places builded and repared, Algar succeedeth his father Leofrike in the earledome, he is accused of treason and banished, he recouereth his earledome by force of armes; Harold is sent with a power against Griffin king of Wales; the countrie wasted, and the people forced to yeeld, they renounce Griffin their king, kill him, and send his head to Harold, Griffins bretbren rule Wales after him by grant of king Edward; Harolds infortunate going ouer into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him prisoner, and releaseth him at the request of William duke of Normandie, for whose vse Harold sweareth to keepe possession of the realme of England, the duke promiseth him his daughter in mariage.

THE SIXT CHAPTER.

NOT long after, in the yeare 1057, Aldred bishop of Worcester, was sent ouer vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the sonne of Edmund Ironside into England, whome king Edward was desirous to sée, meaning to ordeine him heire apparant to the crowne: but he died the same yeare, after that he was returned into England. This Edward was surnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Westminster, or (as others say) in the church of S. Paule within London. The same yeare, that is to say, in the seuentéenth yeare or in the sixtéenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as some write) Leofrike the noble earle of Chester, or Mercia, that was sonne to duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne towne of Bromelie on the last day of August, and was buried at Couentrie in the abbeie there which he had builded. This earle Leofrike was a man of great honor, wise and discréet in all his dooings. His high wisdome and policie stood the realme in great stéed whilest he liued.

Edward the outlaw departed this life. 1057.

Leofrike earle of Chester departed this life. *Ran. Higd. Mat. West.*

Couentrie made frée of toll and custome.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwina, at whose earnest sute he made the citie of Couentrie frée of all manner of toll, except horsses: and to haue that toll laid downe also, his foresaid wife rode naked through the middest of the towne without other couerture, saue onlie hir haire. Moreouer, partlie moued by his owne deuotion, and partlie by the persuasion of his wife, he builded or beneficiallie augmented and repared manie abbeies & churches, as the said abbeie or priorie at Couentrie, the abbeies of Wenlocke, Worcester, Stone, Euesham, and Leof besides Hereford. Also he builded two churches within the citie

citie of Chester, the one called S. Iohns, and the other S. Werbrough. The value of the iewels & ornaments which he bestowed on the abbeie church of Couentrie, was inestimable. Churches in Chester built.

After Leofriks death, his sonne Algar was made earle, and intituled in all his lands and seigniories. In the yeare following, to wit, 1058, the same Algar was accused againe (through malice of some enuious persons) of treason, so that he was exiled the land, whereupon he repaired againe vnto his old friend Griffin prince of Northwales, of whome he was ioifullie receiued, & shortlie after by his aid, & also by the power of a nauie of ships that by chance arriued in those parts at that selfe same season vnlooked for out of Norwaie, the said Algar recouered his earledome by force, as some haue written. King Edward about the twentith yeare of his reigne, as then remaining at Glocester, appointed earle Harold to inuade the dominions of Griffin king of Wales. Harold taking with him a power of horssemen, made spéed, and came to Rutland, and there burned Griffins palace, and also his ships, and then about Midlent returned againe into England. *Henr. Hunt.* Algar earle of Chester exiled. 1058. *Simon Dun.* 1063. *Simon Dun. Mat. West.*

After this, about the Rogation wéeke, Harold eftsoones by the kings commandement went against the Welshmen, and taking the sea, sailed by Bristow, round about the coast, compassing in maner all Wales. His brother Tostie that was earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an host of horssemen, and so ioining togither, they destroied the countrie of Wales in such sort, that the Welshmen were compelled to submit themselues, to deliuer hostages, and conditioned to paie the ancient tribute which before time they had paied. And moreouer, they renounced their prince the forenamed Griffin, so that he remained as a banished person: and finallie, about the fift day of August, they slue him, and sent his head to earle Harold. Afterwards king Edward granted the rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, & Riuall, Griffins two brethren, which did homage vnto him for the same, and had serued vnder Harold against their brother the foresaid Griffin. There be which write, that not onelie Griffin, but also another of his brethren called Rice, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all the sauage people of Wales reduced into the forme of good order vnder the subiection of king Edward. Wales destroied and harried by the Englishmen. The Welshmen agrée to pay their accustomed tribute. 1064. *Wil. Malm. Simon Dun.* *Wil. Malm.*

Shortlie after, earle Harold chanced to passe ouer into Normandie, whither of hap or of purpose it is hard to define, writers doo varie so much in report thereof. Some write that he made earnest sute to king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to sée his brother Wilnot, and his nephue Hacune, which (as ye haue heard) were deliuered as pledges to king Edward, & sent into Normandie to remaine there with duke William, and at length with much adoo, got leaue: but yet he was told aforehand of the king, that he would repent his iournie, and doo the thing that should be preiudiciall to the realme. Other write that Harold lieng at his manor of Bosham, went aboord one day into his fishers boat or craier, and caused the same to lanch forth to the sea for his pleasure: but by misfortune at the same time, a contrarie wind suddenlie came about, and droue the vessell on land into France vpon the coast of Ponthieu, where he was taken by the countrie people, & presented to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido, who kept him as prisoner, meaning to put him to a grieuous ransome. But Harold remembring himselfe of a wile, dispatched a messenger forth with all spéed vnto William duke of Normandie, signifieng vnto him, that he being sent from king Edward to confirme such articles, as other meane men that had béene sent vnto him afore had talked of, by chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of Ponthieu, and kept as prisoner against all order of law, reason, or humanitie. Duke William thus informed by the messenger, sent to the earle of Ponthieu, requiring him to set earle Harold at libertie, that he might repaire to him according to his commission. The earle of Ponthieu at the dukes request, did not onelie restore Harold to his libertie, but also brought him into Normandie, and presented him there to the duke, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued. Harold goeth ouer into Normandie. *Polydor.* *Edmerus.* *Mat. West.* *Wil. Malm.* Harold is presented to William duke of Normandie. *Hen. Hunt.*

There be that agrée partlie with this report, and partlie varie: for they write, that earle Harold tooke the sea vpon purpose to haue sailed into Flanders, and that by force of wind he was driuen to the coast of Ponthieu, and so after came into Normandie in maner as before is mentioned. But by what means or occasion soeuer he came thither, certeine it is, that

Harold was highlie welcomed of duke William.

that he was ioifullie receiued, and had great chéere made him by the said duke William, who at that time was readie to make a iournie against the Britains, and tooke earle Harold with him to haue his companie in armes in that iournie, that he might haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harold behaued himselfe so, that he shewed good proofe both of his wisedome and policie, and also of his forwardnesse to execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuised, so that duke William had him in high fauour, and (as it hath béene said) earle Harold (to procure him more friendship at the dukes hands) declared vnto him, that king Edward had ordeined him his heire if he died without issue, and that he would not faile to kéepe the realme of England to the dukes vse, according to that ordinance, if K. Edward died without issue. And to performe this promise, he receiued a corporall oth, whether willinglie to win the more credit, or forced thereto by duke William, writers report it diuerslie. At the same time, duke William promised vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harold couenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Matth. West. Duke William promised to Harold his daughter in marriage.

Harold at his returne into England reporteth to K. Edward what he had doone beyond the seas, and what the king said vnto him in that behalfe, who foresaw the comming of the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and why king Edward promised to make duke William his heire, (wherein note his subtiltie) dissention betwixt Harold and Tostie two brethren the sonnes of earle Goodwine, their vnnaturall and cruell dealing one with another, speciallie of the abhominable and merciles murthers committed by Tostie, against whome the Northumbers rebell vpon diuerse occasions, and reward him with answerable reuengement; Harold is sent against them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne home if they might haue a new gouernor; they renounce Tostie and require Marchar in his roome, Tostie displeased getteth him into Flanders; king Edward dieth, his manners and disposition note-woorthie, his charitie and deuotion, the vertue of curing the maladie called the kings euill, deriued from him to the succeeding kings of this land, he was warned of his death by a ring, he is canonized for a saint, the last woords that he spake on his death-bed, wherein he vttered to the standers by a vision, prophesieng that England should be inhabited with strangers, a description of the kings person, of a blasing starre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the Westsaxon kings, how long they continued, the names of their predecessors and successors; whence the first kings of seuen kingdoms of Germanie had their pedegree, &c.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

Polydor.

NOW when Harold should returne into England, duke William deliuered him his nephue Hacune, but kept his brother Wilnote with him still as a pledge. Then went earle Harold into England, and declared vnto king Edward what he had doone, who said vnto him; "Did not I tell thee that thou wouldest doo the thing whereof thou shouldest repent thee, and procure a mischiefe to follow vnto thy countrie? But God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this realme, or at the least, if it be his pleasure, that it must needs come to passe, yet to staie it till after my daies!" Some by Harolds purposed going ouer into Normandie, doo gather, that king Edward foresaw the comming of the Normans; and that he meant nothing lesse, than to performe the promise made vnto duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which promise should séeme to be made in time of his banishment, when he stood in néed of his friendship; as the maner of men in such cases is, to promise much, how so euer they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be thought, that king Edward had made no such promise at all, but perceiued the ambitious desire of duke William, and therefore would not that anie occasion should be ministred vnto him to take hold of. Wherefore, he was loth that Harold should go ouer vnto him, least that might happen, which happened indéed.

When the promise was made by king Edward to make duke William his heire.

In

In the foure and twentieth and last yéere of king Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle Tostie at Windsor, where the court then lay, in so much that earle Harold caught Tostie by the haire of the head in the kings presence, and stroke him. Heervpon, Tostie departing from the court in great anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales, where Harolds seruants were preparing for the kings comming to their maisters house, which seruants he tooke and slue, chopping them in péeces, and threw into this hogshead of wine a leg, into that barrell of sider an arme, into this vessell of ale an head: and so into the lomes of meth and tubs of brine and other liquor he bestowed the parts of the dead carcasses of his brothers seruants, sending the king woord that he had prouided at his brothers manor, against his cõming, good plentie of sowse & powdred meat, whatsoeuer he should find beside.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Fabian.

Falling out betwixt brethren.

The cruell dealing of earle Tostie.

The rumor of this cruell deed sprang ouer all the realme, wherevpon the Northumbers, whome he had gouerned for the space of ten yéeres verie cruellie, tooke occasion to rebell against him, and slue his seruants both Englishmen and Danes, spoiled his houses, and tooke awaie his horsses, his armour, and all other his goods and houshold stuffe. The chiefest cause (as is remembred by some writers) that mooued the Northumbers thus to rise and rebell against Tostie, was for the detestable murther of certeine gentlemen of their countrie, seruants unto Gospatrike, whom the queene in behalfe of hir brother had caused to be slaine in the court by treason, in the fourth night of Christmas last past, and also in reuenge of other noble men, which in the last yéere Tostie himselfe had commanded to be murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither he had allured them to come vnder colour of concluding a peace with them. Also the gréeuous paiments, wherewith he charged the people of that countrie, set them in a great rage against him.

The Northumbers rebell against Tostie their earle.

But the king aduertised héereof, liked not their dooings, for that they had doone it without commandement or commission, and therefore sent earle Harold with an armie to chastise them, but they were strong inough to withstand him, as those which were assembled in armour togither with the people of Lincolneshire, Notinghamshire, and Darbishire, and hauing with them Marcharus or Malcharus, the sonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as Northhampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts. Howbeit to haue the kings peace, they offered to returne home, so that they might haue an other earle appointed them, for that they plainlie protested, that they being freemen, borne and bred out of bondage, might not suffer anie cruell gouernor to rule ouer them, being taught by their ancestors, either to liue in libertie, or to die in defense thereof. If therefore it might please the king to assigne Marcharus the son of earle Algar to be their ruler, he should see how obedient subiects they would prooue & shew themselues to be, when they should be vsed after a reasonable and courteous manner. All things considered, their request seemed reasonable, or at least it was thought necessarie that it should be granted. And so was Marcharus or Malcherus made earle of Northumberland. Tostie in great displeasure with his wife and children sailed ouer into Flanders, and there remained till after the deceasse of king Edward.

Wil. Malm.

Marcharus made earle of Northumberland.

Finallie, after that this courteous prince king Edward had reigned thrée and twentie yéeres, seuen moneths, and od daies, he departed this life at London the fourth of Ianuarie, and was buried in the church of Westminster, which he had in his life time roiallie repared, after such a statelie sort as few churches in those daies were like therevnto within this realme, so that afterwards the same was a paterne for other to be built after the same forme. This Edward was a prince of such a vertuous disposition of mind, that his fame of holinesse sprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and shedding of bloud, in so much that when he liued as a banished man in Normandie, he had this saieng oftentimes in his mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to obteine the kingdome by the slaughter and death of anie man. He could not abide to haue the people oppressed with tributes or exactions, in so much that he caused the paiement called Danegilt (which had continued for the space almost of fortie yéeres) to ceasse. It hath beene said, that when the collectors of this monie, or some other subsidie, had got an huge quantitie of treasure togither, they

K. Edward departed this life. *Simon Dun.*

K. Edward his maners and disposition of mind described.

A diuell fetching gambols.

brought it vnto him, and laid it altogither vpon an heape, so to delight his eies: but he declaring that he saw a diuell plaieng and fetching gambols about that heape of monie, commanded that it should be had awaie, and restored againe to them of whome it was leauied.

In diet and apparell he was spare and nothing sumptuous: and although on high feasts he ware rich apparell, as became the maiestie of his roiall personage: yet he shewed no proud nor loftie countenance, rather praising God for his bountifull goodnesse towards him extended, than estéeming heerein the vaine pompe of the world. The pleasure that he tooke chieflie in this world for the refreshing of his wits, consisted onelie in hawking and hunting, which exercises he dailie vsed, after he had first beene in the church at diuine seruice. In other things he seemed wholie giuen to a deuout trade of life, charitable to the poore, and verie liberall, namelie to hospitals and houses of religion in the parties of beyond the sea, wishing euer that the moonks and religious persons of his realme would haue followed the vertue and holinesse of life vsed amongst them of forren parties. As hath béene thought he was inspired with the gift of prophesie, and also to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diseases. He vsed to helpe those that were vexed with the disease, commonlie called the kings euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his successors the kings of this realme.

A tale of a ring.

He was warned (as hath béene reported) of his death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that was brought him by certeine pilgrims comming from Hierusalem, which ring he had secretlie giuen to a poore man that asked his charitie in the name of God and saint Iohn the Euangelist. But to conclude, such was the opinion conceiued of his holinesse of life, that shortlie after his decease, he was canonized amongst the number of saints, and named Edward the Confessor. Whilest he lay sicke of that sicknesse, whereof at length he died, after he had remained for two daies speechlesse, the third day after when he had laine for a time in a slumber or soft sléepe, at the time of his waking he fetched a déepe sigh, and thus said; "Oh Lord God almightie, if this be not a vaine fantasticall illusion, but a true vision which I haue séene, grant me space to vtter the same vnto these that stand héere present, or else not." And herewith hauing his speech perfect, he declared how he had séene two moonks stand by him as he thought, whome in his youth he knew in Normandie to haue liued godlie, and died christianlie. "These moonks (said he) protesting to me that they were the messengers of God, spake these words; Bicause the chéefe gouernors of England, the bishops and abbats, are not the ministers of God, but the diuels, the almightie God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yéere and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked spirits shall walke abroad through the whole land. And when I made answer that I would declare these things to the people, and promised on their behalfe, that they should doo penance in following the example of the Niniuites: they said againe, that it would not be, for neither should the people repent, nor God take anie pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an end of these miseries said I? Then said they; When a grene trée is cut in sunder in the middle, and the part cut off is caried three acres bredth from the stocke, and returning againe to the stoale, shall ioine therewith, and begin to bud & beare fruit after the former maner, by reason of the sap renewing the accustomed nourishment; then (I say) may there be hope that such euils shall ceasse and diminish." ¶ With which words of the king, though some other that stood by were brought in feare, yet archbishop Stigand made but a ieast thereof, saieng, that the old man raued now in his sickenesse, as men of great yéeres vse to doo. Neuerthelesse the truth of this prophesie afterwards too plainlie appeared, when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither gouernor, bishop, nor abbat remaining therein of the English nation. But now to make an end with king Edward, he was of person comelie, & of an indifferent stature, of white haire, both head and beard, of face ruddie, and in all parts of his bodie faire skinned, with due state and proportion of lims as was thereto conuenient. In the yéere before the death of king Edward, a blasing starre appeared, the which when a moonke of Malmesburie named Eilmer beheld, he vttered these words (as it were by way of prophesieng:)

King Edward canonized for a saint. *Wil. Malms. Matt. Westm.*

sieng:) Thou art come (saith he) thou art come, much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long agone sith I saw thée, but now I doo behold thee the more terrible, threatening destruction to this countrie by thy dreadfull appearance. In the person of king Edward ceased by his death the noble progenie of the Westsaxon kings, which had continued from the first yeare of the reigne of Cerdike or Cerdicius, the space of 547 yeeres complet. And from Egbert 266 yéeres.

Moreouer, sith the progenie of the Saxon kings seemeth wholie to take end with this Edward surnamed the Confessor, or the third of that name before the conquest, we haue thought good for the better helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a catalog of the names as well of those that reigned among the Westsaxons (who at length, as ye haue heard, obteined the whole monarchie) as also of them which ruled in the other seuen kingdomes before the same were vnited vnto the said kingdome of the Westsaxons, which catalog you shall find in the description of Britaine, pag. 31, 32, 33.

Here is to be remembred, that as partlie before is expressed, we find in some old writers, how the first kings of seuen kingdomes of the Germane nation that bare rule in this Ile, fetcht their pedegrées from one Woden, who begat of Frea his wife seuen sonnes, that is to say, 1 Vecta, of whome came the kings of Kent, 2 Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia descended, 3 Balday, of whose race the kings of the Westsaxons had their originall, 4 Beldagius, ancestor to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Wegodach or Wegdagus, from whome came the kings of Deira, 6 Caser, from whome procéeded the kings of the Eastangles, 7 Nascad alias Saxuad, of whome the kings of the Eastsaxons had their beginning. And here you must note, that although the kings of the eight kingdome, that is, of the Southsaxons or Sussex, were descended of the same people, yet were they not of the same line. By other it should séeme, that Woden had but fiue sonnes: as Vecta, great grandfather to Hengist; Wepedeg, ancestor to the kings of the Eastangles; Viclac, from whome proceeded the kings of Mercia; Saxuad, from whom the kings of Essex came; and Beldag, of whose generation proceeded the kings of the Southsaxons, Westsaxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there be that bring the genealogie from Noe to Noah, the sonne of Lamech, which Noe was the 9 in descent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Noe, as you shall find in the historie of England, lib. 6. pag. 663. Noe was the father to Sem the father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod, the father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Seaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldua, the father of Beatu or Beau, the father of Teathwij alias Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwise Godulph, the father of Fritwolfe otherwise Friuin, the father of Freolaf alias Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderwald, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Othen.

Matt. West.

Simon Dun. Io. Textor.

The peeres are in doubt to whome the rule of the land should be committed, why they durst not that Edgar Edeling should vndertake it though he was interessed to the same, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right to the crowne, Harold the sonne of earle Goodwine crowned, proclaimed, and consecrated king; his subtill and adulatorie meanes to win the peoples fauour; duke William sendeth ambassadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promise passed to the said duke for his furtherance to obteine the crowne; Harolds negatiue answer to the said ambassage, as also to the marieng of the dukes daughter which was Harolds owne voluntarie motion; he prouideth against the inuasions of the enimie as one doubting afterclaps, a blasing starre of seuen daies continuance.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

KING Edward being thus departed this life, the péeres of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might best commit the roiall gouernement of the realme. For

HAROLD. K. Edward departed this life An. Christi

1065, after the account of the church of England.

For there was not anie among them that had iust title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpon him. For although Edgar surnamed Edeling, the sonne of Edward the outlaw, that was sonne of Edmund Ironside, was at the same time latelie come into England, with his mother and sisters out of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that he was but a child, & not of sufficient age to beare rule, they durst not as then commit the gouernement of the realme vnto him, least (as some haue thought) his tendernesse of age might first breed a contempt of his person, and therewith minister occasion to ciuill discord, whereby a shipwracke of the estate might ensue, to the great annoie and present ouerthrow of such as then liued in the same. But what consideration soeuer they had in this behalfe, they ought not to haue defrauded the yoong gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and seene, God, whose prouidence and mightie power is shewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned states and kingdomes oftentimes in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great discretion.

Matth. Wrst. Polydor.

Edeling, that is, a noble man, and such one as is come of the kings bloud.

But to the purpose, beside the doubt which rested among the lords, how to bestow the crowne, the manifold and strange woonders, which were seene and heard in those dales, betokening (as men thought) some change to be at hand in the state of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie bicause they stood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the second and third degree. For Richard the first of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the second, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by hir husband Ethelred. Richard the second had also issue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had issue William, surnamed the bastard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his cosine king Edward, made claime (as is said) to the crowne of England.

Dukes of Normandie.

Whilest the lords were thus studieng and consulting what should be best for them to doo in these doubts, Harold, the son of Goodwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himselfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, bicause of the great confidence and opinion which they had latelie conceiued of his valiancie. Some write (among whome Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordeined before his death, that Harold should succeed him as heire to the crowne, and that therevpon the lords immediatlie after the said Edwards deceasse, crowned Harold for their king, and so he was consecrated by Aldred archbishop of Yorke, according to the custom and maner of the former kings, or (as other affirme) he set the crowne on his owne head without anie the accustomed ceremonies, in the yeere after the birth of our sauiour 1066, or in the yeere of Christ 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

Harold proclaimed king of England.

Edmerus.

Matth. West.

But how and whensoeuer he came to the seat roiall of this kingdome, certeine it is, that this Harold in the beginning of his reigne, considering with himselfe how and in what sort he had taken vpon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intrusion than by anie lawfull right, studied by all meanes which way to win the peoples fauour, and omitted no occasion whereby he might shew anie token of bountious liberalitie, gentlenesse and courteous behauiour towards them. The greeuous customes also and taxes which his predecessors had raised, he either abolished or diminished: the ordinarie wages of his seruants and men of warre he increased, and further shewed himselfe verie well bent to all vertue and goodnesse, whereby he purchased no small fauor among such as were his subiects.

Harold séeketh to win the peoples hearts.

Sim. Dunel.

Whilest Harold went about thus to steale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for sundrie ambassadours from William the bastard duke of Normandie, with commission to require him to remember his oth sometime made to the said William in the time of his extremitie, which was, that he the said Harold should aid him in the obteining of the crowne of England, if king Edward should happen to die without issue. This couenant he made (as it is supposed) in king Edwards daies, when (by licence of the same Edward, or rather (as Edmerus writeth) against his will) he went ouer into Normandie to visit his brethren, which laie there as pledges.

An ambassage from Normandie.

Howbeit at this present, Harolds answer to the said ambassadors was, that he would be readie to gratifie the duke in all that he could demand, so that he would not aske the realme, which alreadie he had in his full possession. And further he declared vnto them (as some write) that as for the oth which he had made in times past vnto duke William, the same was but a constreined & no voluntarie oth, which in law is nothing; since thereby he tooke vpon him to grant that which was not in his power to giue, he being but a subiect whilest king Edward was liuing. For if a promised vow or oth which a maid maketh concerning the bestowing of hir bodie in hir fathers house, without his consent, is made void; much more an oth by him made that was a subiect, and vnder the rule of a king, without his souereignes consent, ought to be void and of no value. He alledged moreouer, that as for him to take an oth to deliuer the inheritance of anie realme without the generall consent of the estates of the same, could not be other than a great peece of presumption, yea although he might haue iust title therevnto; so it was an vnreasonable request of the duke at this present to will him to renounce the kingdome, the gouernance whereof he had alreadie taken vpon him, with so great fauor and good liking of all men. K. Harolds answer. *Eadmerus.* *Matth. West.*

Duke William hauing receiued this answer, and nothing liking thereof, sent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the least-wise, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promise; in refusing whereof he could make no sound allegation, bicause it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his absolute power, both to grant and to performe. But Harold being of a stout courage, with proud countenance frowned vpon the Norman ambassadors, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yeeld therevnto in any maner of wise. And so with other talke tending to the like effect he sent them away without anie further answer. The daughter of duke William whome Harold should haue maried, was named Adeliza, as Gemeticensis saith, and with hir (as the same author writeth) it was couenanted by duke William, that Harold should inioy halfe the realme in name of hir dower. Howbeit some write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the comming of these ambassadors, and that Harold therevpon thought himselfe discharged of the oth and couenants made to duke William, and therefore sent them away with such an vntoward answer. Duke William eftsoones sendeth to king Harold. *Gemeticensis.* *Wil. Malm.*

But howsoeuer it was, after the departure of these ambassadors, king Harold (doubting what would insue) caused his ships to be newlie rigged, his men of warre to be mustered, and speedilie put in a readinesse, to the end that if anie sudden inuasion should be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to resist them. ¶ About the same time also, and vpon the 24 of Aprill (whilest Harold was making prouision to withstand the Norman force), there appeared a blasing starre, which was seene not onelie here in England, but also in other parts of the world, and continued the space of seuen daies. This blasing starre might be a prediction of mischéefe imminent & hanging ouer Harolds head; for they neuer appeare but as prognosticats of afterclaps. To be resolutelie instructed herein, doo but peruse a treatise intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blasing starres published by a bishop of Mentz in Latine, and set foorth in English by Abraham Fleming vpon the apparition of a blasing starre seene in the southwest, on the 10 of Nouember 1577, and dedicated to the right worshipfull sir William Cordell knight, then maister of hir maiesties rolles, &c. *Polydor.* *Rog. Houed.* *Simon Dun.*

Earle Tostie afflicteth his brother Harold on sea and land, he taketh the repulse, and persuadeth Harfager king of Norweie to attempt the conquest of England against Harold, Harfager & Tostie with their powers arriue at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers vnder the conduct of Edwine and Marchar, and discomfit them; Harold leuieth an armie against them, the rare valiantnes of a Norwegian souldier; Harfager and Tostie slaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and flie; Harolds vnequall and parciall diuiding of the spoile, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amisse.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

WHILEST Harold desirous to reteine, and verie loth to let go his vsurped roialtie, had crackt his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd reuolting from voluntarie promises ratified with solemne othes, had also kindled the fire of the dukes furie against him; it came to passe, that the proud and presumptuous man was (to begin withall) vexed in his owne flesh, I meane his owne kinred. For Tostie the brother of king Harold (who in the daies of king Edward for his crueltie had beene chased out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, assembled a nauie of ships from diuers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, & there spoiled the countrie, and afterward sailing about by the coasts of Kent, he tooke sundrie preies their also, and came at the last to Sandwich: so that Harold was now constreined to appoint the nauie which he had prepared against the Normans, to go against his brother earle Tostie. Whereof the said Tostie being aduertised, drew towards Lindsey in Lincolnshire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrie, both with sword and fire, till at length Edwine earle of Mercia, and Marchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings nauie, chased him from thence, and caused him to flie into Scotland, not without some losse both of his men and ships.

Tostie seeketh to disquiet his brother. *Matt. West. saith but 40. Polydor. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dun.*

Wil. Malm. Tostie repelled. *Polydor. Ran. Higd.*

This trouble was scarse quieted, but streightwaies another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the first. For Tostie, perceiuing that he could get no aid in Scotland to make anie acccount of, sailed forth into Norweie, and there persuaded Harold Harfager king of that realme, to saile with an armie into England, persuading him that by meanes of ciuill dissention latelie kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not so) it should be an easie matter for him to make a conquest of the whole realme, and reigne ouer them as his predecessors had done before. Some authors affirme, that Harold king of Norwey tooke this enterprise in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Tostie, saieng, that Tostie meeting with him in Scotland, did persuade him to go forward in his purposed busines, and that the said Harold Harfager with all conuenient speed passed foorth, & with a nauie of 300 saile entered into the riuer of Tine, where after he had rested a few daies to refresh his people, earle Tostie came also with his power (according to an appointment which should be made betweene them.) They ad furthermore, that they sailed forth alongst the coast, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, & then drawing vp against the streame of the riuer Owse, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they set forward to inuade the countrie, & neere vnto Yorke on the northside of the citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the earls Edwine and Marchar (two brethren) and there discomfited and chased them into the citie, with great slaughter and bloudshed.

Harold Harfager king of Norweie.

Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun. saith 500.

The Norwegians arriue in Humber. Richall. *Hen. Hunt.*

The English men diso mfited.

This battell was fought on the euen of S. Matthew the apostle, as saith *Si. Dun.*

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matt. West.

Harold king of England being aduertised of this chance, made the more hast forward (for he was alreadie in the field with his armie, intending also to come towards his enimies) so that vpon the fift day after he came to Stamford bridge, finding there the said king Harfager and Tostie readie imbattelled, he first assailed those that kept the bridge, where (as some writers affirme) a Norwegian souldier with his axe defended the passage, mauger the whole host of the Englishmen, and slue fortie of them or more with his axe, & might not be ouercome, till an Englishman went with a boat vnder the said bridge, and through an hole thereof thrust him vp into

into the bodie with his speare: yet Matt. West. saith that he was slaine with a dart which one of king Harold his seruants threw at him, & so ended his life. Which bridge being woone, the whole host of the Englishmen passed ouer, and ioined with their enimies, and after a verie great and sore battell put them all to flight. The Norwegians discomfited.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the Norwegians was slaine, & so was Tostie the king of England his brother, besides a great number of other, as well in the battell as in the chase: neither did the Englishmen escape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time verie stoutlie, beating downe and killing great numbers of such as assailed them with great courage and assurance. The residue of the Norwegians that were left to keepe their ships vnder the guiding of Olaue sonne to the king of Norwaie, and Paule earle of Orkneie, after they vnderstood by their fellowes that escaped from the field, how the mater went with Harfager and Tostie, they hoised vp their sailes and directed their course homewards, bearing sorowfull newes with them into their countrie, of the losse of their king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write, that the king of England permitted them franklie to depart with 20 ships, hauing first caused them to deliuer such hostages as they had receiued of the citizens of Yorke. Harold reioising in that he had atteined so glorious a victorie, and being now surprised with pride and couetousnesse togither, he diuided the spoile of the field nothing equallie, but to such as he fauored he distributed liberallie, and to other (though they had much better deserued) he gaue nothing at all, reteining still the best part of all to himselfe, by reason whereof he lost the fauor of manie of his men, who for this his discourtesie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him. This doone, he repaired to Yorke, and there staied for a time to reforme the disordered state of the countrie, which by reason of these warres was greatlie out of frame. The king of Norwaie and Tostie slaine. This battell was fought on the 25 of September as saith *Si. Dun.* *Matth. West.* *Simon Dun.* *M. West.* Vnequall diuiding of the spoile. *Wil. Malm.*

¶ But Harold being more presumptuous and foole-hardie, than prouident and wise in his enterprise, bending all his force to redresse enormities in those quarters of Yorkeshire (much like vnto him, whom the Comediographer marketh for a foole, "Ea tantùm quæ ad pedes iacent contemplans, non autem ventura præuidens") neglected the kinglie care which he should haue had of other parts of his realme, from the which he had withdrawen himselfe, and (as it is likelie) had not left sufficientlie prouided of a conuenient vicegerent to gouerne the same by his warranted authoritie, and such fortifications as might expell and withstand the enimie. Which want of foresight gaue occasion to the enimie to attempt an inuasion of the English coasts, as in the next chapt. shall be shewed.

William duke of Normandie prepareth to inuade England and to conquere it, the earle of Flanders and the French king assist him, the number of his ships, hir arriuall at Peuensey in Sussex, vpon what occasions he entred this realme; the pope liked well duke Williams attempt, why king Harold was hated of the whole court of Rome; why duke William would not suffer his souldiers to wast the countries where they came; Harold goeth towards his enimies, why his vnskilfull espials tooke the Normans (being old beaten souldiers) for priests; Girth dissuadeth his brother Harold from present incountering with the duke; where note the conscience that is to be had of an oth, and that periurie can not scape vnpunished.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

WILLIAM duke of Normandie hauing knowledge after what maner K. Harold was busied in the north parts of his realme, and vnderstanding that the south parts thereof remained destitute of due prouision for necessarie defense, hasted with all diligence to make his puruiance of men and ships, that he might vpon such a conuenient occasion set forward to inuade his enimie. And amongest other of his friends, vnto whome he laboured for aid, his father in law Baldwine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefest, who vpon promise of great summes of monie *Ja. Meir.* Baldwine earle of Flanders

aided duke William to conquere England.

monie and other large offers made, did aid him with men, munition, ships, and victuals, verie freelie. The French king also did as much for his part as laie in him to helpe forwards this so high an enterprise. Wherefore when all things were now in a readinesse, he came to the towne of S. Valerie, where he had assembled togither an huge nauie of ships, to the number (as some authors affirme) of three hundred saile; and when he had taried there a long time for a conuenient wind, at length it came about euen as he himselfe desired. Then shipping his armie which consisted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britains, with all expedition he tooke the sea, and directing his course towards England, he finallie landed at a place in Sussex, anciently called Peuensey, on the 28 day of September, where he did set his men on land, & prouided all things necessarie to incourage and refresh them.

Wil. Geme. The chronicles of Normandie haue 896 ships.

Duke William landed at Peuensey, now Pemsey.

At his going out of his ship vnto the shore, one of his feet slipped as he stepped forward, but the other stacke fast in the sand: the which so soone as one of his knights had espied, and seeing his hand wherevpon he staied full of earth, when he rose, he spake alowd and said: "Now sir duke, thou hast the soile of England fast in thy hand, & shalt of a duke yer long become a king." The duke hearing this tale, laughed merilie thereat, and comming on land, by and by he made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occasion he had thus entered the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

The first and principall cause which he alleged, was for to chalenge his right, meaning the dominion of the land that to him was giuen and assigned (as he said) by his nephue king Edward late ruler of the same land.

The second was, to reuenge the death of his nephue Alured or Alfred the brother of the same king Edward, whome Goodwine earle of Kent and his adherents had most cruellie murthered.

The third was to be reuenged of the wrong doone vnto Robert archbishop of Canturburie, who (as he was informed) was exiled by the meanes and labor of Harold in the daies of king Edward.

Wil. Lamb. The pope fauored duke Williams enterprise.

Wherein we haue to note, that whether it were for displeasure that the pope had sometime conceiued for the wrong doone to the archbishop, or at the onlie sute of duke William, certeine it is that the pope, as then named Alexander the second, fauored this enterprise of the duke, and in token thereof sent him a white banner, which he willed him to set vp in the decke of the ship, wherein he himselfe should saile. In deed (as writers report) the pope with his cardinals, and all the whole court of Rome had king Harold euer in great hatred and disdaine, because he had taken vpon him the crowne without their consent, or anie ecclesiasticall solemnitie or agreement of the bishops. And although the pope and his brethren the said cardinals dissembled the matter for the time, yet now beholding to what end his bold presumption was like to come, with frowning fortune they shewed themselues open aduersaries, inclining streightwaies to the stronger part, after the manner of couetous persons, or rather of the reed shaken with a sudden puffe of wind.

Matth. West.

Gemeticensis.

Duke William at his first landing at Peuensey or Pemsey (whether you will) fortified a peece of ground with strong trenches, and leauing therein a competent number of men of warre to keepe the same, he sped him toward Hastings, and comming thither, he built an other fortresse there with all speed possible, without suffering his souldiers to rob or harrie the countrie adioining, saieng that it should be great follie for him to spoile that people, which yer manie daies to come were like to be his subiects. K. Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing that duke William was thus landed in England, sped him southward, and gathering his people togither out of the countries as he went forwards, at length came neere his enimies: and sending espials into their campe to vnderstand of what strength they were; the vnskilfull messengers regarding smallie their charge, brought woord againe of nothing else, but that all duke Williams souldiers were priests. For the Normans had at that time their vpper lips and cheekes shauen, whereas the Englishmen vsed to suffer the haire of their vpper lips to grow at length. But Harold answered, that they were not priests, but wether-beaten and hardie souldiers, and such as were like to abide well by their capteine.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. West. Normans beards shauen. *Wil. Malm. Hen. Marle.*

In

In the meane season, Girth one of Harolds yoonger brethren (considering that periurie is neuer left vnpunished) aduised his brother not to aduenture himselfe at this present in the battell, for so much as he had beene sometime sworne to duke William, but rather to suffer him and other of the nobilitie to incounter with the said duke, that were not bound to him by former oth, or otherwise: but Harold answered that he was free from anie such oth, and that in defense of his countrie he would fight boldly with him as with his greatest enimie. ¶ Where (by the waie) would be noted the conscience which Girth a yoonger brother made of an oth, not concerning himselfe directlie, but his elder brother Harold, who had sworne the same; meaning nothing lesse than the performance therof, as the sequele of his doings to his discredit and vndooing euidentlie declared, which euents might seeme countable to him as due punishments and deserued plagues inflicted vpon him and others, for his sake; sith he made no reckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a prince of no small puissance, who afterwards became a whip vnto him for his periurie; a sinne detested of the heathen, and whereof the poet notablie speaketh, saieng:

Girth would not haue his brother king Harold fight himselfe. *Gemeticensis.*

Ah miser, & si quis primò periuria celat,
Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus. *Tibul. lib. 1.*

After peace offered & refused on each side, both armies meete in the field, the order of the Englishmens attire & araie, the maner how the Normans were placed to fight in battell; the dissolute and droonken behauior of the Englishmen the night before the incounter farre differing from the Normans deuout demenour; duke Williams speech vpon occasion of wrong putting on his armour, the battell betwixt him and king Harold is valiantlie tried, the English by duke Williams politike stratagem are deceiued, king Harold slaine, his armie put to flight and manie of them slaine after a long and bloudie incounter, manie of the Normans pursuing the English ouerhastilie procure their owne death, they take the spoile of the English, the dead bodies of both armies are licenced to be buried; the differing reports of writers touching the maner of Harolds death, a description of his person, his ambition did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were slaine on both sides, his bodie buried at Waltham, nothing dispraise-woorthie in him but his ambitious mind, a view of his valiantnesse in a conflict against the Welshmen, his rigorous or rather pitilesse handling of them, his seuere law or decree touching their bounds, they are vtterlie subdued, and (by the kings leaue) the Welshwomen marrie with the Englishmen, the Saxon line ceasseth, how long it lasted, and how long it was discontinued by the inuasion of the Danes.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

NOW it fortuned that both armies, as well the kings as the earles, being prepared to battell, diuerse offers were made on each side (before they fell to the conflict) for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixt the two princes: but when no conditions of agreement could take place, they forthwith prepared themselues to trie the matter by dint of swoord. And so on the 14 day of October, being saturday, both hosts met in the field, at a place in Sussex not farre from Hastings, whereas the abbeie of Battell was afterward builded. The Englishmen were all brought into one entire maine batell on foot, with huge axes in their hands, and paled a front with paueises, in such wise that it was thought vnpossible for the enimie to breake their arraie. On the other side, the Normans were diuided into seuerall battels, as first the footmen that were archers, and also those that bare gleiues and axes were placed in the forefront, and the horssemen diuided into wings stood on the sides in verie good order. *Will. Malmes.* The order of the Englishmen. *Matth. West.* The arraie of the Normans.

All the night before the battell, the Englishmen made great noise and slept not, but sang and fell to drinking and making of reuell & pastime, as though there had beene no account to be made of the next daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themselues warilie and soberlie, *Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes.*

berlie, spending all that night in praier and confessing their sinnes vnto God; and in the morning earelie they receiued the communion before they went foorth to the battell. Some write, that when duke William should put on his armour to go to the field, the backe halfe of his curasses by chance was set on before by such as holpe to arme him: at which chance he tooke occasion of laughter, saieng merrilie to them that stood by; "No force, this is good lucke, for the estate of my dukedome shall be yer night changed into a kingdome." Beside, this, he spake manie comfortable woords vnto his men, to incourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold forgetfull in that point on his part. And so at conuenient time when both armies were readie, they made forward each to incounter with other, on the foresaid fouretéenth day of October, with great force and assurance.

Polydor. The battell betwixt king Harold and duke William is begun.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrowes flue abroad freshlie on both sides, till they came to ioine at hand strokes, and then preassed each side vpon his counter part with swoords, axes, and other hand weapons verie egerlie. Duke William commanded his horssemen to giue the charge on the breasts of his enimies battels: but the Englishmen keeping themselues close togither without scattering, receiued their enimies vpon the points of their weapons with such fiercenesse and in such stiffe order, that manie of the Norman horssemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and slaine at the first brunt. When duke William perceiued this inconuenience (as he that well and throughlie vnderstood the skilfull points of warre as well as the best) he gaue a signe to his men (according to an order appointed before hand vpon anie such occasion) that they should giue backe, and make a countenance as though they did flée, which was quicklie doone by the Normans, and withall they imbattelled their footmen in a new order, so that their horssemen shifted themselues on the wings, readie to rescue the footmen if their arraie should happen to be disturbed.

The policie of duke William to disorder his enimies. *H. Hunt.* *Wil. Malm.*

By this wilie stratagem and policie of warre, the Englishmen were deceiued: for they beholding the Normans somwhat shrinking backe to bring themselues into the aboue said order, thought verelie that they had fled, and therevpon meaning to pursue them before they should recouer their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chase: wherevpon the Normans (perceiuing now that all things came to passe as they desired) speedilie returned, and casting themselues togither quicklie into arraie, began to charge them againe afresh, and so hauing them at that aduantage, they slue them downe on euerie side. The Englishmen on the other part fought sore, and though their king was beaten downe among them and slaine, yet were they loth to flée or giue ouer; so sharpe was the battell, that duke William himselfe had three horsses slaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his person.

A sore foughten battell. King Harold slaine.

Wil. Malm. *Matth. West.*

Some of the Englishmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themselues to win the hill of them, so that it was long yer the Normans could preuaile, being oftentimes driuen downe into the botome of the vallie beneath. At length the Englishmen, perceiuing themselues to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie side, and therevnto greatlie discouraged with slaughter of their king, began first to giue ground, and after to scatter and to run away, so that well was he that might then escape by flight. When they had fought the most part of all that saturday, the Normans followed the chase with such eger rashnesse, that a great number of them falling with their horsses and armour into a blind ditch (shadowed with reed and sedges which grew therein) were smouldered and pressed to death, yer they could be succoured or get anie reliefe. The next day the Normans fell to gathering in the spoile of the field, burieng also the dead bodies of their people that were slaine at the battell, giuing licence in semblable manner to the Englishmen to doo the like.

The Englishmen put to flight.

Chron. de bello. *Wil. Geme.* The Normans fall into a ditch.

Giral. Camb.

Of the death of Harold diuerse report diuerslie, in so much that Girald Cambrensis saith, that after king Harold had receiued manie wounds, and lost his left eie, he fled from the field vnto the citie of Westchester, and liued there long after, an holie life, as an anchoret in the cell of S. James, fast by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the saieng of Girald Cambren. in that point is not to be credited, bicause of the vnlikelihood of the thing it selfe, and also generall consent of other writers, who affirme vniuersallie that he was killed in the battell, first being striken thorough the left eie by the scull into the braine with an arrow, wherevpon falling from his horsse to the ground, he was slaine in that place, after he had

Wil. Malm. *H. n. Hunt.* *Matth. West.*

reigned

reigned nine moneths and nine daies, as Floriacensis dooth report. He was a man of a comelie stature, and of a hawtie courage, & albeit that for his valiancie he was highlie renowmed and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he lost the harts of manie. There were slaine in this battell, besides king Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofrike, what on the one side and on the other, aboue twentie thousand men. *Floriac. Simon Dun.*

The bodie of king Harold being found among other slaine in the field, was buried at Waltham, within the monasterie of the holie crosse which he before had founded, and indowed to the behoofe of such canons as he had placed there, with faire possessions. Verelie (as some old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wise dispraised, if his ambitious mind could haue beene staied from coueting the kingdome, and that he could haue beene contented to haue liued as a subiect. Among other manifest proofes of his high valiancie, this is remembred of him, that being sent against the Welshmen (as before is partlie mentioned) knowing their readie nimblenesse in seruice, and how with their light armed men they were accustomed to annoie and distresse those that should assaile them, he likewise (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpose, & so being furnished with such bands of nimble men and light souldiers, entered vpon the mounteins of Snowdon, and there remained amongst the enimies for the space of two yeeres. He sore afflicted the Welsh nation, tooke their kings, and sent their heads vnto the king that sent him about his businesse, and proceeding in such rigorous maner as might mooue the hearers to lament and pitie the case, he caused all the male kind that might be met with, to be miserablie slaine: and so with the edge of his swoord he brought the countrie to quiet, and withall made this lawe; that if anie Welshman from thencefoorth should presume to passe the limits ouer Offas ditch with anie weapon about him, he should lose his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welshmen were then so sore brought vnder, that in maner the whole nation might seeme to faile, and to be almost vtterlie destroied. And therefore by permission of the king of England, the women of Wales ioined themselues in marriage with Englishmen. Finallie, heereby the bloud of the Saxons ceassed to reigne in England after they had continued possession of the same, from the first comming of Hengist, which was about the yeere of our Sauiour 450, or 449, vntill that present yeere of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yeere 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengist his reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yeeres, or (after some) 617, as by the supputation of the time will easilie appeere. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this land, except that for the space of twentie yeeres and somewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their possession: for there are reckoned from the beginning of K. Swaines reigne (which was the first Dane that gouerned England) vnto the last yeere of K. Hardicnute (the last Dane that ruled heere) 28 yeeres, in which meane space Egelred recouering the kingdome reigned 2 yeeres, then after him his sonne Edmund Ironside continued in the rule one yeere; so that the Danes had the whole possession of the land but 25 yeeres in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this Iland, read a short aduertisement annexed (by waie of conclusion) to this historie, comprising a short summarie of the most notable conquests of this countrie one after an other, by distances of times successiuelie. 1069.

Henr. Hunt. Polydor. The chronicles of Normandie haue of English men slaine 67974, and of Normans 6013.

Ex 6. libro Polycratici, siue de nugis curialium. Iohn Sarisb.

The rule of this realme by Gods prouidence allotted to duke William, his descent from Rollo the first duke of Normandie downewards to his particular linage, he was base begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts concubine, a pleasant speech of hirs to duke Robert on a time when he was to haue the vse of hir person, a conclusion introductorie for the sequele of the chronicle from the said duke of Normandies coronation, &c: with a summarie of the notable conquests of this Iland.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

NOW, forsomuch as it pleased God by his hid and secret iudgement so to dispose the realme of England, and in such wise, as that the gouernance thereof should fall after this ma-

ner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this historie (being now come to the conquest of the realme, made by the foresaid duke of Normandie) to set downe his pedegrée, thereby to shew how he descended from the first duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptisme called Robert.

The said Rollo or Rou, was sonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two sons, the said Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vsed, in time when their people were increased to a greater number than the countrie was able to susteine) refused to obeie that order, and made warre there against the king, who yet in the end by practise found meanes to slea the foresaid Guion, and his sonne Gourin; so that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus lost his father and brother, was compelled to forsake the countrie, with all those that had holpe his father to make warre against the king. Thus driuen to séeke aduentures, at length he became a christian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, surnamed le Simple, whose daughter the ladie Gilla he also maried: but she departing this life without issue, he maried Popée daughter to the earle of Bessin and Baileux, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptised, and had by hir a sonne named William Longespée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longespée or Longaspata, had to wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had issue Richard the second of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no issue proceeded: but after hir deceasse, he maried to his second wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Danish line, by whom he had thrée sonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had also by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwise called Emma, married first to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Helloie, otherwise Alix, bestowed vpon Geffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Euldes earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name maried Iudith, sister to Geffrey earle of Britaine, by whome he had issue thrée sonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alix, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Elenor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third died yoong, being affianced to Alfonse king of Nauarre. Their mother deceassed after she had beene married ten yéeres, and then duke Richard married secondlie the ladie Estric, sister to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchased to be diuorsed, and then married a gentlewoman called Pauie, by whome he had issue two sonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbishop of Rouen.

Ye must note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldest sonne to Richard the third, died without issue, and then his brother Robert succéeded in the estate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a burgesse of Felais, William surnamed the bastard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conquest king of England. Of whose father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleasant remembrance for a refection after the perusing of the former sad and sober discourses.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

In the yéere of Christ 1030, Robert, the second sonne of Richard the second duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wisedome gouerned his dukedome seuen yéeres, for performance of a penance that he had set to himselfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Ierusalem; leauing behind him this William a yoong prince, whome seuen yeeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whose beautifull fauour, louelie grace and presence, at hir dansing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vtterance of his mind what he had further to say, would néeds that night she should be his bedfellow, who else as wiuelesse should haue lien alone: where when she was bestowed, thinking that if she should haue laid hir selfe naked, it might haue séemed not so maidenlie a part: so when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue lift vp hir linnen, she in an humble modestie staid hir

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

lords

lords hand, and rent downe hir smocke asunder, from the collar to the verie skirt. Heereat the duke all smiling did aske hir what thereby she ment? In great lowlines, with a feate question she answerd againe; "My lord, were it méet that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, should presume to be mountant to my souereignes mouth vpward? Let your grace pardon me." He liked hir answer: and so and so foorth for that time. *Ran. li. 6. ca. 19.*

This duke before his voiage, calling at Fiscam all his nobilitie vnto him, caused them to sweare fealtie vnto his yoong sonne William, whome he then at his iournie betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defense of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert passing foorth in his pilgrimage, shewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleasant withall; who once in Iurie not well at ease, in a litter was borne toward Ierusalem vpon Saracens shoulders, & méeting with a subiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aske after me, tell them that thou sawest their lord carried to heauen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the yoong prince faithfullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they slackened apace, euerie one shifting for himselfe as he list, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their souereigne. Whereby not manie yéeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Rafe the childes coosine germane, was slaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themselues was sore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince William his sonne for part of his tender yéeres.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ran. ibid.

Ran. ibid.

Ran. ibid, Wil. Mal. idem. Ran. idem.

A notable aduertisement touching the summe of all the foresaid historie, wherin the foure great and notable conquests of this land are briefliе touched, being a conclusion introductorie, as is said in the argument.

IN the former part of this historie it is manifest to the heedful reader, that (after the opinion of most writers) Brute did first inhabit this land, and called it then after his owne name, Britaine, in the yéere after the creation of the world 2855, and in the yéere before the incarnation of Christ 1108. ¶ Furthermore the said land of Britaine was conquered by C. Iulius Cesar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the 50 yéere before the natiuitie of Christ, and so continued 483 yéeres. So that the Britains reigned without tribute and vnder tribute, from Brute, vntill the fourth yeere of the reigne of king Cadwalladar, which was in the yéere of our Lord 686. And so the Britains had continuance of the gouernement of this land the space of 1794 yéeres. Then was the realme of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, diuided into seuen kingdoms. And Britaine receiued the faith of Christ in the 7 yéere of the reigne of king Lucius, which was in the 187 yéere after the birth of Christ. ¶ Next after the Britains entered the Saxons, in the third yéere of king Vortiger; and in the yéere of our Lord 450, and they gouerned vntill the last yéere of king Athelstane, which was in the yéere of Christ 938. So that the time of the Saxons first entrance into this realme, and the time of their regiment was the space of 487 yéeres. ¶ Howbeit, in the time of their gouernement, that is to say, in the 9 yéere of king Britricus, which was in the yéere of our Lord 887, the Danes entred into this land, spoiling and persecuting the people therin most gréeuouslie. At the last, Sweno or Swaine the Dane obteined possession roiall, in the yéere of Grace 1012, whose time of regiment lasted about three yéeres. After whom his sonne Canutus succeeded, and reigned 19 yéeres. After him Harold his sonne, who ruled thrée yeeres: and after him Hardicnute the sonne of Canutus, whose gouernement continued but thrée yeeres. This Hardicnute was the last king of the Danes, at which time the Danes were expelled and hunted out of the realme, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1042. So that it may appeare by this collection, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by the space of 28 yéeres. Hereby also it is euident, that from the time of the first entrance of the Danes into this realme, vntill their last expulsion

Britaine inhabited by Brute.

1 Britaine conquered by the Romans.

2 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Saxons.

3 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Danes.

4 Britaine conquered and possessed by the Normans.

expulsion & riddance, was 255 yéeres. ¶ Finallie the Normans entred this land likewise and conquered the same as before is expressed, in the yéere of our Lord 1067, which is since, vntill this present yéere of our Lord 1585, drawing nére to the number of 600 and od yéeres.

Now let these alterations of regiments be remembred [touching the which read a notable animaduersion in the description of Britaine, pag. 49,50,51] and teach vs that therein the iudgements of God reuealed themselues to speciall purposes. And whatsoeuer hath béene mentioned before, either concerning the subuersion of people, the desolation of prouinces, the ouerthrow of nobles, the ruine of princes, and other lamentable accidents diuerslie happening vpon sundrie occasions: let vs (I say) as manie as will reape fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were so manie yéeres past to be present, and applie the profit and commoditie of the same vnto our selues: knowing (as one wisely said) *Post sacram paginam chronica viuum veritatis typum gerere*, that next vnto the holie scripture, chronicles doo carie credit. But now to the sequele, and first to duke William of Normandie.

Thus farre the historie of England from Noah and his sonnes, &c: to William duke of Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the first yeere of the said dukes reigne ouer this land, vntill the 25 yeere of the Queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, &c: whose daies God in mercie prolong (like the daies of heauen) in peace and prosperitie, &c.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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